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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

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VOL. IX.—1907-08.

EDITED BY

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AND

(FROM PAGE 145)

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CONTENTS.

The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

	PAGE
R. D. BANERJEE :—	
No. 40. Patiākellā grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja; [Gupta-] Samvat 283	285
„ 41. Muṇḍēśvari inscription of Udayasēna; [Harsha] Year 30	289
D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A. :—	
No. 4. Two grants of Indrarāja III; Śaka-Samvat 836	24
„ 25. Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta	187
„ 26. Daulatābād plates of Śaṅkaragana	193
„ 27. Buchkalā inscription of Nāgabhaṭṭa	198
„ 38. Ghaṭiyālā inscriptions of Kakkuka	277
T. BLOCH, PH.D. :—	
No. 42. Sahēt Mahēt umbrella staff inscription	290
T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. :—	
No. 32. Māmbaḷli plate of Śrīvallavaṅḡḍai	234
T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. AND T. RAGHAVIAH, B.A. :—	
No. 52. Kṛishṇāpuram plates of Sadāsivarāja	328
HIRA LAL, B.A. :—	
No. 5. Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana II.	41
„ 14. Kanker inscription of the time of Bhānudeva	123
„ 19. Inscriptions from Bastar State	160
„ 20. Kanker plates of Pamparājadeva	166
„ 23. Rājapura plates of Madhurāntakadeva	174
„ 24. Sihāwā inscription of Karnarāja	182
„ 39. Sārangarh plates of Mahā-Sadeva	281
„ 44. Spurious Lāphā plate of Prithvidēva	293
„ 48. Burhānpūr inscription of Ādil Shāh	306
„ 49. Nārāyanpāl inscription of Guṇḍa Mahādēvi	311
„ 53. Āraṅg copper-plate of Bhīmasēna II.; Gupta-Samvat 282	342
PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D. :—	
No. 3. Ālupa inscriptions at Udiyāvara	15
„ 6. Māliyapūṇḍi grant of Ammarāja II.	47
„ 7. Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman	56
„ 12. Talamanchi plates of Vikramāditya I.	98
„ 16. Vandram plates of Ammarāja II.	131
„ 31. Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra-Chōla I.	229
„ 50. Timmapuram plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I. Viṣhamasiddhi	317
THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIRLHORN, PH.D., D.LITT., LL.D., C.I.E. :—	
No. 1. Two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahēndrapāla of Kanauj	1
„ 2. Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pūrnāpāla	10
„ 9. The Chāhamānas of Naddūla	62
„ 13. Māndhātā plates of Dēvapāla and Jayavarman II. of Mālava	108
„ 15. Note on two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahēndrapāla of Kanauj	130
„ 18. Mount Ābā Vimala temple inscription	148
„ 29. Dates of Chōla kings (<i>continued</i>)	207
„ 30. Dates of Pāṇḍya kings (<i>continued</i>)	222

	PAGE
No. 34. Pathârî pillar inscription of Parabala	248
„ 36. Bâlaghât plates of Prithivishêpa II.	267
„ 37. Orissa plates of Vidyâdharabhañjadêva	271
STEN KONOW, PH.D. :—	
No. 11. Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III.	94
„ 21. Khariâr plates of Mahâ-Sudêva	170
„ 43. Two Buddhist inscriptions from Sârânâth	291
„ 46. Ârigôm Śâradâ inscription of Râmadêva	300
„ 47. Chandrâvatî plate of Chandradêva	302
„ 51. Sârânâth inscription of Kumaradêvi	319
H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A. :—	
No. 35. Anmakonḍa inscription of Prôla	256
PROFESSOR H. LÜDEES, PH.D. :—	
No. 33. Three early Brâhmî inscriptions	239
K. E. PATHAK, B.A. :—	
No. 28. Kêndûr plates of Kîrtivarman II.	230
„ 45. Âbhôṇa plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa	296
D. R. SAHNI :—	
No. 8. Benares inscription of Pantha	59
R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.) :—	
No. 22. Note on Bhujabala Mahârâya	174
F. W. THOMAS, M.A. :—	
No. 17. Inscriptions on the Mathurâ Lion-Capital	135
V. VENKAYYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR :—	
No. 10. Ambâsamudram inscription of Varaguna-Pândya	84
INDEX.—BY H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.	
	347

LIST OF PLATES.

No.		PAGE
1.	Udiyāvara inscriptions—Plate I.	to face page 17
2.	„ „ „ II.	„ „ „ 19
3.	„ „ „ III.	„ „ „ 20
4.	„ „ „ IV.	„ „ „ 22
5.	Bagumrā plates of Indrarāja III.—First set	between pages 30 & 31
6.	„ „ „ Second „	„ „ 34 & 35
7.	Plates of Jayavardhana II.	„ „ 41 & 45
8.	Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Ammarāja II.	„ „ 52 & 53
9.	Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman	„ „ 58 & 59
10.	Benares inscription of Pantha	to face page 60
11.	Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya	„ „ „ 90
12.	Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III.	between pages 96 & 97
13.	Talamanchi plates of Vikramāditya I.	„ „ 100 & 101
14.	Māṇbhātā plates of Dēvapāla	„ „ 110 & 111
15.	Ūnā plates of Avaniarman II. Yōga	„ „ 130 & 131
16.	Vandram plates of Ammarāja II.	„ „ 134 & 135
17.	Inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion-capital, Plate I.	to face page 136
18.	„ „ „ „ „ II.	„ „ „ 142
19.	„ „ „ „ „ III.	„ „ „ 144
20.	„ „ „ „ „ IV.	„ „ „ 146
21.	Mount Ābū Vimala temple inscription	„ „ „ 158
22.	Map of Bastar State	„ „ „ 160
23.	Kanker plates of Pamparājadēva	„ „ „ 168
24.	Khariār plates of Mahā-Sudēva	between pages 172 & 173
25.	Rājapura plates of Madhurāntakadēva	„ „ 178 & 179
26.	Sihāwā inscription of Karṇarāja	to face page 186
27.	Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta	„ „ „ 190
28.	Daulatābād plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, Plate I.	between pages 196 & 197
29.	„ „ „ „ „ II.	to face page 198
30.	Buchkalā inscription of Nāgabhaṭṭa	„ „ „ 200
31.	Kēndūr plates of Kirtivarman II., Plate I.	between pages 202 & 203
32.	„ „ „ „ „ II.	„ „ 204 & 205
33.	Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra-Chōla I.	to face page 232
34.	Māmballī plate of Śrīvallavangōḍai	„ „ „ 236
35.	British Museum stone of Kanishka, Plate I.	„ „ „ 239
36.	„ „ „ „ „ II.	„ „ „ 240
37.	Mathurā inscription of Samvat 74	„ „ „ 242
38.	Pathārī inscription of Parabala	„ „ „ 252
39.	Anmakōṇḍa inscription of Prōla	between pages 262 & 263
40.	Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēna II.	„ „ 270 & 271
41.	Orissa plates of Vidyāharabhaṇḍadēva	„ „ 276 & 277
42.	Sārangarh plates of Mahā-Sudēva	to face page 283
43.	Paṭiākellā plate of Śivarāja	between pages 286 & 287
44.	Mundēsvārī inscription of Udayasēna	to face page 289
45.	Sahēt-Mahēt Buddhist inscription	„ „ „ 291
46.	Sārṇāth stone umbrella inscription	„ „ „ 292
47.	Sārṇāth Buddhist image inscription	„ „ „ 293

	Page
48. Lāphā spurious plate of Prithvidēva	to face page 295
49. Ābhōṇa plates of Śaṅkaragana	between pages 296 & 297
50. Ārigōm inscription of Rāmadēva	to face page 301
51. Chandrāvati plate of Chandradēva	" " " 304
52. Burhānpūr inscription of Ādil Shāh	" " " 308
53. Nārāyanpāl inscription of Guṇḍa-Mahādēvi	" " " 314
54. Timmapuram plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I. Viṣhamasiddhi	" " " 318
55. Sārṇāth inscription of Kumaradēvi	" " " 324
56. Kṛishṇāpuram plates of Sadāsivarāya, Plate I.	between pages 332 & 333
57. " " " " II.	" " 336 & 337
58. Āraṅg plate of Bhīmasēna II.	to face page 344

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 4, para. 1, line 7,—for Mahēndrapaladēva read Mahēndrapālādēva.
- ” ” ” ” 10,—for Haḍḍāla read Haḍḍālā.
- ” 7, footnote 17, line 1,—for nistriṃsa read nistriṃṣa.
- ” 9, text-line 46,—for -bhūpālāmś= read -bhūpālāmś=.
- ” 16, line 3 from bottom,—for Śāntaras read Śāntaraś.
- ” 17, ” 9,—for Aḷuva read Āḷuva.
- ” 48, line 2 from bottom,—for Chēḍi read Chēḍi.
- ” 56, line 1,—for Thursday read Friday.
- ” 58, para. 2, line 2,—for Godavari read Kistna.
- ” 60, line 13 from the top,—for Jhālrapātan read Jhālrapāṭan.
- ” 65, footnote 6, line 1,—for actua read actual.
- ” 71, line 4 from the top,—[I think the word *tāmbūliya* should mean “betel chewed with areca-nut and chunam” which the women spat out of grief. This is red and may be compared to rubies (*padmarāga*).—H. K. S.]
- ” 72, last line,—for Jāvalipura read Jāvālipura.
- ” 75, verse 12.—[There is no allusion to any legend here. The poet wants to say that Brahman out of arrogance (*dambhataḥ*) weighed the king's prowess (i.e. the sun) on one side and his fame (i.e. the moon) on the other and found the two balanced so well on the scale of which the rod was the (heavenly) Gaṅgā, that the pin (*kaṇṭaka*) in the middle was *dhruva* (i.e. stable). The other meaning intended is the Pole star (*Dhruva*) which occupies the middle of the heavenly orbit and is almost fixed in space.—H. K. S.]
- ” 99, last but one para., line 3,—for Polikeśin read Polikēśin.
- ” 100, text-line 2,—for वन read वन.
- ” ” 17,—for लक्ष्मी read लक्ष्मी.
- ” 119, footnote 3, line 2,—for Sūdra- read Sūdra-.
- ” 120, text-line 3,—for Mamdōdarivashpa- read Mamdōdarivāshpa-.
- ” 125, line 10,—for Kandika-bandha read Kauḍika-bandha.
- ” 143, translation of B.,—for Rātūlja read Rājūla.
- ” 156, footnote 5, last line,—for Kushmāṇḍinī read Kūshmāṇḍinī.
- ” 160, para. 3, line 5,—for Tirathgarh read Tirathgarh.
- ” 165, footnote, line 6,—for Dattakamimānsā read Dattakamimānsā.
- ” ” line 8,—for Rudrāmba read Rudrāmbā.
- ” 166, para. 3, line 2,—for 1783 read 1779.
- ” 168, line 9 from the top,—for Pāḍi read Pāḍi.
- ” 169, line 2,—for Lākshmīdhara read Lakshmīdhara.
- ” 170, text-line 6,—for -prasūta sama[sta*]- read -prasūta-sama[sta*]-.
- ” 170, text-line 8,—for ravidinē read ravidinē.
- ” 171, para. 5, last line,—for °chchhrēshṭa read °chchhrēshṭha.
- ” 172, line 8,—insert a hyphen at the end of the line.
- ” ” footnote 7, line 2,—for Śāmbilaka read Śāmbilaka.
- ” 175, line 4,—insert (Nāgarī) after Sanskrit.
- ” 176, line 16,—for Mēḍipōta read Mēḍipōta.
- ” ” footnote 2,—for Yājñavalkya read Yājñavalkya.
- ” 178, line 13 from bottom,—for Mālavā read Mālava.

- Page 179, footnote 1, line 3,—for *Sakkara-kōṭṭam* read *Śakkara-kōṭṭam*.
 „ 180, footnote 5,—for *Siyadoni* read *Siyadōṇi*.
 „ 181, para. 5, line 4,—[*Mudhasēli* perhaps stands for the Telugu *mudusali* which means ‘old, ancient;’ i.e. a headman respected on account of *old* age; compare *nāṭṭu-mudumai*; above, p. 21, footnote 3.—H. K. S.]
 „ 185, text-line 4,—for तपः पयोषि^० read तपःपयोषि^०.
 „ „ footnote 1, line 2,—for *Devakūṭa* read *Dēvakūṭa*.
 „ 205, para. 3, line 4, for *Kārtikēya* read *Kārttikēya*.
 „ „ footnote 7,—for *Conjeeverum* read *Conjeeveram*.
 „ 223, No. 63, translation, line 2,—for *Uttara=Phalguni* read *Uttara-Phalguni*.
 „ 235, para. 3, line 2,—for *Ayurūr* read *Ayurur*.
 „ 236, lines 15 and 17,—for *Ayirūr* read *Ayurur*.
 „ „ text-line 9,—for =kkīl- read kīl-.
 „ 237, text-line 17 and translation, line 7,—for *Ayurūr* read *Ayurur*.
 „ 238, lines 3 and 11 and footnote 10,— Ditto.
 „ 257, footnote 4,—[From the *Palnāḍu* inscriptions we learn that the *Kākatīya* king *Gaṇapati* was ruling from his capital *Oruṅgallu*, already in *Śāka-Samvat* 1173 and that his daughter and successor *Rudramahādēvi* was also ruling from the same city in *Śāka* 1191.—H. K. S.]
 „ 261, footnote 6, line 7 from bottom,—for *Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I.* read *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I.*
 „ 266, line 4,—for *Kākatī* read *Kākatī*.
 „ 282, para. 5, line 4,—for *Khariar* read *Khariār*.
 „ 283, line 7,—for *Tūṇḍrā* read *Tūṇḍrā*.
 „ 284, translation, line 1,—for *Sarabhapura* read *Śarabhapura*.
 „ „ footnote 6, line 3,—for *Jējabhukti* read *Jējābhukti*.
 „ 300, line 9,—[Comparing the symbol for *i* in *°pilupati* with the *i*-symbol in *°parihīṇam* (line 19) and in *°ndīrgha* (line 24) it appears as if the form *Mahāpīlupati* was also meant here as in the *Sāṅkhēḍā* plate of *Śāntilla* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 23).—H. K. S.]
 „ 307, table, 1st column,—for *Gaznī* read *Ghaznī*.
 „ „ „ 3rd „ for *Âdil Shah Aynâ* read *Âdil Shâh Aynâ*.
 „ 313, line 2,—for *Halavur* read *Halavûr* and for *Banvâsi* read *Banavâsi*.
 „ 316, para. 3, line 3,—for *bhaṇḍâri* read *bhaṇḍâri*.
 „ „ line 8 from bottom,—for *Brahmâujhâka* read *Brahmaujhâka*.
 „ 321, last para., line 6,—for 493 read 793.
 „ 330, footnote 8,—for *Amuktamâlyada* read *Âmuktamâlyada* and for *Vishṇuchittiyam* read *Vishṇuchittiyam*.
 „ 331, para. 4, line 7,—for *Kuttukkâl* read *Kuttukkal*.
 „ „ „ 8,—for *Pâṭṭaikulam* read *Pâṭaikkulam*.



EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME IX.

No. 1.— TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

IN February 1904 Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur, in Rājputāna most kindly sent me photographs of two Sanskrit inscriptions on copper-plates, which had been found some years before at Ūnā, a town in the southernmost part of the peninsula of Kāthiāwād, in the Junāgaḍh State.¹ Both inscriptions are of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Mahēndrapāla* or, as he is called in one of them, *Mahēndrāyudha*, of Kanauj, and record grants to a temple of the Sun by two feudatories of his, *Balavarman* and his son *Avanivarman II. Yōga*, who belonged to a *Chālukya* family. One is dated in the [Gupta-] Valabhī year 574, corresponding roughly to A.D. 893; the other in the [Vikrama] year 956, corresponding to about A.D. 899. In March 1904 I gave a short account of the contents of these inscriptions, in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, and I have since tried to secure impressions of the originals. Not having succeeded in doing so, I now venture to publish the texts from Mr. Ojha's photographs.

A.— Plates of Balavarman; Valabhi-samvat 574.

These are two plates, each of which is inscribed on one side only. They contain 36 lines of on the whole well-preserved writing in Nāgarī characters.² The language is Sanskrit; it is generally easy to understand, but line 17 contains a revenue term which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain. Lines 7-9 give two verses on the vanity of fortune, etc., and the necessity of works of piety, and lines 22-29 six of the ordinary imprecatory verses; the rest is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahāsāmanta Balavarman*, the son of *Avanivarman [I.]*, of the *Chālukya* lineage, a feudatory, who had obtained the five *mahāśabdas*, of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Mahēndrāyudhadēva* who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P. Bhōjadēva*. From *Nakshisapura*, *Balavarman* informs the various officials and others that, after fasting on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of *Māgha*, he gave the village of *Jayapura*, belonging to the *Nakshisapura* group of eighty-four which

¹ See *Indian Atlas*, quarter sheet 13, S. E., Long. 71° 5', Lat. 21° 49'.

² Since no facsimiles can be published, it would be useless to give full particulars regarding the forms of individual letters; but I may mention here that the conjuncts *ry* and *rk* are denoted by (well-known) special signs which contain no superscript *r*.

ho had acquired by his own arm (*svabhujôpârjita-Nakshisapura-chaturaśītikā*), to (a temple of) the Sun under the name **Taruṇādityadēva**, which stood on the banks of the river **Kaṇavirikā**. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of **Sihavāhalaka**, on the south the village of **Rā[jyastha]la**, on the west the village of **Pēḍhillaka**, and on the north the village of **Amvullaka (Ambullāka)**. After the usual admonition to preserve this gift, and six imprecatory verses, lines 29-34 give the names of twelve witnesses—four Brāhmanas, four merchants, and four *Mahattaras*. They are followed by the name of the writer, which cannot be read with certainty, and this, again, is followed by the date *śrī-Valabhi-saṃvat 574 Māgha-suddha 6*, the numerals of which are ordinary decimal figures. The inscription, in line 36, ends with the signatures *sva-hastô=[tra] śrī-Va(ba)lavarmmanah ||* *sva-hastah śrī-Dhīka*, where (the second) *sva-hastah* is preceded by a mark which seems to represent the actual sign-manual of Dhīka. Who this **Dhīka** was, does not appear from the present inscription; but the grant B. makes it probable that he was a high official of the king Mahēndrāyudha (Mahēndrapāla), whose permission was necessary for the making of the grant.

B.—Plates of **Avanivarman II. Yōga**; [Vikrama-]saṃvat 958.

These are three plates, the second of which is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third are inscribed on one side only. They contain 68 lines of well-preserved writing in Nāgarī characters. The engraving is done carelessly, so that the text contains numerous mistakes, the correction of some of which, especially in two passages where proper names are concerned, is very difficult. The language is Sanskrit. Lines 1-45 contain twenty-four verses which, after glorifying the Sun, treat of the genealogy of the donor and of his and his ancestors' exploits; and two imprecatory verses are cited in lines 65-67; the rest of the text is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahāsāmanta* **Avanivarman [II.]**, surnamed **Yōga**, of the **Chālukya** race (verse 2). In this race there were two 'great kings' (*mahā-mukhi-pati*), the brothers **Kalla** and **Mahalla** (v. 3), the former of whom is eulogized in conventional terms (vv. 5 and 6). Kalla had a son, whose name cannot be made out with confidence (v. 7); and this chief had a son whose name ended with *dhavala*, and whose full name perhaps was **Vāhukadhavala** (v. 9). This last named chief destroyed (or defeated) in battle a certain **Dharma**, conquered kings who were well-known *rājādhirāja-paramēśvaras*, and defeated a **Karṇāṭa** army (vv. 10 and 11). His son was **Avanivarman [I.]** (v. 12), and his son, again, was **Balavarman** (the donor of the grant A., above). Balavarman defeated a certain **Vishadha** (v. 16) from whom he took away a pair of big drums (*uru-dhakkā*); and, by slaying Jajjapa and other kings, 'freed the earth from the **Hūṇa** race' (v. 17). His son was **Avanivarman [II.]**, also called **Yōga** (v. 18), who routed the armies of a certain **Yakshadāsa**¹ and other kings whose countries were invaded by him (vv. 19 and 20), and put to flight **Dharaṇivarāha** (v. 21).

In lines 45 ff. this *Mahāsāmanta* **Yōga** (i.e. **Avanivarman II.**), a feudatory of the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* **Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Mahēndrapāladēva** who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.* **Bhōjadēva**, informs his officials and others, as well as future kings, that, with the approval of the illustrious **Dhīka**,² he gave the village of **Amvulaka (Ambulaka)**,³ which

¹ Verse 19 records that, after destroying the army of Yakshadāsa, Avanivarman took away from him the musical instrument (*tūrya*) called *Sagarakṣobha*.—In my previous account of this inscription I suggested that Yakshadāsa may have ruled the Madra country; but this is wrong. As the engraver of the grant in several other places has engraved *m* instead of *y*, the actual reading *muddha-bhūmim* in line 36 must undoubtedly be altered to *yuddha-bhūmim*, not to *Madra-bhūmim*.

² The inscription, the text of which is not quite certain here, seems to indicate that Dhīka was an *antapāla* or 'frontier-guard' of Mahēndrapāla's, and that Avanivarman II. was a subordinate of his (as his father Balavarman had been before him). See the end of the grant A.

³ This village (Ambulaka or Ambullaka) is mentioned also in the grant A.

belonged to the **Nakshisapura** eighty-four (*Nakshisapura-chaturāsīti*) in the **Saurāshtra** *maṇḍala*, to (a temple of) **Taruṇādityadēva**, located near the river **Kaṇavirikā** in the vicinity of the village of **Jayapura**.¹ The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of **Viyaraka**, on the south the village of **Jayapura**, on the west the villages of **Sēṇḍuvaka** and **Kōrinṭhaka**, and on the north the village of **Vavulika**. After the usual admonition to preserve this gift and two imprecatory verses, the inscription, in line 68, ends with the date *saṃvat* 956 *Māgha-sudi* 6, the numerals of which here also are ordinary decimal figures.

The **Chālukya** chiefs mentioned in the preceding are not known from other inscriptions. The large Bilhari inscription, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 266, mentions a **Chaulukya** **Avanivarman** whose daughter **Nōhalā** was married by the Kalachuri Chēdi king **Yuvarāja I. Kāyāvarasha**. That **Avanivarman** may have been a contemporary² of **Avanivarman II. Yōga** of our grant B.; but—even assuming that the terms **Chālukya** and **Chaulukya** might be used synonymously³—he cannot be identical with him, because his father and grandfather were **Sadhanva** and **Simhavarman** (not **Balavarman** and **Avanivarman**).

For **Balavarman**, a feudatory of **Mahēndrāyudha** (**Mahēndrapāla**), the grant A. furnishes a date in about A.D. 893. We therefore may assume that his grandfather **Vāhukadhavala** (?) lived about the middle of the 9th century A.D., and was almost certainly a feudatory of **Mahēndrapāla**'s predecessor **Bhōjadēva** (**Mihira**) of **Kanauj**, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 843 to A.D. 881. Now in the inscription No. 77 of my *Southern List* this **Mihira** (**Bhōjadēva**) is stated to have been defeated by the **Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruvarāja II.** This at any rate would show that he was at war with the **Rāshtrakūṭas**; and I believe that such a war is actually referred to in the account of **Vāhukadhavala**'s (?) exploits related in the grant B. In my opinion, the **Karṇāṭa** army which is said to have been defeated by him can only have been an army of the **Rāshtrakūṭas**. As regards (the king) **Dharma** who is stated to have been destroyed (or defeated) by the same chief, I know of no king **Dharma** who could have been a contemporary of his, excepting the well-known **Pāla** king **Dharmapāla**, and I see no reason why **Dharma** should not be identified with that **Pāla** king, who at one time or another undoubtedly was at war with the rulers of **Kanauj**.

Balavarman himself defeated a certain **Vishadha**, and by slaying **Jajjapa** and other kings 'freed the earth from the **Hūṇa** race.' Who **Vishadha** was, it is impossible to say. Wars with **Hūṇa** kings are frequently mentioned in Indian inscriptions of the Middle Ages,⁴ and we know of a **Hūṇa** princess, **Āvalladēvi**, who was married by the Kalachuri **Karna** in the 11th century; but in recording the name of **Jajjapa** our grant B. for the first time discloses the name of an individual **Hūṇa** king, who must be placed in about the last quarter of the 9th century.

The kings or chiefs mentioned as opponents of **Avanivarman II. Yōga**, for whom we have a date in about A.D. 899, are **Yakshadāsa** and **Dharaṇivarāha**. The former is unknown to us. The latter I do not hesitate to identify with the **Chāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati** **Dharaṇivarāha**, known to us from his **Haḍḍālā** plates⁵ which were issued from **Vardhamāna** (or **Wadhwan** in

¹ This village was granted to the same temple of the Sun by the grant A.

² A daughter of the Kalachuri **Yuvarāja I.**, **Kundakadēvi**, was married by the **Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha III.** **Baddiga**, for whom we now possess dates in A.D. 937 and 939.

³ In Nos. 354 and 356 of my *Northern List* certain chiefs are described as both **Chālukyās** and **Chaulukyās**.

⁴ See my note on the grammarians' *ajayaj-Jartō Hūṇa* in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1903, p. 305 ff. The **Pāla** **Dēvapāla** humbled the pride of the **Hūṇas** (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 163, v. 13); according to the **Khārḍa** plates of the **Rāshtrakūṭa Kakkarāja II.** **Amoghavarsha** of A.D. 972 this king fought battles with the lord (or lords) of the **Hūṇas** (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, l. 32); the **Paramāra Utpala** (**Muñjarāja**) took away the life of the **Hūṇas** (*ibid.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, l. 41); his younger brother **Sindhurāja** conquered the king of the **Hūṇas** (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 235, v. 16); etc.

⁵ See my *Northern List*, No. 353.

Kāthiāvad) in A.D. 914, and in which he is represented as a feudatory of a *Rājādhirāja* Mahipālādēva whose proper identification, as will be seen below, can no longer offer any difficulty.

The place **Nakshisapura**, the **nine villages** mentioned in connection with the two grants, and the river **Kaṇavirikā** I have not, I regret to say, been able to identify. The main point of general interest connected with these localities is, that the **Nakshisapura group of eighty-four**, which was held by the two donors, according to the inscription B. belonged to the **Saurāshtra maṇḍala**. The name **Surāshtra** we know to denote the southern part of Kāthiāvad; and since the two chiefs **Balavarman** and **Avanivarman II.** describe themselves as feudatories of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahēndrāyudhadēva or Mahēndrapālādēva (of Kanauj), it follows from these inscriptions that towards the end of the 9th century A.D. the kingdom of Kanauj extended as far south as, and included, the province of Kāthiāvad. Moreover, it becomes quite certain now that the *Rājādhirāja* Mahipālādēva, who in the Haḍḍāla plates of A.D. 914 is mentioned as the overlord of the Chāpa *Mahisāmāntādhipati* Dharaṇivarāha, must be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahipālādēva of Kanauj (whose *Asni* inscription is dated in about A.D. 917), the successor of Mahēndrapālādēva, and cannot have been one of the Chūḍāsamās of Girnār-Junāgaḍh.

In the grant A. the king, known to us from the grant B. and other inscriptions as Mahēndrapāla, is called **Mahēndrāyudha**. This name of course at once recalls the names **Indrāyudha** and **Chakrāyudha**, the former denoting a king who according to the *Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa* was ruling the north in Śaka-saṃvat 705=A.D. 783-84, and the latter another king, to whom the sovereignty of Mahodaya (Kanauj) was given, after the defeat of Indrarāja (*i.e.*, in my opinion, Indrāyudha), by the Pāla Dharmapāla, and who was defeated by Nāgabhaṭa,¹ the grandfather of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj. It may also be mentioned that in Rājasēkhara's *Karpūra-maṇḍari*² a certain merchant is represented as having gone to 'Kanauj, the capital of **Vajrāyudha**, the king of Pañchāla.' That story would seem to show that in the opinion of Rājasēkhara, who was Mahēndrapāla's *guru*, a name with the somewhat unusual ending *āyudha*, such as Vajrāyudha, was a suitable or characteristic name of a Kanauj king. Most probably Mahēndrapāla himself was known to Rājasēkhara also by the name Mahēndrāyudha.

The date of the grant A., *śri-Valabhi-saṃvat* 574 *Māgha-suddha* 6, is by a long way the earliest date in which we find the technical expression *Valabhi-saṃvat*. In the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings themselves the year of a date is ordinarily preceded by only *saṃ*, rarely by *saṃvat*; and hitherto the earliest inscription containing the term *Valabhi-saṃvat* was the Vērāval inscription of the temple-priest Bhāva-Bṛihaspati of *Valabhi-saṃvat* 850 (No. 503 of my *Northern List*). In the Mōrbī plate of Jāinka (*ibid.* No. 502) of the year 585 of the same era the number 585 in line 19 is preceded by simply *saṃvat*, while in line 17 the year is described as a *Gaupta* (*i.e.* Gupta) year.—It is curious that in Kāthiāvad we should find the Gupta-Valabhi, Vikrama and Śaka eras employed in dates of the same period and in almost the same localities.

A.—PLATES OF BALAVARMAN; VALABHI-SAMVAT 574.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

1 Om⁴ [||*] Jayaś=ch=ābhyudayaś=cha || Svasti [||*] Nakshisapurāt-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj[ā]dhi-

¹ Of Nāgabhaṭa Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has discovered in the Jādhpur State a stone inscription dated in about A.D. 815 (*saṃvatsara-śa* [18] 872).

² See Dr. Sten Konow's edition, pp. 74 and 266.

³ From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.


⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

- 2 rāja-paramêśvara-śrī-Bhōjadēva-pād[ā*]nudyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-para-
 3 mēśvara-śrī-Mahēndrāyudhadēva-pāda-prasādākshata-¹samadhigata-pañchamah ā ś a v d a -
 (bda)-mahāsāmantaś=[Ch]ā-
 4 lukyānvaya-prasūta-śrī-²Avanivarmma-suta-śrī-Va(ba)lavarmma sarvvān=ēva rāja-
 rājanya-rājasthānīy-ōparik-āmā-
 5 tya-[chā]ṭabhaṭa-bhaṭṭa-[da]ṇḍavā(pā)śika-daṇḍ[ō]ddharanika-³draṅgika-mahattara-chāru-⁴
 chāra-bhaṭa-hastyaśvārōbha(ha)ka-prabhṛitīḥ |⁵
 6 yuktaka-niyuktakām svān=ā(a)nyām[ś=cha] yathāsāmva(ba)dhyamānakān=
 samanuvō(bō)dhaty=astu vah saṁviditām yathā padma-pattā⁶
 7 sthita-jala[va] taralā śrī dṛisṭa-nashṭaṅ=cha jivitām⁷ | ⁸Padmapatra-jalaviṇḍu-
 chāmchalam jivitavyam=akhilās=cha sampadaḥ |
 8 ity=avētya jagataḥ sthiti[m*] nripāḥ kim dhanaiḥ kuruta dharmmam=animdyah⁹
 || Pallavāgra-jalaviṇḍu-chāmchalē klēsa-
 9 jāla-parivēśhitē bhavē | yō na chintayati karmma-satpatham tasya janma
 bhavat=iha nihphalam¹⁰ || ēvaṁ sarvvam=adhruva-
 10 m=ālō[kya] dharmmo matih sthāpyatām || Tan=mayā ¹¹svabhujōpārjita-
 Nakshisapurachaturāsitikā-prativa(ba)ddhō Jayapur-ā-
 11 bhidhānō grāmā¹² Māgha-śuklapaksha-shashṭhyām¹³ upōpya(shya) gandha-dhūpa-
 pushya(shpa)-dīpa-snāna-vilēpan-ōpalēpana-[sanmā ?]-¹⁴
 12 rjana-khaṇḍasphuṭita-sudhā-kūrcchak-ādi-śūśru(śrū)shā-kṛitē sva-mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=
 cha¹⁵ aihik-āmushm[i*]ka-puṇya-yaśō-
 13 bhivṛiddhayē bhagavataḥ sarit-Kaṇavirikā-taṭ-āvasthita-Sahasradidhitē śrīmatas=
 Taru[nā]dityadēvāya¹⁶ bhakti-bhā-
 14 vita-manasā¹⁷ udak[ā*]tisarggēṣa dharmmadāyō nisṛisṭaḥ pratipāditaś=cha || Yasya
 pūrvvataḥ Sihavāhalaka-grāma-
 15 simā maryādā[ā*] [i*] dakṣiṇataḥ Rā[jyastha]la-grāma-simā maryādā |
 aparataḥ Pēḍhillaka-grāma-simā [ma*]ryādā | utta-
 16 rataḥ Amvullaka-¹⁸grāma-simā maryādā | ēvaṁ chaturāghāṭṭa(ṭa)n-ōpalakshitah
 sa-bhōgabhāgaḥ sa-hiraṇy[ā*]dānaḥ
 17 sa-daṇḍadāśāparādhaḥ sa-simāparyantaḥ s-ōdra[m*]gaḥ sa-vṛikshamālākulaḥ
 sa-parikaraḥ chōllakavainivai-
 18 gikakōshyadi-sahitaḥ¹⁹ āchāṭabhaṭapravēsa-varjito²⁰ bhūmichchidra-nyāyēna
 dharmmadāyō nigri(sri)shṭaḥ ||
 19 Asya bhūmijātō bhōjāpayataḥ kṛishataḥ karshāpayatō vā asmad-vamśajair-anyair=
 vvā bhōkṭribhiḥ

¹ Read, probably, -prasādikṛita.² Read -sry-.³ Instead of this word which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere, I should have expected here, next to daṇḍapāsika, as in other grants, -chaurōddharanika.⁴ It is just possible that the two aksharas chāru were struck out in the original, and that the intended reading therefore is -chāra-bhaṭa.⁵ Read -prabhṛitin=āyuktaka-niyuktakām.⁶ Read -pattā-sthita-jalavat=taralā śrīr=.⁷ Read jivitam.⁸ Metre of this verse and of the next: Rathōddhatā.— Read Padmapattra.⁹ This of course cannot be right, but the actual reading does not suggest to me a suitable conjecture.¹⁰ Read nishphalam.¹¹ Originally svābhū^o was engraved, but the sign for d has been struck out.¹² Read grāmō.¹³ Read -shashṭhyām=.¹⁴ Read -sammārjana.¹⁵ Read =ch=.¹⁶ Read, in accordance with the preceding, ^odēvasya.¹⁷ Here and in other places below the rules of sandhi have not been observed.¹⁸ Read Amvullaka; in line 54 of the grant B. the name is spelt Amvullaka.¹⁹ This term, the reading of which is quite clear in the photograph, I am unable to explain. The word chōllika occurs above, Vol. III. p. 267, l. 23; and Prof. Hultzsch draws my attention to Vol. VI. p. 88, note 9.²⁰ One would have expected here āchāṭabhaṭapratēśaḥ, and some other term ending with varjitaḥ (like, e.g., pūrvadatta-dēvabrahmadāya-varjitaḥ).

- 20 pratishê[dhò] na karanīyaḥ pālayitavyas=cha || yataḥ sām[ā*]nyam bhūmidāna-
phalam=avēty=āyam=asmad-dā-

Second Plate.

- 21 yò=numantavyô smat-prīty=ābhyarthanayā cha pālaniya iti || Tathā ch-ôktam
[bha]gava-
22 tā vyāsê(sē)na¹ Vyāsēna || ²Yān=iha dattāni purā narēndraiḥ dānāni dharm-
ārtha-yasā-
23 s-karāṇi | nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kò nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadita ||
24 ³Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidāḥ | [ā]chchb[ē]ttā ch=
ānumantā cha [tāny=ē]-
25 va narakē vasēt || Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājanaiḥ⁴ Sāgar-ādibhiḥ |
yasya yasya yadā [bhū]-
26 mis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ || ⁵Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi ⁶shashṭir=vvarsha-
sātāni [cha] | [gavām kōṭi-pradānē]-
27 na bhūmi-harttā na śudhyati || Viṁdhy-ātavishv-atōyāsu(su) śushka-kōṭara-
vāsinaḥ | [kṛishṇāhayō hi jā]-
28 yantē bhūmi-dāyam haratti(nti) yē || Sva-dattām para-datt[ām*] vā .ya[tn]ād=
raksha narādhipa | mahīm mahībh[ṛitām śrēshṭha]
29 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ || ⊙ || Ava(tra) sākshī vra(brā)hmaṇa-Dēhaḍa-suta-
Bhāvah | tathā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-[Kau . ?]-
30 nara-suta-Nāgēsvaraḥ || tathā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Jajjaka-suta-Hariḥ || tathā
vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Bhā[skara]-suta-
31 Vāsudēvaḥ || tathā vaṇik⁶ Nōgha-suta-Isuvaḥ | tathā vaṇik⁶ Nāga-suta-
Pā[ha]llah || ta-
32 thā ⁷vaṇi-Jēulla-suta-Nannakaḥ | tathā vaṇak⁶ Saṁgama-suta-Dēuthaḥ || tathā
śa(ma)hattara-Draṁ[g]iya-
33 suta-Sihaḥ | tathā mā(ma)hattara-Gōvāsa-suta-Ajainaḥ | tathā mahattara-Gōvāsa-
suta-Mēha[ri]pa[ka]-
34 ḥ | tathā mahattara-Dhūra-suta-Kaṇhakaḥ || Likhitaṁ ch=aitan-mi(ma)yā kula-
putraka-⁹Datta-suta-[Dhā ?]-
35 [r]ādi[tyē]n=ēti || ⊙ || Śrī-Valabhi-samvat 574 Māgha-suddha 6 || ⊙ ||
36 Sva-hastō=[tra] śrī-Va(ba)lavarmmaṇaḥ || ¹⁰ sva-hastāḥ śrī-Dhūka¹¹ || ⊙ ||

B.—PLATES OF AVANIVARMAN II. YOGA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 956.

TEXT.¹²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹³ [|*] Jayaś=ch=ābhy[u*]dayaś=cha || Jayati¹⁴ jagatām prasūtir=viśv-ātmā
sahaja-bhūshanaṁ nabhasaḥ | drutaka-
2 nakasadṛiṣa-daśasatamayūkha-māl-ārchataḥ¹⁵ Savitā || [1*] ¹⁶Ast=iha sārō va(ba)hir=
amtarā cha chchhidraiḥ pari-

¹ Read, probably, *śādayāśna*.

² Metre: Indravajrā.

³ Metre of this verse and the rest: Ślōka (Anusṭubh).— Read *śashṭim varsha*.

⁴ Read *rājadhī Sagar*.

⁵ Read *śashṭim varsha*.

⁶ Read *vaṇig-N°*.

⁷ Read *vaṇig-J°*.

⁸ Read *vaṇik-Sam°*.

⁹ The same word occurs e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 161, line 69.

¹⁰ This mark, which does not look like a letter, apparently represents the signature of Dhūka.

¹¹ One would have expected *-Dhūtikasya*. See line 52 of the grant B.

¹² From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

¹³ Denoted by a symbol.

¹⁴ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁵ Read *-māl-dhūtaḥ*.

¹⁶ Metre: Indravajrā.

- 3 tō na vipatrasātaḥ¹ | bhēdyah parair=n-aiva mahīpatinām Vā(chā)lukya-
nām=āpara-tuṅga-[vaṁ]śah || (||) [2*] ²Va(ba)bhūva-
4 tuti(s=ta)[tra] mahā-mahīpatī mah[ā*]-matī Kalla-Ma[ha]lla-samjūitau | yayōḥ
sitā kirttir=upāgamad=gu-
5 naiḥ parām prasiddhiḥ(m) satata[m*] sunirmalaiḥ || [3*] ³Saubhrātrañ=cha
yayōr=āśi(sī)d=anyōnyam=avibhita(nna)-
6 yō[h*] || (||) kalavappapamāmyātām⁴ Rāma-Lakshmanay[ō]r=iva || [4*] Msdhyā⁵
nripāpām suvibhūyi(śhi)tānām
7 rarāja Kallaḥ kula-ki[r*]tti-yu[kta]ḥ | kâ[m*]tyā mahatyā sthirayā śriyā
va(cha) kalpadrumāṇām=i-
8 va pārijāta[h] || [5*] Rājya[m*] ma[chra] ?⁶ mahīpatau guṇagaṇ-ālamkārabhūte
sati kshīṇā[rā]ti-pa-
9 rākram-ān[v]ita-tanau nirbhātika⁷ śāsati | lōkânām=abbavan=manō rati-yuta[m*]
dharmma-pra-
10 [dh]āna[m] sadā tushṭir=[vva(bba)ndhu]janasya gaṇnya-janitā dānañ=cha
satyattisha(?)⁸ || [6*] ¹⁰Tasmān=mahīś[ā*]d=vi-
11 tatōkavīrttiḥ¹¹ lakshmi-nidhānam śaraṇam guṇānām || (||) śauryasya bhūmir=
vvasatir=mmatīnām
12 rājairjabbhāma(?)¹² tanayā(yō) va(ba)bhūva || [7*] ¹³Valgattyaraggamātuga-
mattamātāṅga-duggamān | yach-cha-
13 ṇḍadaṇḍatasrastāḥ śatratō=śīśriyan=vana || [8*] Ajani¹⁴ tatō=pi śrīmām[ngā ?]-
hukadhavalō¹⁵
14 mahāvu(nu)bhāvō yaḥ | dha[r*]mmam=avann=api nityam raṇōtyamō(?) |
nīnasadramam¹⁶ || (||) [9*] ¹⁷Rājādhira-
15 ja-paramēśvara-bhūminā[th]ān=yas=tān=api svabhuja-vīrya-vaśād=vijig[y]ē |
16 nīstramēsanibhrayavilū[ji]ripūttimāgair=avjair=ivē kshīti-talam

Second Plate; First Side.

- 17 samarē puvinya || [10*] ¹⁸Kunta[thā ?]śāsi[ha]si-pa[ch]ura-nara-kari-prājā(jya)-
valgat-turaṅgam

¹ Read *vipatrasākhah*, i.e. both *vi-pattra-sākhah*, 'without leaves and branches,' and *vipattra-sākhah*, 'whose branches protect from misfortune.' A bamboo (*vaṁśa*) has leaves and branches. But the Chālukya race (*vaṁśa*) is a different kind (*apara*) of *vaṁśa*, one that has no leaves and branches, i.e., in the other sense of the adjective, it is a race the branches of which protect from misfortune. Similarly the other epithets in the verse suggest other differences between the two kinds of *vaṁśa*. The word *apara* of the last Pāda is practically equivalent to *apūrva*, which is employed in a similar verse above, Vol. III. p. 298, line 6 of the text. *Apara* is used in the same way (not in the sense 'before which no other excels') in the verse in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 193, line 10.

² Metre: Vamśastha.

⁴ Read *kuladharmma-samāyātām*.

⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ Read, probably, *nirbhātika*.

¹⁰ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹² I am unable to give the name of the chief, concealed in this corrupt passage. The verse would be right if we were to read *Rājendra-nāmā*, but I am not sure about this conjecture.

¹³ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).— Read the verse: *Valgat-turaṅgamāt=tuṅga-matta-mātāṅga-duggamāt | yach-chaṇḍadaṇḍatasrastāḥ śatratō=śīśriyan=vana* || For *chaṇḍadaṇḍa* see above, Vol. VI. p. 10, v 20.

¹⁴ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁵ Here again I cannot give confidently the name intended in the original. The right reading may possibly be *śrīmām=Vāhukadhavalō*.

¹⁶ Read *raṇ-ōdyatō=nīnasad=Dharma*. The name at the end of the verse undoubtedly is *Dharma*.

¹⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.— Read the second half of the verse: *nīstrimma-nīdayarilāna-ripūttimāgair=abjair=iva kshīti-talam samarē pravīdhyā* ||

¹⁸ Metre: Sragdhara.— Read *Kuntaprasāsihasta*.

- 18 **Karṇāṣṭam** śai(sai)nyam=ājò(jau) bhayarahita-manā bhūriśò=bhu(nu)praviśya |
 êkâki khaḍga-
 19 yashtyâ drutam=atisitayâ¹ yò=rimûddhi-pravâha[ru] vâh-ârûḍhò=vagâḍham kamala-
 20 vanam=iva śrattyâ-khêda² lulâva || [11*] ³Tasmâd=amjâyata sutò svanivarmma-
 nâmâ śaurya-pratâ-
 21 pa-vinay-âdi-guṇantapêtaḥ⁴ | sannâbhavad=bh[ri*]śam=imâm=avatâ dharitrim=
 anvarthatân=nijam=a-
 22 nîyata yêna nâma |(II) [12*] ⁵Avaniva[r*]mmani ya[tra] sukarmmani
 vyathita-śâtravamarmmani varmmmani(?) [I]
 23 yuvati-nirmita-narmmani bhûpatò(tau) na janatâbhir=aśa[r*]mmani śa[m*]kitam ||
 [13*] Tasya⁶ sūnur=ajan=iha
 24 sukarmâ ,mitra-va(ba)ndh[u]janamâhira-⁷śa[r]mmâ | kîrttitò vidita-śâtravamarmâ
 yò janair=abhi-
 25 dhayâ **Va(ba)lavarmmâ** || [14*] ⁸Satatam=avitath-òktiḥ snâna-jâpy-âdi-śâ(śi)lâḥ
 prañayisatasahasrâ-
 26 dhina-vistirṇṇasampat | bbrijasuru-⁹vihit-âśò yaḥ sad=ârabhya vâ(bâ)lyâtvî(t=Tri)-
 nayana-charaṇ-â-
 27 rchchâśilavân=samprajâtam(h) |(II) [15*] Prathita-karituramgam śâtanistrimśa-pâṇiḥ¹⁰
Vishadham=avaśa-
 28 m=iśaḥ sâdhu jivâ samîkê [I*] sthiritaram=uruḍhakkâ-yugmam=âśu draḍḍhiyan¹¹
 śruti-sukha-
 29 dam=akhinnò yò=grahin=ma[m*]dra-nâdam || [16*] Chatura-turaga-durggân=samtyati
 dhvasta-śâtru[h*] sphuṭa-
 30 m=iha jagatîśân¹² **Jajjap-âdîn=nihatya** | prasabham=abhimanasakò yò vyadhata
 [ksh]jitîśò
 31 bhuvanam=idam=ahinò Hûṇa-vamśêna hînam || [17*] Kuvalayadala-nêtraḥ
 sannat-âmsasthalâ-¹³
 32 kaḥ | prakatam=**Ava[n]ivarmmâ** [n]âma tasy=[â]tmaj[ò]=bhût | prithula-
 kaṭir=udâraḥ kshâma-ma-
 33 dhyas=tathâ yò vidita iha jagatyâm **Yôga-nâmn=âparêna** || [18*] Samgrâmê¹⁴
Yâkshadâsa[m*] va(ba)la-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 34 m=a[kh]ilam=api¹⁵ dhvamśayitvâ pravirò yaḥ samjagrâha tûryam paṭutara-
 ninadam Sâgarakṣôbha-
 35 nâma | yasy=âlamkâra-bhûtâm¹⁶ jita-ripu jagrihuḥ pattayò=pi pratîśḥ
 śamkha-[chchha]tra-dhvajadi-¹⁷
 36 n=ahamahamikayâ mu(yu)ddha-bhûmim praviśya || [19*] Kôḍaṇḍa-dhvasta-dhârâ-
 śara-kara-nakharê vi[kra]m-âva(ba)ddha-
 37 chittê lilâbhim(nu)-ânyaśê(sò)nâ-samadagajaghaṭâ-tumbhatumgasthalikê¹⁸ | yasmin=
 â[kra]mya bhûmim

¹ Read =atisitayâ yò=rimûddha-.

² Metre: Vasantatilakâ.— Read Tasmâd=ajâyata.

³ Metre: Drutavilambita.

⁴ Metre: Svâgatâ.

⁵ Metre of verses 15-18: Mâlinî.

⁶ Read divja-guru-.

⁷ Read draḍḍhiyân=.

⁸ Read jagatîśân=.

⁹ Read sannat-âmsasthalikâḥ pra^o.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 19 and 20: Sragdharâ.

¹¹ The syllable pi was originally omitted and is engraved in the margin.

¹² Read -bhûtân=.

¹³ Read -chchhattra-dhvaj-âdi-.

¹⁴ Read -tumga-kum̐bhasasthalikê | yasminn=.

¹⁵ Read srasta-khêdam.

¹⁶ Read -guṇair=upêtaḥ.

¹⁷ Read -bandhujanat-âhita-.

¹⁸ Read -pḍḍir=.

- 38 [sthi]tavati hi nijā¹ sikhavad=Yakshadāsa-[kshô]ñip-ādyaiskumragair=iva² ripu-
nivahaiḥ dūrataḥ sam-
39 pranēśe || [20*] ³Vyômnā yāmtam=adhikam mṛgay[ā*]-priyô yaḥ satva⁴ na
muñchati sa kim Dharanivarāhaḥ [j*] maty=ô-
40 ti [vô]mpuruhayā⁵ sahas(s)=aiva yasya dūrân=nanâmēa⁶ matimām Dharanivarāhaḥ
|| [21*] ⁷Khaḍga-khaṇḍita-dhaṇḍāra[m]⁸
41 ruṇḍa-muṇḍaigha-⁹maṇḍitaṁ | ya'r=ājibh[ā*]ji jaṭi[ti] sasapāpai¹⁰ rapāṁganaṁ ||
[22*] ¹¹Narapatim=amuṁ muktva
42 kâlô kalau sati sa[m*]prati trijagati paritrātum śaktô na kaśchid=ap=iha
mām | su[ja]na-niva[hô] ma-
43 tv=êtiva nnatikamavi[kra]ma¹² śaraṇa-manasaṁ śrīmantam yam samāśrayad=
u[chehr]jita[m*] || [23*] Tēna¹³ prava(cha)ṇḍamaruda[bhra]-
44 chalā[m*] vi[bhûtiṁ ?] [padmasth ?]itāmvy(bu)kapikā-ta[ra]lātan=āsû[n]¹⁴ |
vidy[u*]dvilāsa-va(cha)palāñ=cha vichi[m*]tya la-
45 kshamīm prāvartyata sphuṭam=ayaṁ kshitiḍāna-dba[r]mmaḥ || [24*] Sa cha
mahāsāmanta-śrī-Yôga ēvam=u[kta ?]vān patha¹⁵
46 ¹⁶sapramn=ēv=ābhisaṁvadhyaḥkām svān=anyāms=[cha] gāmibhāvi-bhūpālāms=cha
samanuvô(bô)dhaty=astu
47 vaḥ samviditaṁ yath=āsmābhiḥ pratāpaprāṇata-samastasāmanta-śô(mau)limāl-ārchita-
charaṇay-
48 galasya śasādhakarakanikar-āmalayāsa[h*]pravāha-dhavalita-dharāvalayasya
samihitābhya-
49 dhikaprādān-ānandita-vamdivṛind-ōpagiṣamāna-samastagunaganasya paramabhaṭṭāra-
50 ka-mah[a*]rājādhirāja-parami(mē)śvara-śrī-Bhōjadi(dē)va-pādānu d h y ā t a - p a r a m a -
51 bhaṭṭāraka-mahār[a*]jādhirāja-jaramēśvara-śrī-Mah ē m d r a p ā l a d ē v a - p r a s ā -¹⁷

Third Plate.

- 52 pāda-prasād-āvāpta¹⁸ tanti(nni)yukta-tam[tramdra?]pāla¹⁹-śrī-Dhīka-pratīva(ba)ddhais=
ta-
53 d-anumatyā cha Śau(sau)rāshṭramāṇḍal-āntahpāti-Nakshisapurachaturā(ra)ṣīti-
prati-

¹ Read *nijām simhavat*.² Read *ādyaḥ kuraṁgair=iva ripu-nivahair*.³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.— The general meaning of the verse clearly is that a certain Dharanivarāha, for whose identification see above, p. 3 f., was put to flight by, or fled before, Avanivarman. But I am not sure about every detail of the verse.— The first words of the verse perhaps are either *vyômn=āpu yāmtam* or *vyômnā prayāmtam*.⁴ Read *sattvam*.⁵ I cannot correct this.⁶ Read *nanāsa matimān*.⁷ Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).⁸ Read, probably, *-daṇḍāram* (in the sense of 'elephant').⁹ Read *-muṇḍ-ougha*.¹⁰ Read *śastra-pāṇau*.¹¹ Metre: Hariṇi.¹² Read *Trivikrama-vikramam*.¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹⁴ Read *-taralāms=tath=āsūn*.¹⁵ Read *yathā* (?); but the words *ēvam=uktavān yathā* would be quite out of place here.¹⁶ Read *sarvān=ēv=ābhisaṁvadhyaṁakān=svān=anyāms=ch=āgāmibhāvi*.¹⁷ These two *aksharas* (the first two syllables of the word *prasāda*) are quite out of place here. In agreement with the preceding adjectives one would have expected *-Mahēndrapālādēvasya*, but the writer proceeds as if the whole preceding passage, commencing with *pratāpaprāṇata*, were a single compound, qualifying *Mahēndrapāla-dēva*.¹⁸ Here, in my opinion, some words have been omitted. As the text stands, we do not learn from it what the chief Yôga had received from Mahēndrapāla.¹⁹ The two *aksharas* in brackets are quite doubtful. I can only suggest that the intended reading may possibly be *-tadantapāla*.

- 54 va(ba)ddha¹-Amvulak-ābhidhāna-grāmaḥ sa-vṛikṣhamālākulaḥ sa-simāparyan[t*]aḥ
 55 sa-bhōgabdhāgaḥ sa-hiraṇyādānaḥ sa-daṇḍadaśāparādhaḥ sābhajamānavēṣhṭikāḥ²
 56 sakala-rājakiyānām=ahastaprakṣhēpaṇima(ya) ā-chaṁdr-ārṣh(rkk)-ārṇava-kṣhiti-
 sarit-par[vv]ata-sama-
 57 kālinaḥ³ ih=aiva Jayapura-grām-ābhyāsē Kaṇavirikā-sarid-upakaṇṭhē nivish[t*]a-
 Ta[ru]ṇā-
 58 dityadēvāya khaṇḍasphuṭita-suka(dhā)-dugdha-k⁴[r]chchaka-snapana-vilēpana-pushpa-
 dhūpa-dīpa-t[ai]la-nē(nai)vē-
 59 dya-dārik-ādy-upakṛitayē m[ā*]tāpitṛrōr=ātmanaś=ch=[ai]hik-āmushmika-punya-yaś[ō]-
 bhivṛiddhayē bhūmichchidra-
 60 nyāy[ē*]na pravi(ti)pāditaś=tad=ayam svadha[r*]mmadāya-nirthi(rvvi)sēpra(sha)ḥ
 pālāya(yi)tavyō śnuna(ma)ntavyaś=cha || yaśya(sya) ch=ā-
 61 ghāṭanāni pūr[vv]atō Viyaraka-grāma-simā | dakṣhiṇatō Jayapura-grāma-
 sinā(mā) || aparataḥ Sē-
 62 ṇḍuvaka-Kōriṇṭhaka-grāma-simē | uttarataḥ Vavulika-grāma-simā | tad=ē[na]m
 chaturāghāṭanō(na)-pari-
 63 kṣhīpta-grāmam bhūmijātō bhōjayataḥ kṣha(kṛi)shataḥ karsha[ya]taḥ pratidiśa-
 tē(tō) rā(vā) na kaischa[n=ā]lp=āpi paripam-
 64 thanā vyāsē⁴ vā kāryaḥ | yataḥ sāmānyasanapalam=avity=⁵āsmat-prityā pālāniya
 ita(ti) || Tathā d(ch)=ō-
 65 ktaṁ Vyāsē(sē)na | ⁶Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājani(bhi)ḥ Śa(sa)gar-
 ādibhiḥ [i*] yaśra⁷ yanyā yadā bhūmīsusa tasya ta-
 66 rā palam || ⁸[Y]ān=iha dahā[na]⁹ purā narēndrair=ddānāni¹⁰ |
 mmārśragraśaskarāni | nirmālyavāna-prati-
 67 māni tāni kō nāma śā(sā)dhuḥ punar=ādadīta ||
 68 Samvat 956 Māgha-śudi 6 [||*]

No. 2.—VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF PURNAPALA;

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1099.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

About the year 1840 the stone, which bears this inscription, was taken by Captain T. S. Burt from a tank at Vasantgaḍh¹¹ in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, and the inscription was published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. X. p. 664 ff., from a very unsatisfactory transcript prepared by Paṇḍit Kamalākānta. For a long time the stone seems to have been lost sight of; but it has lately been rediscovered by my indefatigable friend, Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udai-pur, and is now deposited at the town of Sirohi. I re-edit the text from impressions which have been kindly sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

¹ Read *°ddh-Āmbulak*. In line 16 of the grant A. the name is spelt *Āmullaka*.

² Read *śōtpadyamānaviṣhṭikāḥ* (or *°śāṣhṭikāḥ*, which occurs often elsewhere).

³ Read *kālina*.

⁴ Read *vyāsēdhō*.

⁵ Read *sāmānyam dāna-phalam=avētya*.

⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁷ Read *yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs=tasya tasya tadā phalam*.

⁸ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁹ Read *dattāni*.

¹⁰ Read *°ni dharm-ārtha-yasas-karāni | nirmālyavāna-ānta*.

¹¹ Vasantgaḍh (Basantgaḍh) apparently is situated to the east of Mount Ābū, but I do not find it on the map of the Rājputāna Agency. At or near the same place an important inscription of the time of king Varmalāta, of the [Vikrama] year 682, has lately been discovered.

The inscription contains 23 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. At the upper proper right corner part of the stone is broken away, so that between about 15 and 2 aksharas are missing at the commencement of lines 1-9. Otherwise the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty nearly throughout. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{16}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters generally differ little from the ordinary Nāgari, but they include a few signs which are peculiar to the earlier northern inscriptions. The letter *b* everywhere is denoted by a sign of its own, and the secondary *ā* is often written by a superscript line; once (in *Tvaṣṭuḥ=prasāddāt*, l. 13) we have the sign of the *upadhmānīya*; and once (in *bhāryām*, l. 12) the conjunct *ry* is made up of the full sign for *r* and the secondary form of *y*. Between verses 32 and 33 and at the end of the text a conch-shell has been engraved, and between verses 33 and 34 a circular ornament. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *asy=ānvayō=pi* and *nagar-ānvayō=pi* in lines 8 and 13, the whole is in verse. Both the language and the verses often are incorrect, and as a piece of literary composition the inscription is worthless. Here, to show how very limited was the author's knowledge of grammar, I need only point out forms such as *nāmam*, l. 5, *vēsmam*, l. 9, *vēsmāih*, l. 14, and *vyōmā*, l. 21 (for *nāma*, *vēśma*, *vēśmabhiḥ*, and *vyōmni*), from passages regarding the reading of which there cannot be any doubt. And what liberties were taken by him, simply for the sake of the metre, in the spelling of words, may be seen from instances like *Pūrṇapāla*-, l. 7, *saṁdhi*-, l. 19, *svapāna*-, l. 15 (for *Pūrṇapāla*-, *saṁdhi*-, *sūpāna*-), etc.¹

The object of the inscription is, to record that a queen named *Lāhiṇī*, a younger sister of the *Paramāra Pūrṇapāla* and widow of a king *Vigraharāja*, at *Vaṭa*² (*Vaṭa-nagara*, *Vaṭa-pura*) restored an ancient temple of the Sun, and restored or founded a tank (*vāpi*), apparently the very tank where this record has been found. And the inscription is divided into three parts, the first and second of which give the genealogies of *Lāhiṇī* and *Vigraharāja*, while the third glorifies the town *Vaṭa* and the pious work executed there by the widowed queen. The whole is introduced by two verses, in one of which (so far as it is preserved) the author pays homage to *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*), *Prāchētasa* (the poet *Vālmiki*), and *Vāṇī* (the goddess of eloquence), while in the other he invokes the protection of the god *Hari* (*Vishṇu*).

Verse 3 relates that through the anger of (the sage) *Vasishṭha* there was produced a youth or prince (*kumāra*) from whom the *Pramāra* (or *Paramāra*) family took its origin.³ In his lineage there was *Utpalarāja*; from him sprang *Āraṇyarāja*, and from him *Adbhutakṛishṇarāja*. His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son) was *Mahipāla*, and from him sprang *Dhandhuka*. To *Dhandhuka* there was born from his wife *Amṛitadēvi Pūrṇapāla*, who ruled the *Arbuda* territory (*bhū-maṇḍalam=Arbbudasya*).⁴ In his reign, his younger sister *Lāhiṇī* was married by king *Vigraha* (*Vigraharāja*).

Vigraharāja's genealogy, in verse 12, commences with a twice-born named *Yōṭa*, who by his bravery acquired the title of king (*bhūpa*). In his lineage there was the king (*nṛipa*) *Bhava-gupta*, who, after restoring the temple of 'the Sun dwelling at *Vaṭa*' (*Vaṭa-vāsi-bhānu*), reigned at *Vaṭa*. In his lineage, again, there was *Samgamarāja*, who ruled *Badari* in *Vamśāratha*. From him sprang *Durlabharāja*; from him, *Chacha*; and from him, *Vigraharāja*, who, as stated

¹ The author's mistakes have been more fully pointed out in the notes on the text. The inscription emphatically teaches us that the mistakes which may be found in an inscription need not necessarily be ascribed to the writer or engraver.

² In line 9, verse 13, the word is used in the plural (*Vaṭēṣhu*), and in the inscription of *Varmalāta*, mentioned above, the place appears to be called *Vaṭakarasthāna*.

³ See e.g. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 190, verse 13. In the present inscription we have the name *Pramāra* in verse 8, and *Paramāra* in verse 10. The name is written *Pramāra* also in the unpublished *Bhārūṇḍa* inscription of *Pūrṇapāla* of the [Vikrama] year 1102, of which I possess impressions.

⁴ In the *Bhārūṇḍa* inscription mentioned in the preceding note *Pūrṇapāla* is said to rule the *Arbuda-maṇḍala*. The inscription actually has *śrīmarudamaṇḍalam prasiṣati*.

already, married Lāhīni. After his death, his widow went to her brother's home, and was settled at the town of Vata which in the course of time had fallen into decay.

The town of Vata (Vata-nagara, Vata-pura) is glorified in verses 20-25.¹ Here it will be sufficient to say that it is stated to have been founded by the sage Vasishṭha, that it was situated on a river named Sarasvatī, and that its inhabitants are described as devoted to the worship of the Sun. That the queen Lāhīni restored there an ancient temple of the Sun and restored or founded a tank, has been already mentioned.

The inscription (according to verses 33 and 34) was composed by the Brāhmaṇ Mātrīśarman, the son of Hari and engraved by Śivapāla, the son of the *sūtradhāra* Dēuka, who was the son of Durga (Durgārka, i.e. Durgāditya), the son of the *sthāpati* ('architect, carpenter,' etc.) Naga. It ends (v. 35) with the date: the ninth *tithi* of the dark half of the month Nabha, i.e. Śrāvaṇa, the moon being in (the *nakṣatra*) Mrigaśiras, of the year (given in words) 1099 in the time of Vikramāditya, 'in the place' (*sthānakē*) of Chitrabhānu. By this last expression I understand the author to say that the date fell in the Jovian year Chitrabhānu. This year can be combined with the Vikrama year 1099 only, when the latter is taken to be the expired *Chaitrīdī* Vikrama year 1099, and Chitrabhānu to be the Jovian year so named according to the southern system.² For that year the date would correspond to the 12th August A.D. 1042, when the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Śrāvaṇa ended 10 h. 46 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mrigaśirsha by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise. The date is the earliest date of the Vikrama era that quotes a Jovian year, and, with the exception of quite modern dates, the only Vikrama date in which a Jovian year is quoted according to the southern system. It also is the earliest known date in which we find the expression *Vikramāditya-kālē*.

The Pramāra or Paramāra chiefs mentioned in this inscription ruled the Arbuda-maṇḍala, i.e. a tract of country called after Arbuda, the modern Mount Ābū. They are probably closely connected with the Paramāras of Chandrāvati, mentioned, e.g., above, Vol. VIII. p. 201. Regarding Vighararāja and his ancestors I cannot offer any remark.

The places Vata and Badari in Vamśārathā (v. 14) I am unable to identify. Vata must be an old place, being mentioned already in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmaśāla of the [Vikrama] year 682, and in a somewhat earlier inscription which was found at the village of Sāmoli in the Bhōmaṭa district of Mēvād, and of which Mr. Ojha has sent me impressions. If not identical with Vasantgaḍh itself, it must be looked for close to it.

TEXT.³

- 1⁴ [Ma]hēśvara[m] || [P]rāchētasam tathā Vāpīṇ=
praśastis=sukṛitā mayā || [1*] ⁵Jyōtir=jyōtividām savaḥ sava-dhiyām dhishṇyam
param varchhasām || bhaktānām dhauadaḥ smṛitaḥ kalushahā sa-
2 — — — — || — — — — [m=a]sainvṛitam matimatām dātā cha sat-
karmmanām || pāyād=vō Vasu-Siddha-Kinnara-nutas=trailokya-dipō Hariḥ || [2*]
⁶Vasishṭha-kōpāj=janitaḥ kumāraḥ Pramārat=āvāpa ya.⁷

¹ The exact meaning of verse 20 is not clear to me, and there is a doubtful passage in verse 23.

² By the northern system Chitrabhānu lasted from the 11th September A.D. 1039 to the 6th September A.D. 1040. As *Soc. Beng.* Vol. X. p. 671; I quote from it only a few passages, to show what that text is like.

³ About 15 or 16 *akṣaras* are broken away at the commencement of the line. Ed. has *Pranāmya Hari-putr[ā]na kēvā Mātrīśarmanā sukṛitādhātavām Vāntām*, i.e. 'with the exception of the word Vāntām, is a pure invention, suggested by verse 33 of the text — Mr. (shubh).

⁴ Metre — *arddhavīṛitā* — *Jyōtividām* for the sake of the to *ardhā*.

⁵ Metre of verses: *gāndhārī*,

⁶ I, apparently, from the text

⁷ From the text of *baṇḍāḍ*, *jaṇ* *Pramārat* seems to have been

- vijitya lōkân || [15*] ¹Dvijhvaripuvâhanô lalanakântarâmânvitah || kulôchchaya-
krittōnnatir=vvīdhritachârulakshmi-
- 11 vapuh || svapaurushadhritâvanir=balanivishṭachakrô vâhân || babbûva nṛivarôttamah
sa nararûpadhriṇ=Mâdhavaḥ || [16*] ²Prôtphullasitakamala-mukhâm karatala-
sukumârapamkaja-nibhâ[ng]im || Śriyam=iva kulajâm râjñi-Lâhīnim=ûdha-
- 12 vâm³ sah || [17*] Bhâryâm⁴ sa ch=âvâpya guṇaiḥ samêtâm chitt-êpsitâm=vai⁵
bubhujê cha bhôgam || s=âpi priyam prâpya patin=tu rêmê yadvach=Chhach=
Îndrêṇa samam varêmê⁶ || [18*] Asmin=mrîtê bharttari daiva-yôgâd=bhrâtur=
griham s=âpi gatâ viyuktâ || âvâsitâ vai nagarê Vaṭê=smin=daivât=pra-
- 13 hiṇê bahuśah kramêna || [19*] || Nagar-ânvayô=pi⁷ || || Taptam tapam⁸
Vâruṇin=âpi yattra nyagrô[dha-sakt-â]śrama-mâpavasya⁹ || sthânê=rkka-Bharggau
svanatô¹⁰ Vasishṭhō mukti-pradau sthâpitavân=varishṭhaḥ || [20*] Tadvad=Vaṭ-
âkhyam nagaram vanê=smin¹¹ Tvasṭuh=prasâdât=kṛitavâm¹²
- 14 n=Vasishṭhaḥ || prâkâra-vapr-ôpavanais=tadâ[g]aiḥ prâsâda-vêśmaiḥ¹³ sughanam
sutumgaib || [21*] ¹⁴Śrutimantr-ôdam=akshobhyam shaḍamgâvaritta-samkulam ||
vêd-ârṇavam dvijâḥ samyag=yattra tîrtv=âpy=agarvvitâ[h] || [22*] ¹⁵Lôkair=
ddharmma-paraiḥ svakarmma-nirataih sadbhiḥ sad=âvâsitam ||
- 15 vṛityartham¹⁶ [cha sa ?]mâgataih pratidiśam nityam vapigbhīr=vṛitam || [pau]-
râlaih¹⁷ paṇikâjanair=vyasanikaih sū(sû)rair=jjanaiḥ samkulam || Indra-sthânam=
iv=âparam Vaṭa-puram kshôṇi-talê samsthitam || [23*] ¹⁸Svar-udgatâ yattra
sarit=Sarasvati svapâna-pamkt=iva¹⁹ nṛinâm
- 16 nimajjatâm || supuṇyapushpôdakaphêna-vâhinî dvij-âśramânâm jananevadhishṭhitâ²⁰ ||
[24*] Yê²¹ sarvvam=pâlayantê nagarahita-ratâḥ²² nṛtimantah prasântâḥ ||
dêvân=viprân=yajantê kanakadhanamahivastraratnâdi-dânaiḥ || khyâtir=yêśhâm cha
nityam tri(tri)bhuvana-
- 17 valayê sad-guṇair=êva nitâ || tê=smin=paurâḥ samastâḥ sakalajana-hitâ Bhânavê
bhaktimantah || [25*] ²³S=âttr=âgatâ Lâhīni-nâma-râjñi bharttur=vyiyôgâdhi-
nipiditâmgî || asmin=purê vipra-janaiḥ samêtya triptâ [tu] têśhâm [va]chanât=
prabuddhâ || [26*] Bhâ-
- 18 nôr=griham daiva-vasâd=vibhagnam Vâsishṭha-pauraiḥ sukṛitam yad=âsīt ||
vainâśi²⁴ sarvvam saba jîvitêna jñâtvâ griham kâritam=âśu Bhânôḥ || [27*]

¹ Metre: Pṛithvī.

² This apparently is intended for an Āryā verse, but it is quite incorrect. Ed. omits the whole or it.

³ Read *vân=sah*.

⁴ Metre of verses 18-21: Indravajrâ.

⁵ Read *-êpsitâm vai*, or, perhaps, *-êpsitâm vai*.

⁶ Read *varêna*.

⁷ Instead of these words and of the first half of the following verse Ed. has *Vasishṭharâjô=pi atr=âstâ=atô=yam Vasishṭharâjânvyô'pi (jâtamatrâpâ Vâruṇinâpi) atra nyagrôdhasy=âśramah*.

⁸ Wrong for *tapô*.

⁹ The intended reading may be *-Mâdhavasya*, but I am not sure about the meaning of the verse. Some legend, which is unknown to me, seems to be referred to.

¹⁰ Read *sva-natau*, or, perhaps, *sva-matau*.

¹¹ Read *=smin=s=Tva*.

¹² Read *=kṛitavân=Va*.

¹³ Wrong for *-vêśmaiḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹⁵ Metre: Śârdûlavikṛidita.

¹⁶ Read *vṛityartham*.—The *sa* in the following brackets seems to be engraved below the line.

¹⁷ There is hardly any doubt here about the actual reading, but the text must be incorrect. I cannot suggest a satisfactory emendation; Ed. has *paurânair=gaṇikâjanair=*.

¹⁸ Metre: Vamśastha.

¹⁹ Wrong for *sôpâna-pamktir=iva*, which would not have suited the metre.

²⁰ Read *janan=iva nishṭhitâ*.

²¹ Metre: Sragdharâ.

²² Read *-ratâ*.

²³ Metre of verses 26-30: Indravajrâ.

²⁴ Wrong for *vindâsi* (or *vainâsikam*), which would not suit the metre.

- ¹Suslishta-samdhim ruchira[m] supadam sail-eshtakam cha sthira-singha-karnnam² || yadvad=Dhimadris=sikharais=cha tadvat=kritva
- 19 niketam Vata-vasi-bhanoh || [28*] Loka-prap-aishā sukritā cha vāpi suslishtasamdhī-ghatitōtpalā³ cha || sōpāna-pamktyā suśubhē(bhā) subaddhā nīsrē(érē)ni-bhūt=ēva divaukasasya || [29*] Dēvaiḥ samastair=ri.ṇi)shibhiś=cha jushṭā pāpāpahā vyāpya jagat=sthitā yā || jirṇuō-
- 20 dhṛitā⁴ Lāhīni-punyahētōḥ Sārasvatī śēsha-janasya vāpi || [30*] Nishpādyā⁵ sukritau kṛitvā⁶ artham datvā⁷ punaḥ-punaḥ || vaināsīkam=idam ch=ānya[j*]= jñātvā lokasya charppitau⁸ || [31*] ⁹Yāvad=gaur=llōka-dh[ā*]tri pravahati [pa?]rutō¹⁰ yāvad=arkō=ntarikshē || yāvad=vichyas=sa-
- 21 mudrē pavana-vidhunitāḥ¹¹ samitatāḥ prōchchhalanti || yāvad=vyōmē¹² suśighram pracha[la?]ti mihira-syamḍa(da)nasy=aika-chakraṁ || vāpy-ōkau tāvad=āstām=¹³ uḍukara-sadṛīṣau śrēyasē kārakasya || [32*] || ¹⁴Kṛit=ēyam Hari-puttrēṇa Mātrīśarmma-dviijanmanā || śastir=llōka-hitā-
- 22 rthāya Lāhinyās=cha¹⁵ hit-aishinā || [33*] ¹⁶Āsich=cha Nāgāt=sthapatēs=tu Durggaḥ || Durggārkkatō Dēuka-sūtradhārah || asy=āpi sūnuḥ Śivapāla-nāmā || yēn=ōtkṛit=ēyam¹⁷ suśubhā praśastih || [34*] ¹⁸Navanavatir=ih=āsīd-Vikramāditya-kālē || jagati
- 23 daśasātānām=agratō yattrā pūrṇā [i*] prabhavati Nabha-māsē sthānakē Chittrabhānōḥ || Mṛigaśīrasi śāsāmkē kṛishṇa-pakshē navamyām || [35 ||*]

No. 3.—ALUPA INSCRIPTIONS AT UDIYAVARA.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

The ancient royal family of the Ālupas is one of those whose early history is wrapped in obscurity—'carent quia vate sacro' as Horace (*Carm.* IV. 9) expresses it. All that was until recently known regarding them will be found on page 309 of Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. A few additional records of them were published by Mr. Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The Ālupas or Ālūvas are referred to in inscriptions of the two Western Chalukya kings Pulakēsin II.¹⁹ and Vinayāditya, of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III.,²⁰ and of the Kādamba Jayakēsin I., and the poet Bilhana mentions them in connection with his patron Vikramāditya VI. They are thus proved to have existed as a ruling family in the period from the seventh to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

As regards the name Ālupa, Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that it 'seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar coast.'²¹ This is very improbable, because Āluvāy (Alwye) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Ālupas are

¹ Ed. omits this verse.² Read -*siṃhakarnnam*.—This word *siṃhakarna* apparently is a technical term, relating to architecture.³ Read -*ghatitōpalā*; the preceding *samdhī* for the sake of the metre stands for *samdhī*.⁴ Read *dhṛitā*.⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁶ Observe the hiatus.⁷ Read *datvā*.⁸ Read *ch=arppitau*.⁹ Metre: Sragdhārā.¹⁰ Read *puratō*(?).¹¹ For the sake of the metre for -*vidhūnitāḥ*.¹² Wrong for *vyōmni*, which would not have suited the metre.¹³ This *āstām* is wrongly used here for *āstām* (from *ās*) or *syātām* (from *as*).¹⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁵ The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) *ś*.¹⁶ Metre: Indravajrā.¹⁷ *Utkṛitā* wrong for *utkṛitā*.¹⁸ Metre: Mālinī.—Ed. omits the last Pāda of the verse and has instead of it *sa* 1099.¹⁹ See now above, Vol. VI. p. 10. ²⁰ See below, p. 16 and note 7.²¹ *History of the Dekkan*, p. 51, note 3.

found in South Canara, Kaḍūr and Shimoga. The original meaning of the word *Ālupa* or *Ālva* is probably 'a ruler,' from the Dravidian root *āl*, 'to rule.'

A few individual names of kings are preserved to us. The Sorab plates of *Vinayāditya* were issued at the request of *Guṇasāgar-Ālupendra's* son *Chitravāha-Mahārāja*, who was in possession of the district (*viśhaya*) of *Eḍevolal* in the N.E. of *Banavāsi* in North Canara.¹ According to the Harihar plates of *Vinayāditya*, which are dated two years after the Sorab plates, another village in the district (*bhōga*) of *Eḍevolal*, forming part of the *Vanavāsi-maṇḍala*, was granted at the request of *Ālvarāja*,² i.e. perhaps *Chitravāha-Mahārāja*. The same two princes (*Guṇasāgara* and *Chitravāha*) may be meant in an inscription at *Kigga* in the *Koppa tāluka* of the *Kaḍūr* district,³ which states that, when *Ālvarasa*, whose second name was *Guṇasāgara*, was ruling the *Kadamba-maṇḍala*,—*Ālvarasa*, (his) great queen and (his son) *Chitravāhana* made a grant to a local temple.⁴ Another inscription (*Kp. 37*), which is on the other face of the same stone, is dated while some *Chitravāhana* was ruling *Ponbuchchu*,⁵ the modern *Humcha*.⁶ Finally, an inscription at *Māvaḷi* in the Sorab tāluka of the *Shimoga* district states that in the time of *Prabhūtarsha Gōindarasa*, i.e. the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king *Gōvinda III.*, a certain *Chitravāhana* ruled the *Āluvakhēḍa* six-thousand, while *Rājādityarasa* ruled the *Banavāsi-maṇḍala*.⁷

If the *Chitravāhana* of the first *Kigga* inscription was really the same person as the *Chitravāha* of the Sorab plates, it would follow that the *Ālupa* or *Ālva* prince *Guṇasāgara* was governor of the *Kadamba-maṇḍala*, i.e. the *Banavāsi* province, in or immediately before the time of the Western Chalukya king *Vinayāditya*, and that *Guṇasāgara's* son *Ālvarāja Chitravāha* or *Chitravāhana (I.)* granted two villages in the district of *Eḍevolal*, which formed part of the *Banavāsi* province, during *Vinayāditya's* reign. Consequently *Chitravāhana I.* seems to have succeeded his father *Guṇasāgara* in the government of *Banavāsi*. In the time of *Gōvinda III.*, however, the *Banavāsi-maṇḍala* had been taken from the *Ālupas* and was entrusted to *Rājāditya*, while the *Āluvakhēḍa* six-thousand was administered by a second *Chitravāhana*, who on the strength of his name may be assumed to have belonged to the *Ālupa* family. To judge from the *Māvaḷi* inscription, he proved troublesome and had to be coerced by the force of arms. That *Chitravāhana*, whom the second *Kigga* inscription mentions as residing at *Humcha*, may or not be identical with this *Chitravāhana II.*, but must be distinct from *Chitravāhana I.*, whose capital was most probably *Banavāsi*. If this identification is correct, *Ponbuchchu*, the modern *Humcha*, would have been the head-quarters of the *Āluvakhēḍa* six-thousand, which in a later record is mentioned as *Ālvakhēḍa* among the boundaries of the *Poysaḷa* kingdom.¹

Mr. Rice's volumes contain many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient *Ālupas*. These are the *Chaṅgāḷvas*,⁹ *Koṅgāḷvas*,¹⁰ *Nāḍāḷvas*,¹¹ *Sāntaras*,¹² and the rulers of *Kalasa* and *Kārkaḷa*.¹³

In the course of a tour in 1901, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., discovered a number of archaic Kanarese pillar inscriptions of the *Ālupas* at *Udiyāvāra* near *Uḍipi* in the South Canara

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 147. A facsimile of the Sorab plates has since appeared in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. p. 92 of the Translations.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 302, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI. Dg. 66.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 38.

⁴ A further remark on the same inscription will be found below, p. 21, note 3.

⁵ The Kanarese text has *pinduvāḷe* for *Ponbuchchu=āḷe* in the Roman text.

⁶ See p. 17 below.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Sb. 10, with Plate facing p. 3 of the Roman texts.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Cm. 160, line 5.

⁹ *Id.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 16; Vol. V. p. viii; Vol. IX. p. 19.

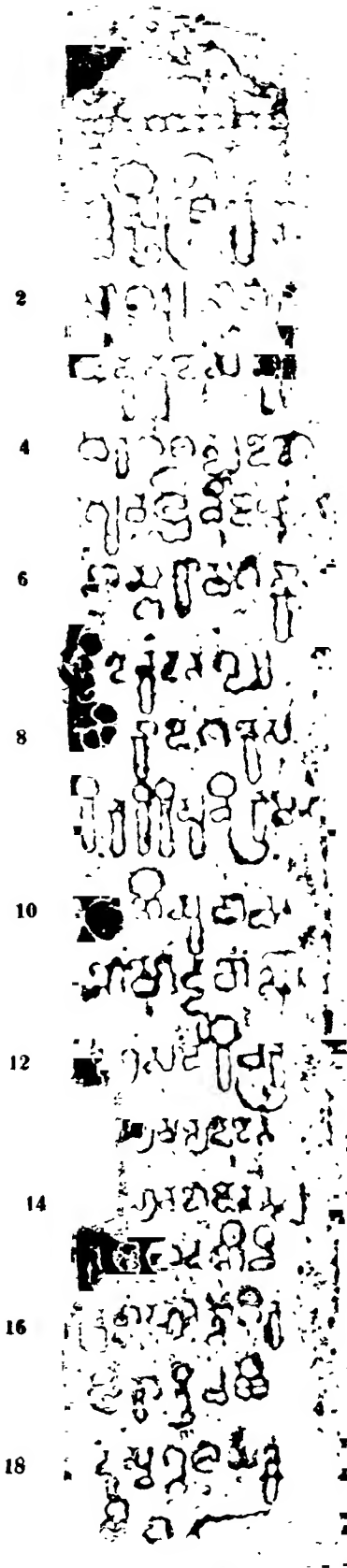
¹⁰ *Id.* Vol. V. p. vii; Vol. IX. p. 18.

¹¹ *Id.* Vol. V. p. vii.

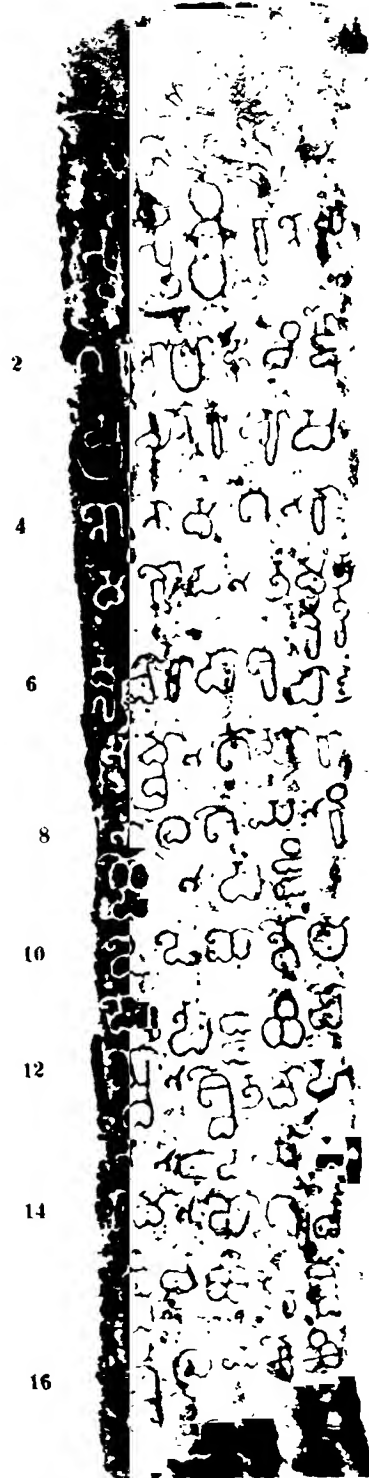
¹² *Id.* Vol. VI. p. 10; Vol. VII. p. 17; Vol. VIII. p. 6. Compare *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458 and note 2.

¹³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 19. Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff. and Vol. VIII. p. 124 ff.

I. — Scale one-sixth.



II. — Scale one-fifth.



district. Of these records I now edit the eight most complete and important ones. Regarding some difficult points in them I have consulted my old friends Venkayya and Krishna Sastri, whose remarks proved of much assistance in unravelling the meaning of these enigmatical ancient documents.

The first five Udiyâvara inscriptions are on *Vīrakals*, i.e. stones set up as memorials of deceased heroes; the remaining three refer to grants of tolls. The three first inscriptions must all belong to the same period; for Nos. I. and II. mention a certain *Raṇasāgara*, and Nos. II. and III. one *Śvêtavāhana*. These two names and, in addition to them, *Chitravāhana* in No. I. look like those of *Āḷuva* princes, among whom we have already found a *Gunaśāgara* and two *Chitravāhanas*. As the alphabet resembles that of the *Māvaḷi* inscription,¹ we may identify the *Chitravāhana* of No. I. with *Chitravāhana II.*, who ruled the *Āḷuvakhēḍa* six-thousand in the time of *Gōvinda III.* Consequently Nos. I.-III. must be assigned to about A.D. 800. From the first few lines of No. I. we learn that *Chitravāhana II.* seized *Udiyâvara* in the course of a war with *Raṇasāgara*, who seems to have been a rival claimant to the throne. Nos. II. and III. refer to the storming of *Udiyâvara* by *Śvêtavāhana*, and No. II. records the death, on this occasion, of a follower of *Raṇasāgara*. From this it may perhaps be concluded that, after the time of the inscription No. I., *Raṇasāgara* succeeded in ousting *Chitravāhana II.*, but that, later on, he was in his turn defeated by *Śvêtavāhana*, who may have been a near relative of *Chitravāhana II.*

The remaining *Udiyâvara* inscriptions date from the reigns of the two *Āḷupa*, *Āḷuva* or *Āḷva* kings *Prithivisāgara* (Nos. IV.-VI.) and *Vijayāditya* (Nos. VII. and VIII.) *alias Māramma* (No. VII.). It is impossible to say at present how these two princes were connected with *Chitravāhana II.*, *Raṇasāgara* and *Śvêtavāhana*. But, as the alphabet of their inscriptions agrees with that of Nos. I.-III., they must be assigned to about the same period.

In each of the eight subjoined inscriptions *Udiyâvara* is referred to by one of its older names *Udayâpura* (Nos. V. and VIII.), *Udayapura* (Nos. II., III., VI., VII.) or *Udeyapura* (Nos. I. and IV.). In the three last it is mentioned together with *Paṭi* (No. VI.), *Pombuḷcha* (No. VII.) or *Ponvuḷcha* (No. VIII.). *Paṭi* and *Pombuchcha* are known to have been ancient names of the modern *Humcha* in the *Nagar tāluka* of the *Shimoga* district.² This *Humcha* seems to have been the capital of the *Āḷupa* kings. For an inscription at *Kigga* is dated while *Chitravāhana (II.)* was ruling *Ponbuchchu*.³

I.—Inscription of *Chitravāhana (II.)* and *Raṇasāgara*.

This inscription (No. 94 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the *Śambhukallu* temple at *Udiyâvara*. It records that a follower of *Chitravāhana (II.)* met with his death when the 'lord of the earth' (*viz.* *Chitravāhana*) occupied and entered *Udeyapura (Udiyâvara)* 'during the trouble of *Raṇasāgara*,' i.e. in the course of a war with the latter.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Raṇa-
- 2 sāgaranā śam(sam)ka-
- 3 ṭadu|=Udeyapuram
- 4 dhareg[ī]śan=paḍe-po-
- 5 guvalli Vijaya-
- 6 nāygarā magan=Kā-

¹ See above, p. 16 and note 7.

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 126.

³ See p. 16 above.

- 7 ltide kadan-aggha-
- 8 li kâlega-kêsa-
- 9 ri kariripu-vikraman
- 10 aṇiyu[|*] dâva-
- 11 ṇam=odḍuvon=sâ-
- 12 basad=ari-chakra-
- 13 [vyû*]haman=odedon
- 14 [â*]havad=ode[da]n=pa-
- 15 ra-[ba]lad=aṇi Chi-
- 16 travâhanarggâgi ka-
- 17 li-kânti eṇi-
- 18 dn svarggâlayakk=ê-
- 19 ṇidon [|*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When during the trouble of Raṇasâgara¹ the lord of the earth² occupied and entered Udeyapura,—Vijāṇanâya's³ son Kâltide, (*who was*) eminent in war, a lion in battle, brave as a lion, applying a cattle-rope⁴ to the array (*of his enemies*), breaking the body of bold hostile armies, breaking in battle the array of the enemy's forces, ascended to the abode of heaven, having fought⁵ (*with*) the splendour of a hero on account of Chitravâhana.

II.—Inscription of Raṇasâgara and Śvêtavâhana.

This inscription (No. 108 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar lying near a well in the back-yard of Râghavêndrabhaṭṭa's house at Udiyâvara and commemorates the death in battle of a follower of Raṇasâgara. He fell while Udayapura (Udiyâvara) was entered by Śvêtavâhana, whom I take to have been the victorious opponent of Raṇasâgara. The dead warrior is described as a zealous devotee of the 'lord of Paṭṭi,' and he and his two immediate ancestors as adherents of the 'Pâśupata lord.' Paṭṭi (or Pombuchcha) is the modern Humcha.⁶ It may be concluded from the present inscription that this town was the seat of the head of a Śaiva maṭha.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [|*] Raṇa[sâ]-
- 2 garanâ âṇu Viñjan
- 3 Pra[hâ]rabhûsha-
- 4 ṇanâ magan Kâ-
- 5 makôḍan tammuttu-
- 6 mûvarâ Pâśupâ(pa)taṁ
- 7 namvrân g=ôva[do]râ

¹ I.e. 'the trouble caused by Raṇasâgara.'

² Viz. probably the Chitravâhana mentioned in l. 15 f.

³ Nâya is a *tadbhava* of nâyaka.

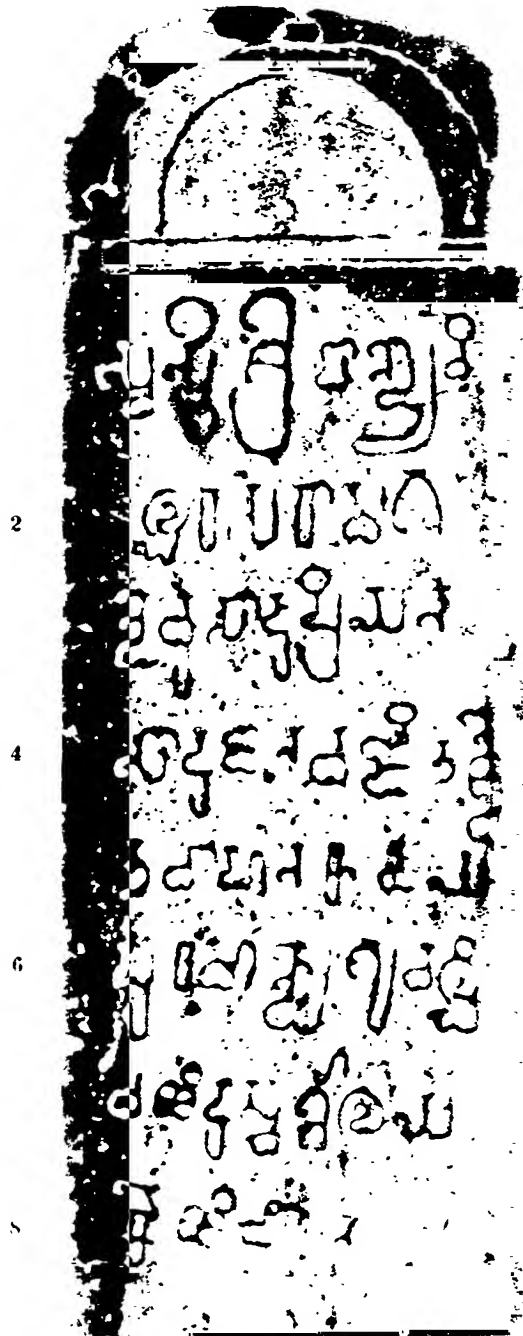
⁴ With *dâvanam=odḍu* compare *dâvaṇi kaṭṭu*, 'to tie cattle in a row to a long rope fastened by two pegs,' in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*. Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 134, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introduction, p. 19, note 1. *Dâvaṇi* is a *tadbhava* of *dâmant*, 'a long rope to which calves are tied by means of shorter ropes' (Monier-Williams).

⁵ Here and in the four next inscriptions *eṇi* is the same as *iri*, 'to strike, to stab.'

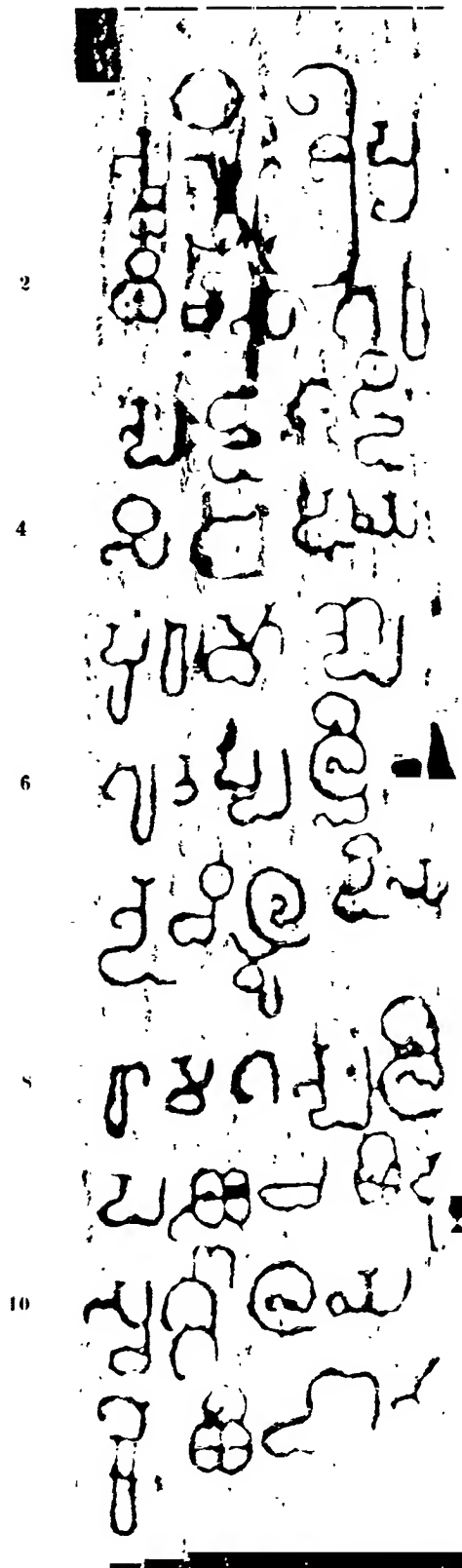
⁶ See p. 17 above.

⁷ As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *namvrâ* is meant for the Tamil *nambirda*, 'lord' (literally: 'our lord'); read *nambirda*.

III. - Scale one-third



IV. - Scale one-fourth.



- 8 nālageyan ki(ki)-
- 9 lpon Paṭṭi-
- 10 oḍeyong=¹ôâ(va)-
- 11 doran=paṭṭ-ali-pā-
- 12 yvon Śvêtavâha-
- 13 nan Udayapu-
- 14 ramân poguva-
- 15 lli eṛidu śva(śva)-
- 16 rgga(rggâ)layakk=êṛi-
- 17 [don] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvêtavâhana was entering Udayapura,—Rajasâgara's servant, Viñja Prahârabhushana's son Kâmakôḍa, who pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Paṣupata lord of those three persons themselves,² (and) who seized, destroyed and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Paṭṭi, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*).

III.—Inscription of Śvêtavâhana.

This inscription (No. 105 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the same house as the preceding inscription and commemorates the death of another hero on the same occasion.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrî [||*] Pāṇḍyavi-
- 2 llarasarâ maga-
- 3 n=Dêvu sâdu(dhu)-priyan=a-
- 4 sâdu(dhu)jana-varjitan=Śvé-
- 5 tavâhanar=Udaya-
- 6 puramân=poguvalli
- 7 eṛidu svarggâlâya-
- 8 kk=êṛidon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvêtavâhana was entering Udayapura,—Pāṇḍyavillarasâ's son Dêvu, (*who was*) beloved by the good (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*).

IV.—Inscription of Pṛithivisâgara.

This inscription (No. 103 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the south-west corner of the court-yard of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyâvara. It forms the memorial of a warrior who was killed when Pṛithivisâgara stormed Udayapura (Udiyâvara) after his coronation.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrî [||*] Pṛi-
- 2 thivisâgara-

¹ Read *oḍeyong* =.

² I.e. the Pâṣupata priest whose adherents Kâmakôḍa, his father Prahârabhushana (and his grandfather) Viñja were. I owe this explanation to Dr. Fleet. With *tammuttu-mâvar* compare *tammui-ayvar* and *tammui-aruvâr* in Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, p. 241. Dr. Fleet has noted the similar expression *tammutt-irbbâr* or *tammutt-irbbor*, above, Vol. VI. p. 161, note 7.

- 3 n-pattam gatti-
- 4 si Ud[e]ya-
- 5 puramân-po-
- 6 gutappalli Na-
- 7 ndavilmuḍiya-
- 8 râ magan=Pali-
- 9 pare epidu
- 10 svarggâlaya-
- 11 kk=êridon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Prithivisâgara, having had (*himself*) crowned, was entering Udeyapura,—Nandavilmuḍi's son Palipare, having struck down (*his enemies*), ascended to the abode of heaven.

V.—Inscription of Prithivisâgara.

This inscription (No. 101 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple and records that another follower of the Âlupa king Prithivisâgara fell at the storming of Udayâpura (Udiyâvara).

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Prithu(thi)visâgara
- 2 śrīmad-Âlupendra dushta-bhaya-
- 3 âkararge ishṭa-bhṛityan=appa Po-
- 4 lokku Priyachelva [U]da[yâ]-
- 5 puraman pugutappa-
- 6 lli âha[pa](va)-ra[nga]du[=]uru-
- 7 bhaṭara [e]ridu Priyache-
- 8 lva chelva-saṇpanna¹ ka(kha)la-
- 9 [ja*]na-varjjitan dharegi(gî)-
- 10 [śa*]nge ôvadora pata-
- 11 [t]iya alidu suralô-
- 12 kakke êridan [i*] Keleya
- 13 Vâ[e]ṛeyan nīṣida [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Polokku Priyachelva, who was the beloved servant of Prithivisâgara, the glorious Âlupendra, the terror of the wicked, was entering Udayâpura,—(*this*) Priyachelva, (*who was*) endowed with beauty (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the world of the gods, having struck down great warriors on the stage of battle (*and*) having destroyed the foot-soldiers² of those who were not attached to the lord of the earth.³ (*His*) friend Vâṛeṇya set up (*this memorial stone*).⁴

VI.—Inscription of Prithivisâgara.

This inscription (No. 102 of 1901) is engraved on another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. It opens with the name and *birudas* of the Âlupa or Âluva king

¹ Read -*saṇpanna*.

² As Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests, *patati* is perhaps a *tadbhava*, used collectively, of *padati*.

³ I.e. the Âlupa king Prithivisâgara.

⁴ Rai Bahadur Venkayya would prefer to take *ere* as synonymous with the Tamil *īrai* and to translate: "Keleya set up (this stone representing) a chief (with) a sword (in his hand)."

Prithivisâgara, who claimed descent from the lunar race and bore the surnames Udayâditya and Uttama-Pâṇḍya, and records that he confirmed a previous grant of tolls to the two cities (*nagara*) of Udayapura (Udiyâvara) and Paṭi. The last is evidently the same as Paṭṭi, the modern Humcha.¹ The imprecatory passage at the end of this inscription and of the two next ones (VII. and VIII.) mentions two sacred places: Vâraṇâsi and Śivavaḷḷi. The former is of course the modern Benares. Regarding the second, Mr. Krishna Sastri contributes the following information:—

“The Shivalli (Śivaḷḷi) sect of Brâhmanas in South Canara take their name from this place. In the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III. p. 610, we are told that the town Oodipy (Uḍipi), ‘considered the most sacred spot in the Canarese country,’ is ‘formed of parts of Badagabett, Moodanidambore, Poollore and Shivully villages.’ In the *Madras Postal Directory* Shivalli figures as a village served by the Uḍipi post office.”

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pṛidhu(thi)visâgara
- 2 śrīmad-Âḷupēndra Sôṃavaṃśô-
- 3 dbhava kulatilakan Udayâditya
- 4 Uttama-Pâṇḍya śrīmad-Âḷuvara[sa]-
- 5 r-B[ô]lgavarmara nâṭu-mudimeyu[li]
- 6 Udayapurada nâ(na)gara-sahitaṃ Pa-
- 7 ṭiya nagarakke jaladuḷaṃ sthala[du]-
- 8 ḷaṃ suṃkam=ardha-dâna kâdar [!*] Udaya[pu]-
- 9 ranâygara magan=[S]iṃgadattanu[m] Ku[mâ]-
- 10 ra Ereganuṃ Raṇavikrama[nâtha]-
- 11 nu Sandavaradara Kaṇṇachiyu[m] [!*] [I]-
- 12 du a(â)chandrathâ(tâ)rakaṃ nilpu[d=a]ke(kke) [!*]
- 13 Idan=vakram-illâde kâdu sali[po]-
- 14 n=²asvamedhâda pa(pha)la-prâpti aku(kkuṃ) [!*]
- 15 Idan=aḷivon=Vâraṇa(nâ)ṣiyuṃ Si(śi)va-
- 16 vaḷḷiyuman=aḷida paṃcha[ma]-
- 17 ha(hâ)pâtaka-śaṃ(saṃ)yuktar=appar [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! During Bôygavarma's headmanship of the district,³ Prithivisâgara, the glorious Âḷupēndra, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the ornament of (*his*) family, Udayâditya Uttama-Pâṇḍya, the glorious Âḷuvarasa, confirmed the gift of one half (*of*) the tolls both on water and on land to the city of Paṭi, together with the city of Udayapura. (*The recipients of this gift were*)⁴ Udayapurânâygara's⁵ son Siṃgadatta; Kumâra Erega, Raṇavikrama[nâtha], and Sandavarada's (*son*) Kaṇṇachi. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who without fraud confirms and grants this, shall be the acquisition of the fruit of a horse-sacrifice. He who destroys this, shall be covered with the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys Vâraṇâsi and Śivavaḷḷi.

¹ See p. 17 above.

² See Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, § 183, 8.

³ As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *nâṭu-mudime* is the equivalent of the Tamil *nâṭṭu mudumaṇ*, 'the headmanship of a district.' Compare *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 33, where *Kundavarmmarasaṃ mudime geṣe* (this is the reading of the Text in Kannada characters, p. 323) has to be translated by 'while Kundavarmmarasa was headman.'

⁴ The words *idd paḍedor* may be supplied from VII. l. 10, and VIII. l. 10 f.

⁵ See above, p. 18, note 3.

VII.—Inscription of Vijayāditya Māramma.

This inscription (No. 98 of 1901) is engraved on two contiguous faces of another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. Like the preceding inscription, it confirms a previous grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayapura (Udiyāvara) and Pombulcha (Humcha). The Ālupa or Ālva king who confirmed this grant was called Vijayāditya Māramma. Like the Prithivisāgara of the preceding inscription, he bore the surname Uttama-Pāṇḍya and traced his descent from the lunar race. Besides, he claimed the sovereign titles *Paramēśvara* and *Adhirājarāja*.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti śrī [||*] Vija[ly]āditya Ālu-
- 2 pēndra paramēśva(śva)ra ādbir[ā]-²
- 3 jarājan Uttama-Pāṇḍyan=Śō(sō)mavamśō-
- 4 dbhava śrī-Māramm-Ālvarasar [U]³
- 5 Udayapurada naka(ga)ra-sahitam Pombu-
- 6 lchada naka(ga)rakke suṅka kādudu saṅku-
- 7 rakke [pu]ṭṭige ondare maḷavege pa-
- 8 lti padināru palam aḍakeya pē-
- 9 ṅiṅga(ṅge) mūn[ū]ru veḷasina pēṅiṅge
- 10 padina(nā)ru pala[m] [!*] Idā paḍedor Su-
- 11 sēnavadiyara Svarnagōsasi Muttā-
- 12 varara Aḍiyapasetṭiyu Mandukara
- 13 Parasēbyan Sēnavadiyara Nagakumāran [!*]
- 14 Idu a(ā)chandrātāraka[m] nilpud=akke [!*] Ida kādo
- 15 aṭṭagaṇa asva(śva)mēda(dha)da pa(pha)lam=akke [!*]
- 16 Idan=aḷido B[ā]raṇāsiyu Śivavaḷliyu-
- 17 ma aḷida pañcamaha(hā)pātakan=ak[ṇ](kkum) [!*]
- 18 Raṇadhāri-likhita ||⁴

TRANSLATION.

Ōm. Hail! Prosperity! Vijayāditya Ālupēndra Paramēśvara Adhirājarāja Uttama-Pāṇḍya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the glorious Māramm-Ālvarasa, confirmed the tolls (*due*) to the city of Pombulcha together with the city of Udayapura, (*viz.*) per double bag (*of grain*),⁵ one and a half basket⁶ (*of grain*); per *maḷave*⁷ (*of cotton*), sixteen *pala* (*of cotton*); per load of areca-nuts, three hundred (*nuts*); (*and*) per load of pepper,⁸ sixteen *pala* (*of pepper*). They who obtained this (*were*) Sūśēnavadi's (*son*) Svarnagōsasi,⁹ Muttavara's (*son*) Aḍiyapasetṭi, Maṇḍuka's (*son*) Parasēbya, (*and*) Sēnavadi's (*son*) Nagakumāra. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who confirms this, let there be the eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice! (*To*) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys Bāraṇāsi and Śivavaḷli. Written by Raṇadhāri.

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Read *adhirāḍa*.

³ Corrected from *a*. The engraver has for the sake of clearness repeated the *u* at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ In the original the final stop is represented by a four-petalled flower.

⁵ *Sankura* is perhaps the same as *samkara* No. 4 in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*: 'a double sack for manure and grain to be carried on the back of a bullock.'

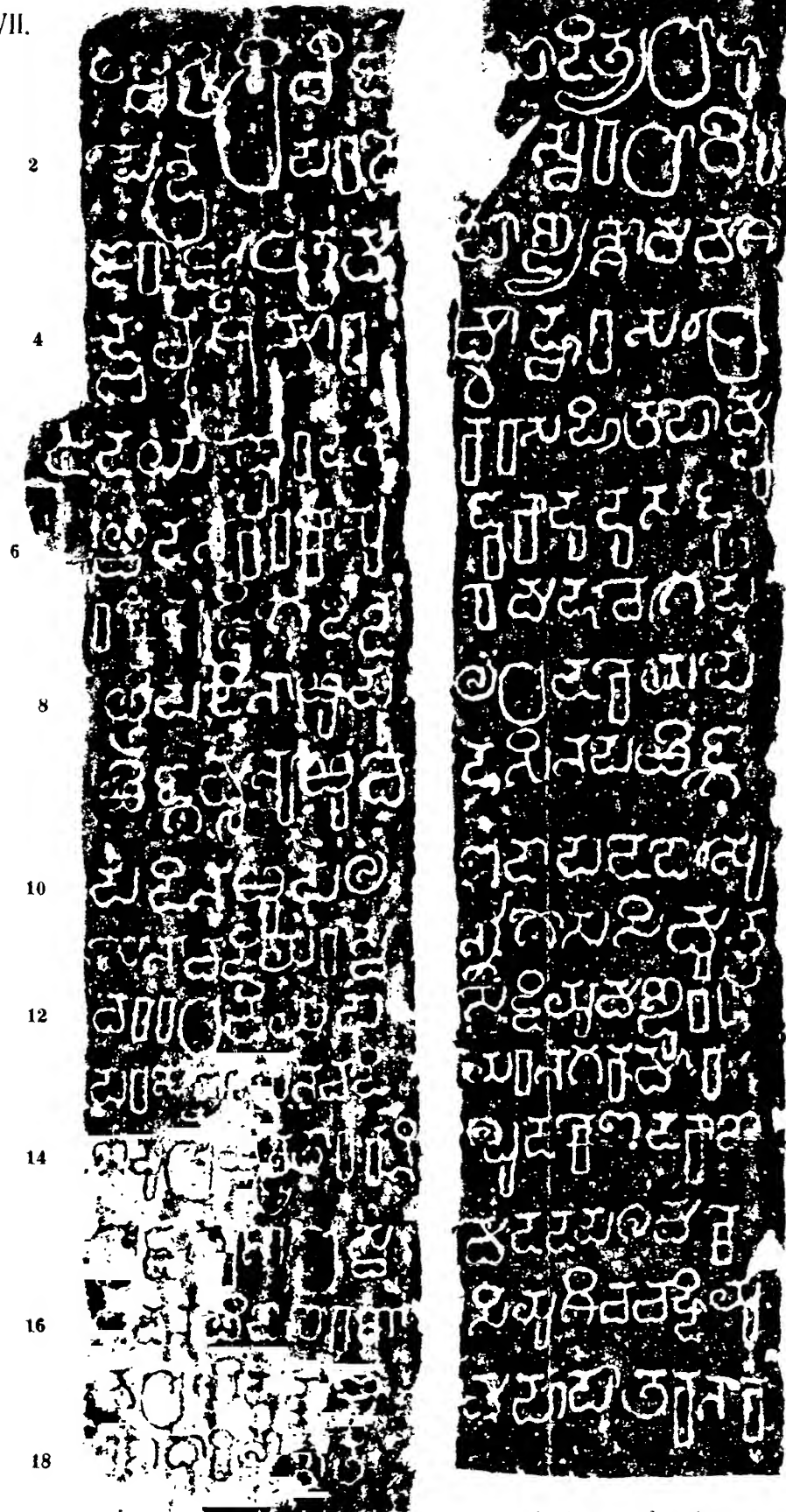
⁶ *Putṭige* is the same as *putṭi*, 'a basket.'

⁷ Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests that this may be another form of *maṇa* or *maṇavu*, 'a maund.'

⁸ Originally I had taken *reḷasu* for *beḷasu*, 'corn.' But as the toll was not levied by measure, but by weight, I adopt Mr. Krishna Sastri's suggestion, who compares *meḷasu*, 'black pepper.'

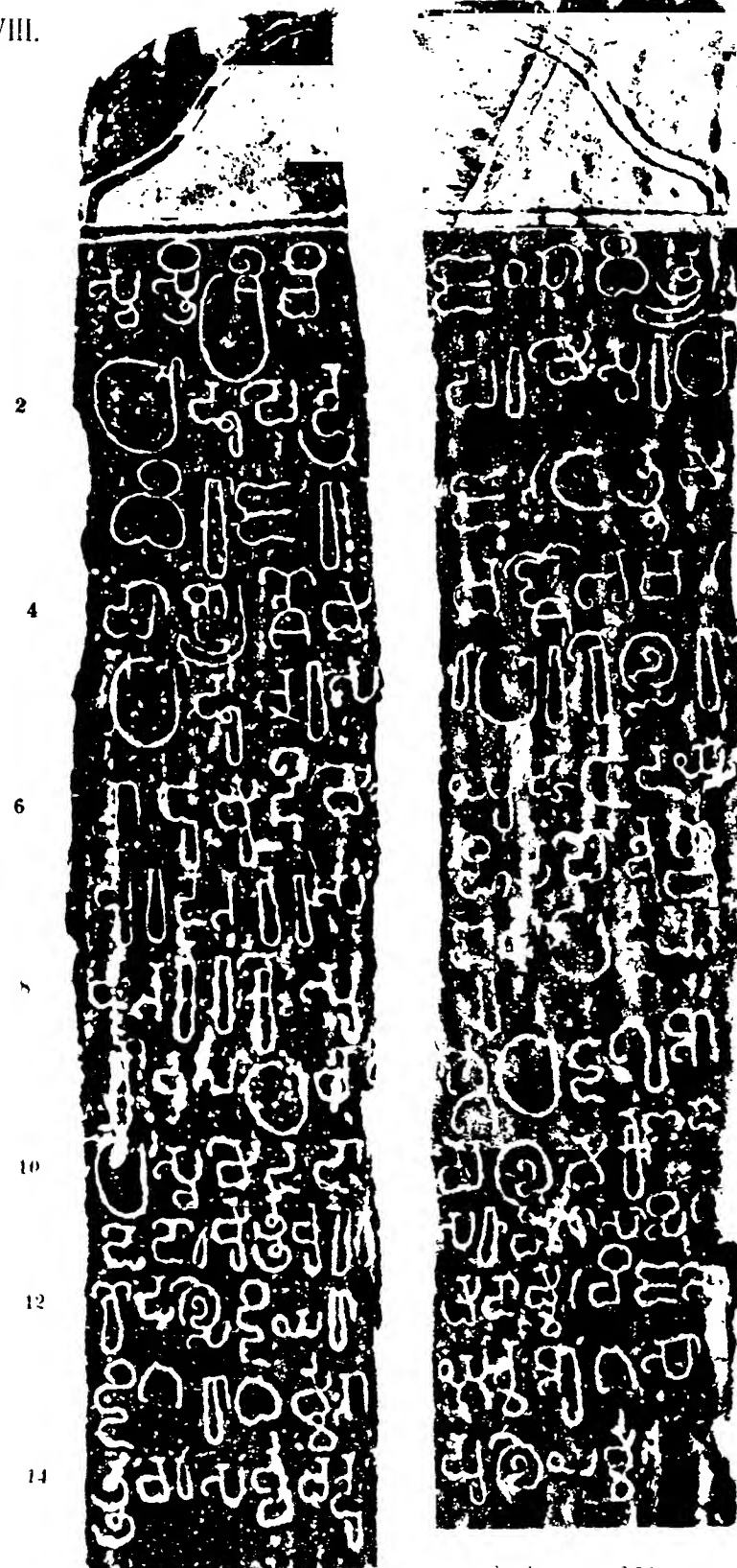
⁹ With *gōsasi* compare *gōśāsiḡa* in the inscription VIII. l. 11, and Dr. Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. VI. p. 255, note 2.

VII.

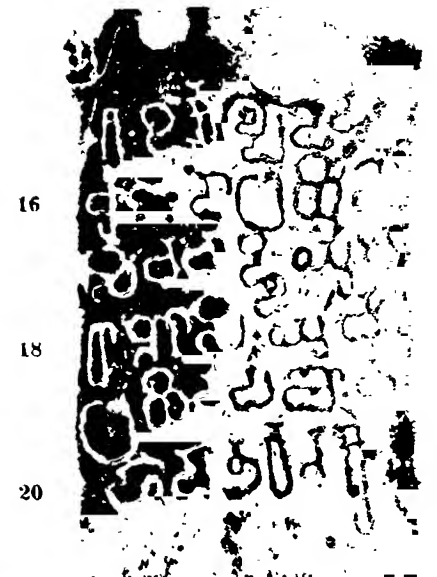


Scale one fourth

VIII.



Scale one-fifth



VIII.—Inscription of Vijayāditya.

This inscription (No. 97 of 1901) is found on the same pillar as the preceding one (VII.). It is engraved on the same two contiguous faces as VII., but begins at the opposite end of the pillar, which must have been placed upside down when the new inscription (VIII.) was incised on it. A third face of the pillar bears six lines of writing (15-20) which appear to be connected with VIII. This circumstance enables us to conclude that VIII. was engraved at a later date than VII. When the writer of VIII. had reached line 14, he was confronted with the end of the inscription VII., and was therefore obliged to finish his copy on another face of the pillar.

The contents of VIII. resemble those of VII. The king is the same; only one of his names, Māramma, is omitted here. He is stated to have confirmed the same grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayāpura (Udiyāvara) and Ponvūcha (Humcha). But the names of the local representatives receiving the grant differ from those in VII. This shows that some time must have elapsed between the incision of both records, although both belong to the same reign.

TEXT.

First and Second Faces.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Vijayādhi(di)tyan
- 2 Ālupēndra paramēśva(śva)ra ā(a)-
- 3 dhī(dhi)rājarājan Uttama-
- 4 Pāṇḍyan=Śōmavañśōbhavan¹
- 5 Ālavarasar Arakellarā
- 6 nāṭu-mudī(di)meṇu Udayā-
- 7 purada naka(ga)ra-sahitam Ponvūcha-
- 8 da naka(ga)rakke suṅkadā ardda(rddha)-[dā]na
- 9 kâ[daha] avargge attaguna
- 10 asva(śva)mēda(dha)dā pa(pha)lam=akkum [||*] Idā
- 11 [pa*]ḍedor Muttavurera² Saruvigōśāsiga
- 12 Koḍalsetṭiyarā Madāmma Vija[s]e-
- 13 tṭigarā Dharmmanāygan=Maṇugasā-
- 14 ttavar Sarvvavandu Puleyarmman [||*]

Third Face.

- 15 Ī okkal=paded[u]-
- 16 vu [||*] Idā alivo
- 17 Sivavāḷḷiyu³ Vā-
- 18 rāṇāsiyuman
- 19 alida pañchama-
- 20 hāpātakan=akkum⁴ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! The eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice shall be to him—Vijayāditya Ālupēndra Paramēśvara Adhirājarāja Uttama-Pāṇḍya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, Ālavarasa—who, during Arakella's headmanship⁵ of the district,⁵ confirmed the gift of

¹ Read =Śōmavañśōbhavan.

² Read Muttavarera, as in VII. l. 11 f.

³ Read Sivavāḷḷiyum.

⁴ The * of kkuṃ is expressed by two different symbols behind and below the k.

⁵ See above, p. 21, note 3.

one half of the tolls to the city of **Ponvuḷcha** together with the city of **Udayāpura**. They who obtained this (*were*) **Muttavara's** (*son*) **Saruvigōśāsiga**, **Koḍalsetṭi's** (*son*) **Madāmma**, **Vijasetṭi's** (*son*) **Dharmanāyga**,¹ **Maṇugasāttava**, **Sarvavandu**² (*and*) **Puleyarma**. These ryots obtained (*it*). (*To*) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys **Śivavaḷli** and **Vārāṇāsi**.

No. 4.—TWO GRANTS OF INDRARAJA III.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 836.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

These two epigraphic documents were first brought to the notice of the students of Indian antiquities by the late H. H. Dhruva, who published a transcript of them with his remarks in the *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 322 ff. They were afterwards edited with lithographs by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with a translation by Mr. (now Prof.) S. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 253 ff. About three years ago, when Prof. Hultzsch first thought of having the inscriptions re-edited in this Journal, no trace whatever of them could be found, and it was on a chance visit to the State Museum at Baroda in 1903 that I saw the plates exhibited there. On my informing Prof. Hultzsch of their whereabouts, he asked Rai Bahadur Venkayya to obtain them on loan through the Resident at Baroda from the Curator of the Baroda State Museum, and I re-edit the inscriptions at the suggestion of Prof. Hultzsch, and from the excellent ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

[Along with the two sets of plates, two seals were received from the Resident at Baroda in December 1903. As the seals had been detached from the plates, it was not possible to ascertain which seal belonged to which inscription. Both the plates and seals on the 7th December 1904, I put them under a microscope. The following is a copy.

[The plates measure on an average 13" by 10". The larger seal bearing both the seals had been cut before they were received in my office. The larger of the two seals measures about 3" by 2½". The ring whose ends are attached at the top of the seal is 3½" in diameter and ½" thick. The seal bears, in relief, a central figure, which is the principal figure, an image of **Garuḍa**—whose wings are distinctly seen—squatting on a seat which is probably meant to consist of two serpents. These appear to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands, each of which is holding a hood. What looks like his sacred thread is perhaps a third serpent. The **Garuḍa** faces to the full front and has on his proper right a representation of **Gaṇapati** in the upper corner, lower down a *chauri*, and below it a lamp. On the proper left in the upper corner is a goddess riding on a lion, and below the lion a *svastika* surmounted by a *chauri*. On each side of the head of **Garuḍa** is a circle which may be meant for the sun and moon. Below the squatting **Garuḍa** is an inscription which is not quite distinct, but which seems to be श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षदेवस्य. Along the margin of the seal is a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a *linga* and an elephant-goad are recognisable. The emblems on the smaller seal, which measures about 1½" by 1½", are also cut in relief on a countersunk surface, but are not quite distinct. The central figure is **Garuḍa**, squatting, as in the bigger seal, apparently on a couch consisting of two serpents, which seem to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands. Each of the hands of **Garuḍa** appears to hold a hood. What looks like his sacred thread may be a third serpent. To his proper right at the upper corner is a representation which may stand for **Gaṇapati**, and below it is a lamp stand. To the proper left in the upper corner is another

¹ See above, p. 18, note 3.

² *I.s.* Sarvabandhu.

projection, which is perhaps intended to represent a goddess. Below the goddess is a lamp stand above a *svastika*. The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the smaller seal measures 3" in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. Two sets of impressions of each of the two inscriptions were sent to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in August 1903.—V.V.]

As regards the find-spot of the plates, H. H. Dhruva, who first edited them, says:—"On the 6th of July 1881, as a Dubla servant of Mulji Khushal, Patel of Bagumrâ, was furrowing the earth with the plough in his field, the ploughshare drew out of it these plates." This clearly shows that the plates were found at Bagumrâ, and consequently we must, as was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn,¹ speak of them as Bagumrâ, and not as Nausârî, charters of A.D. 915.

Each of the two sets consists of three copper-plates, which are, to judge from the impressions, about 13" long and 9" broad. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates, and on both sides of the second plate. The engraving is clear and well executed. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may be drawn to *g* in *gatasya* and *svarggaṃ*, l. 13; to *ñ* in *lāñchhana*, l. 8, and *rājñāḥ*, l. 13; to *m* in *°m=anyat=pu°*, l. 17, *°m=ānandī*, l. 37, and *grāmakūṭa*, l. 46; to *bh* in *bhūpaḥ*, l. 28; and to *s* in *saṃtarppanā°*, l. 57, so far as the first record is concerned; and to *k* in *kānt-ēndu-*, l. 1; to *kh* in *śamkha*, l. 29; to *j* in *saras-ām̐bhōjā*, l. 5, and *jagatī*, l. 7; and to *bh* in *kaustubha*, l. 2, so far as the second record is concerned. The language is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; consonants are doubled after *r*; *visarga* has been (permissibly) omitted once before the following *sth* in *vaksha-sthala*, l. 2 of both grants; *n* has been substituted for *ñ* in *kāñchī*, l. 11 of No. II.; *visarga* followed by *s* has been at least thrice changed to that letter in *Ranavigrahas=samabhava°*, l. 33, *°palakshitas=sōdraṃgaḥ*, l. 51, and *°lakshais=sārddhaiḥ*, l. 55 of the second record; *anusvāra* followed by a nasal has been twice changed to that letter in *sammānita*, l. 18 of No. I. and l. 20 of No. II., and in *gōp-dāganānān=nayana-*, l. 6 of No. I.; the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvāra* before *s* in *śansatī*, l. 25 of No. I. and l. 27 of No. II. Lastly, the same word is spelt *lāñchhana* in No. I. l. 8, but *lāmchhana* in No. II. l. 9.

Each of these two records registers the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa, made by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III. or, as he is described in lines 43-45 of No. II., 'the P.M.P., the prosperous Nityavarshanarēndradēva, who meditated on the feet of the P.M.P., the prosperous Akālavarshadēva,' i.e. his grandfather Kṛishṇa II. Indra III. had, when the grants were made, gone to Kurundaka from his capital Mānyakhēṭa for the *paṭṭabandha*² festival. On that occasion he had himself weighed against gold, and, without coming out from the pan, gave away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, Kurundaka and other villages, granted afresh four hundred villages resumed by previous rulers, and finally bestowed the village of Tenna, according to No. II., on a Brāhmaṇa of the Lakshmaṇa *gōtra*, a student of the Vāji-Mādhyandina *śākhā*, and named Siddhapabhaṭṭa, the son of Śrī-Vennapabhaṭṭa, originally of Pāṭaliputra; and the village of Umvarā (or Umbarā), according to No. I., on a Brāhmaṇa of the same *gōtra* and student of the same *śākhā* as the above grantee, but named Prabhākarabhaṭṭa, the son of Rānapabhaṭṭa. The charters are dated, in words, on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the Yuva-samvatsara, the Śaka year 836 (expired), which corresponds to the 24th February A.D. 915.

After the introductory *ōm svastī* and the opening verse invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and Śiva with which almost all the Rāshtrakūṭa grants begin, we have verse 2 in praise of

¹ See above, Appendix to Vol. VII. p. 15, note 5.

² For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. VII. p. 27, note 2.

the god Kṛishṇa. In the verse following we find **Indrarājadēva (III.)**, the royal grantor of the charters, compared to the god Upēndra (Vishṇu). In verse 4 we are informed that the god Brahman sprang from the water-lily in the navel of Vishṇu, from Brahman his son Atri, from Atri the Moon, and from the Moon the dynasty of the Yadus, where Kṛishṇa was born. In the next verse we are told that there arose king **Dantidurga** in the **Sātyaki** branch of the Yadu dynasty, to whom of herself repaired the goddess of sovereignty of the **Chālukya** family. This means that Dantidurga was the first Rāshtrakūṭa king who defeated the Chālukyas and made himself master of their dominions. From verse 6, if we notice the *double entendre* clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga first reduced the lowermost, i.e. southern, country, then turned his arms against the *Madhyadēśa*, and finally conquered the city of **Kāñchī**. According to an inscription in the Daśavatāra cave at Elurā,¹ Dantidurga subdued the rulers of Kāñchī, Kalinga, Kōsala, Śrīśaila, Mālava, Lāṭa, Tāṅka, and so forth. If we are right in understanding verse 6 as we have done, Dantidurga first gained victories in the South and conquered the kings of Śrīśaila, Kalinga, and so forth, then turned to the central part of India and subjugated the princes of Kōsala, Mālava, Lāṭa, and so forth, and finally came back again to the South and vanquished the lord of Kāñchī.

Verse 8 tells us that after Dantidurga his paternal uncle **Krishṇarāja (I.)** came to the throne. The next verse makes mention of his son **Nirupama(-Dhruva)**, but omits the name of his elder brother **Gōvinda II.**, probably because the author of the inscription wanted to give a direct genealogy of the royal grantor, with reference to whom **Gōvinda II.** was a collateral prince, while he mentioned the name of Dantidurga as the latter was the founder of the dynasty. But by no means can this omission be taken as favouring the view that **Gōvinda II.** did not reign. I have elsewhere adduced reasons for dissenting from this view;² and in support of my position may now be stated the incontrovertible fact that the Dhuliā copper-plate grant³ of **Gōvinda II.**'s nephew and feudatory **Suvarṇavarsha-Karka** distinctly refers itself to his reign, and gives the date Śaka 701, when we must consequently suppose **Gōvinda II.** to have been alive and wielding supremacy. Verse 10 informs us that **Nirupama(-Dhruva)** won two white parasols in battle, one from the lord of **Kōsala** and the other from the king of the North. Who these princes were we have no means to determine. But it looks tempting to identify the king of the North either with the **Indrāyudha** mentioned in the Jaina *Harivamśa*, or with **Chakrāyudha**, the ruler of Kanauj and contemporary of **Dharmapāla** of the Pāla, and of **Gōvinda III.** of the Rāshtrakūṭa, dynasty.⁴

Verse 11 says that from **Nirupama(-Dhruva)** sprang **Jagattuṅga(-Gōvinda III.)**, who, in his turn, begat **Śrīvallabha(-Amōghavarsha I.)**. The next verse tells us that **Amōghavarsha**

¹ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88.

² *Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 133 f.

³ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 183.

⁴ In an unpublished grant of **Amōghavarsha I.** in the possession of my brother Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, two princes of the names of **Chakrāyudha** and **Dharma** are mentioned as having gone to the Himālayas to do homage to **Gōvinda III.** who had gone thither on an expedition of conquest. It can hardly be seriously doubted that **Dharma** is **Dharmapāla**, the second prince of the Pāla dynasty, and that **Chakrāyudha** is the same as the **Chakrāyudha** of the Bhāgalpur grant, whom **Dharmapāla** restored to his lost throne. Prof. Kielhorn (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1905, p. 303) has already identified this **Chakrāyudha** with the **Chakrāyudha** of the Gwalior inscription, who was conquered by **Nāgabhaṭa**. **Nāgabhaṭa** again was a contemporary of **Gōvinda III.** (*Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI p. 422, note 2). We have thus four princes, viz. **Gōvinda III.**, **Nāgabhaṭa**, **Chakrāyudha** and **Dharmapāla**, who were contemporaries. We know from Rāshtrakūṭa records that **Gōvinda III.** reigned from A.D. 794 to 813. We must, therefore, suppose **Dharmapāla** to have flourished about this time. As this synchronism was not known before, it was but right to assign **Dharmapāla** to A.D. 861, the date of the Pathārī inscription referring itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince **Parabala** (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1901, p. 525 f.). But now we see that this date would be rather too late for **Dharmapāla**. Besides, there is nothing to show that this **Parabala** is, as a matter of fact, identical with **Parabala**, the father-in-law of **Dharmapāla**.

I. raised the glory of the **Raṭṭa** sovereignty immersed in the ocean of the **Chalukyas** and thereafter assumed the epithet **Viranārāyaṇa**. If we read between the lines, we cannot fail to notice that the **Rāshtrakūṭa** sovereignty had been shaken by the **Chalukyas** of **Vēṅgi** to its very foundations in the early part of **Amōghavarsha**'s reign. The **Chalukya** contemporary of **Amōghavarsha** I. was **Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya** II.,¹ who, in an **Eastern Chalukya** record, is represented to have fought, during twelve years, by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the **Gaṅgas** and the **Raṭṭas**. The latter can be no other than the **Rāshtrakūṭas** of **Mālkhēḍ**, and it thus appears that **Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya** II. was a powerful king. We can, therefore, very well understand that he might have for a time eclipsed the glory of the **Rāshtrakūṭas**. **Amōghavarsha** I., however, was by no means slow to retrieve his lost reputation, and seems to have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the **Chalukyas**, whom, as verse 13 informs us, he destroyed, just as a man burns chick-pea plants, the stalks of which have been pulled out by the root. That he inflicted a severe defeat on the **Eastern Chalukyas** can also be seen from the **Cambay** and **Sānglī** charters,² in which he is said to have gratified the god **Yama** with unprecedented morsels of cakes which were the **Chalukyas**. Verse 13 incidentally gives us the information, if my interpretation is correct, that the **Chalukyas** whom **Amōghavarsha** I. vanquished had devastated **Stambapura**, which is the same as **Tāmrālipta**, identified with the modern **Tamlūk**, the head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name of the **Midnāpur** district, **Bengal**.

From **Śrīvallabha** (-**Amōghavarsha** I.), who was a comet of destruction to the **Chalukya** family (v. 14), sprang **Kṛishṇarāja** (II.), whose fights with the **Gūrjaras** used to be still remembered by old men, as we are informed in verse 15. I have elsewhere pointed out that the **Gūrjaras**, with whom the **Rāshtrakūṭas** were often at war, ruled over Northern India and had their capital at **Mahodaya** or **Kanauj**, and consequently the **Gūrjara** prince defeated by **Kṛishṇarāja** II. (A.D. 888-911) must have been **Mahēndrapāla** (A.D. 899-907), the patron of the poet **Rājaśekhara**.

Kṛishṇarāja II. had a son of the name of **Jagattuṅga** (v. 16), who married **Lakshmi**, the daughter of **Raṇavigraha**, the son of **Kokkalla** of the **Haihaya**, i.e. **Kalachuri**, dynasty (vv. 17-19). It is worthy of note that **Raṇavigraha** is here called *Chēd-īśvara*, i.e. lord of **Chēdi**. The same fact is hinted by a verse in **Jahlaṇa**'s *Sūktimuktāvalī*, quoted by Dr. **Bhandarkar** in his paper on the **Karhād** plates of **Kṛishṇa** III.,³ which purports to say that of rivers the **Narmadā**, of kings **Raṇavigraha**, and of poets **Surānanda** were the ornaments of **Chēdi**. The name **Raṇavigraha** does not occur in the list of the names of the **Kalachuris** of **Chēdi**. From a **Ratanpur** inscription,⁴ however, we learn that **Kokkalla** had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was a ruler of **Tripurī**, and the others lords of *maṇḍalas*, i.e. minor chiefs. If this statement deserves any credence, **Raṇavigraha**, being a ruler of **Tripurī**, i.e. of **Chēdi**, and not of a *maṇḍala*, was the eldest son, and the successor of **Kokkalla**. But from the **Benares** copper-plate inscription⁵ it appears that **Kokkalla** was followed by his son **Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā**. We may, therefore, suppose that **Raṇavigraha** and **Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā** were one and the same prince.

The issue of the marriage of **Jagattuṅga** with **Lakshmi** was **Indrarāja** (III.), whose epithets **Raṭṭa-Kandarpadēva** and **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa** are mentioned in verses 20 and 21. The next verse contains a *double entendre*, and so far as its mythological sense goes, it does not present any difficulty. But the historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name of **Upēndra** by the **Rāshtrakūṭa** prince **Indrarāja** III. But who this **Upēndra** was, and how the epithets *kṛita-*

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 100.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 280.

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 43; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 252 f.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 33.

⁵ *Id.* Vol. II. p. 301.

Gôvardhan-ôddhâra and *hêl-ônmûlita-Mêru*, used in connection with the kings Upêndra and Indrarâja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upêndra referred to Mahipâla of the Pratihâra dynasty of Mahôdaya, for whom I then contended that the Bhâgalpur grant of the Pâla dynasty gave the other name Chakrâyudha.¹ But I have stated above that, beyond all doubt, Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha, whom he re-instated on the throne, were contemporaries of the Râshtrakûta prince Gôvinda III.² Chakrâyudha cannot, therefore, be identified with Mahipâla, who was a contemporary of Indra III., the great-great-grandson of Gôvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji,³ the word *Mêru* in the expression *hêl-ônmûlita-Mêru* signifies Mêra or Mêhra, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mêhra king of North Kâthiâwâd by Indrarâja III. Prof. Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that *Mêru* probably is Mahôdaya,⁴ i.e. Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indrarâja III. specified in the Sângli charter. With regard to the other expression, viz. *krita-Gôvardhan-ôddhâra*, no interpretation has been proposed, and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse.

In the preamble of the prose passage preceding the formal part of the inscription, the *P. M. P. Śrīman-Nityavarshanarēndradēva*, i.e. Indrarâja III., is spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of the *P. M. P. Śrīmad-Akâlavarshadēva*, i.e. his grandfather Kṛishṇa II. This indicates that Jagattunga, the father of Indrarâja III., did not come to the throne. The same may be concluded from the statement of our inscriptions that the battles of Kṛishṇarâja II. were remembered and described by old men in Indra III.'s time. This shows that hardly a generation had passed since the occurrence of that event, and that consequently there was no Râshtrakûta sovereign intervening between Kṛishṇa II. and Indra III. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that the Khârêpâtan grant of Raṭṭarâja,⁵ in setting forth the Râshtrakûta genealogy, takes the succession direct from Kṛishṇa II. to Indra III. and refers to Jagattunga only further on as the father of Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. But our conclusion is placed beyond all doubt by the Dêoli and Karhâd plates of Kṛishṇa III.,⁶ which distinctly speak of Jagattunga as having died without obtaining the sovereignty.

The composer of our inscriptions was Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nêmaditya. There can hardly be a doubt that he is identical with Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nalachampâ*, of the Śâṇḍilya *gôtra*, and the son of Nêmaditya (*var. lect. Dêvāditya*).⁷ Another *Śâṇḍilya-kavi-chakravartin* Trivikrama was the sixth ancestor, of the astronomer Bhâskarabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of king Bhôja of Dhârâ. The oldest mention of Trivikrama is in Bhôja's *Sarasvatikanṭhâbharana*, while he himself quotes Bâna. The authorship of a *Madâlâsâ-champâ* is also attributed to this Trivikrama.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grants, Pâtâliputra from where the grantee of No. II. emigrated is obviously Paṭṇâ, the principal town of the district of the same name in Bengal, and Mânyakhêṭa, the capital of the royal grantor, is Mâlkhêṭ in the Nizam's Dominions. Kurundaka, where Indrarâja III. had repaired for his *paṭṭabandha*, was first identified by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson with Kurundwâd at the junction of the Kṛishṇâ and Pañchagaṅgâ in the Southern Marâṭha country.⁸ In No. I. the village granted is Umvarâ (or Umbarâ) near Kammanijja in the country of Lêṭa, and the boundaries specified are Tôlêjaka to E., Môgalikâ to S., Saṁki to W., and Javalakûpaka to N. Umvarâ, as was first pointed

¹ Above, Vol. VII. p. 32.

² See above, p. 26, note 4.

³ *History of Gujardt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 130.

⁴ See above, Appendix to Vol. VIII. p. 16, note 2.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 298.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p. 283; Vol. V. p. 193.

⁷ Weber, *Berlin Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 1205.

⁸ *History of Gujardt*, p. 130, note 3.

out by Dr. Bhandarkar, is the modern Bagumrâ, with the prefix *bag*.¹ Tölêjaka and Môgalikâ cannot be identified, but Samkî and Javalakûpaka are Sanki, one mile S. W. of Bagumrâ, and Jolwa, one and a half mile N. of Bagumrâ. In No. II. the village granted is Tenna near Kammanijja, and the boundaries specified are Vâradapallikâ (or Bâradâ²) to E., Nâmbhitâṭaka to S., Valisâ (or Baliṣâ) to W., and Vavviyana (or Babbiyana) to N. They have been identified with Ten, Bârdoli, Nadida, Wanasa and Baben respectively. Kammanijja, in the vicinity of which lay both the villages granted, is Kâmrêj. All these villages are to be found in the Nausârî division of the Baroda State. The Bagumrâ grant of the Gujarât Râshtrakûṭa Dhruva II. mentions Trennâ, both as a village and a territorial division, and speaks of the village of Trennâ as having been bestowed upon a certain Brâhmaṇa by his grandfather Dhruva I. (A.D. 834-35). "The explanation of its being given away again by the present record," as Dr. Fleet has rightly said, "is, no doubt, to be found in the statement, made in the present record, that Indra III. gave away four hundred villages which had been confiscated by previous kings; this was evidently one of them."³

TEXT³ OF No. I.

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति¹ [॥] स⁵ वोव्यादेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति⁶
- 2 विवुधवभुर्विध्यविस्तारिवक्ष्यलविमलविलोलकौस्तुभः कंसकेतुः । मुखसरसिज-
रङ्गे यस्य नृ-
- 3 त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ [२*] स⁹ जयति
भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समर-
- 4 समुद्रतदुर्ध्वारिचक्रः । अपहृतवलिमण्डलो⁹ नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराज-
देवः ॥ [३*]
- 5 अस्ति¹⁰ श्रीनाथनाभिस्फुरदु[र]सरसाभोजजम्बा स्वयंभू(1)स्तस्मादत्रिः सु-
तोभुदस्यतकरपरिस्थ-
- 6 न्द¹¹ इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्मादं[शो] यदूनां जगति स ववृधे यस्य तैस्तैर्वि-
लासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानान्न-
- 7 यनकुवलयैरर्च्यमानश्चचार ॥ [४*] [त]वान्वये¹² पिततसात्यकिवंशजम्बा श्रीद-
न्तिदुर्गनृप-
- 8 तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवशजलधेः¹³ स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्य शंखचक्र[कर]-
लाञ्छन-

¹ Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII. p. 256.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXI. p. 396.

³ From inked estampages supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

⁴ The i is not well-formed.

⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁶ Metre: Māluni.

⁷ Read विवुधवभु⁰.

⁸ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

⁹ Read "बलि⁰".

¹⁰ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹¹ Read "परिस्थन्द".

¹² Metre: Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

¹³ Read "वंश⁰".

- 9 माजगाम ॥ [५*] कृ[त्वा]स्यदं हृदयहारिजघन्यभागे स्वरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्द्य
च मध्यदे-
- 10 शं [1*] यस्यासमस्य [सम]रे वसुधाङ्गनायाः कांचीपदे प[द]मकारि करेण
भूयः ॥ [६*] आ^१ सेतोः सानुव-
- 11 ^२प्रप्रवलकपि[कुलो]लूनफुल्ल[लव]ङ्गादा [कैला]साङ्गवानीचलच[र]णरणद्रूपुरो-
न्नादितान्तात् ।
- 12 यस्यान्नां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिल[नी]लिमालायमानामानमैरुत्तमाङ्गैरवनि-
तललुठज्जा-
- 13 नवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा^३ जगन्निजभुजे[न पु]नर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं विजेतु-
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तत्रा-
- 14 भवत्परमधानि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*] दि-
कुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-
- 15 भंगलीलाय[म]ानघनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्तिः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मा-
दभू-
- 16 त्रिरूपमो निरवदशौर्यः ॥ [९*] कीर्तिः^४ कुन्दरुचः^५ समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुंभः
सितो लक्ष्म्याः

Second Plate; First Side.

- 17 लक्ष्म्याः^६ पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णैन्दुविम्बद्युति^७ । एकं कंपितकोसले-
श्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु-
- 18 नर्येनोदीचनराधिपाद्यश्च इव श्वेतातपत्रं^८ रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्मात्क्षेत्रे^९ जग-
त्तुंगो जम्भ सम्मानि-
- 19 त[दिज]ः । सोपि श्रीवल्लभं स्रुतं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११*] निमग्नां
[य]श्चलुक्याश्च^{१०} रट्टराज्यश्चि-
- 20 यं पुनः [1*] पृथ्वीमिवोद्धरन्धीरो^{११} धीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ [१२*] समूलोन्मूलित-
स्तस्मान्दण्डेनानी-^{१२}
- 21 तकण्टकः । ^{१३}योदहद्वेषिणश्चण्डचलुक्याश्चणकानिव ॥ [१३*] ^{१४}[उच्चैश्चलु]क्यकुल-
कन्दलकालके-

^१ Metre: Sragdharā.

^२ Read °प्रवल°.

^३ Metre: Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

^४ One of the two circles of the *śisarga* has been omitted.

^५ The repetition of this word is superfluous.

^६ Corrected by the engraver from श्वेतातपत्रं.

^७ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh); and of the next two verses.

^८ °न्वीरो is also possible.

^९ Read °क्षेत्रा°.

^{१०} Metre: Vasantatilakā.

^४ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

^७ Read °विम्ब°.

^{१०} Read °क्याश्चौ.

^{१३} Read °दहद्वेषि°.

- 22 तोस्तस्मादक्षणाचरितोजनि क्षणराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैर[स]कज्जने[न]
कीर्त्तिः परिभ्र-
- 23 मति यस्य शशाङ्कान्तिः ॥ [१४*] ^१उद्यद्दीधितिरद्वजालजटिलं व्याकटमी-
दृग्धनुः (i) क्रुषेनोप-
- 24 रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि से[न्द्र]चापवलये यस्ये-
25 त्य[म]व्यागमे^३ ग[र्ज्ज]द्गूर्ज[र]सङ्गरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो जनः श[न्स]ति^३ ॥ [१५*]
अजनि^४ जनि-
- 26 तभङ्गो वैरिवृ[न्द]स्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्तुंग[दे]व[ः] । ध्व[ज]सरसि-
27 जशंखप्रोक्षसञ्चक्रपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्व्वल्लभो धीर[ल]क्ष्म्याः ॥ [१६*] ^५[आ]-
सीत्कीप्य-
- 28 थ हैहयान्वयभवो भू[प]ः ^६[स]हस्रार्जुनो गर्ज्जद्गूर्ज[र]यरावणोर्जितलसद्दोर्हण-
कण्डू-
- 29 हरः । विग्रान्तैः श्वणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः सान्द्रसुधा-
रसेन लि-
- 30 खितैर्व्याप्ताः ककुब्भित्तयः^७ ॥ [१७*] वंशे तस्य सपद्मवंशपरशोः कोक्कलभूपा-
लजो^८ राजा श्रीर-
- 31 णविग्रहः समभवच्चेदोश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरंभिमण्डनमुषः सर्वोपि
पृथ्वीप-
- 32 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पद्मक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८*] ^९सकलगुण-
गणाब्धेर्व्विष्णुरद्वा-^{१०}
- 33 मधान्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदकुलकुसुदेन्दुः
सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 34 हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्तुंगदेवः ॥ [१९*] चतुर्दधितटा[न्त]ख्यातशौर्योय
ताभ्यामभवदरि-
- 35 घरदो रट्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकल-
जनशरण्यः पु-
- 36 ष्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ [२०*] ^{११}मदनममृतविन्दुस्सन्दमिन्दोश्च विम्बं^{१२} नवनलिनमृणालं
चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां

^१ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^२ Read °मन्दागमे.

^३ Read शंसति.

^४ Metre: Mālinī.

^५ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

^६ The first *sa* is not well-formed and looks almost like *sa*.

^७ Read ककुब्भित्तयः.

^८ The letter *tma* is not well-formed.

^९ Metre: Mālinī; and of the next two verses.

^{१०} Read °गणाब्धेर्व्विष्णुर°.

^{११} Read °विन्दु°.

^{१२} Read विम्बं.

- 37 च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्जन्मनिर्माणेषैरणुभिरिव चकार स्पष्ट[म]ानन्दि वेधाः
 ॥ [२१*] देवो^१
 38 'यस्यतुरन्वुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रामन्निजविक्रमेण समभूत्^२ श्रीकीर्त्ति-
 नारा-
 39 यणः [१*] श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः स[मं] विद्दिषां दैन्यं
 वक्ताश्चो मनांसि च भ-
 40 यं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२२*] 'क्षतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं [हे]लीन्यूलितमेरुणा ।
 उपेन्द्र-
 41 मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२३*] 'सकलजननमस्यः सोऽथ
 कृत[त्वा] नमस्या-
 42 श्रुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान् । उपरि पर[शु]रामस्यैककुग्रामदान-
 43 स्फुरितगुणगरिष्णुस्थायकीर्त्या वभूव^३ ॥ [२४*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
 धिराजपरमेश्व-
 44 रश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
 45 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानिव यथासंवध्य-^४
 46 'मानाद्वाङ्मपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्तरादी-
 47 न्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीप-
 48 द्दवन्धाय^५ कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्य-

Third Plate.

- 49 यशोभिद्वये (i) लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसत्रद्व्यचारिणे^{१०} राणपभट्टसुताय
 50 प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्पणिवज्जसमीपे उम्बरानामग्रामः यस्य पू-
 51 र्वतः तोलेजकं दक्षिणतो मोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकीग्राम उत्तर[तो]
 जवलकूपकमे-
 52 वमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितः सोदंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशा[प]राधः सोत्पद्यमान-
 53 षिष्टिकः^{११} सधान्यहिरण्यादेयोभ्यन्तरसि[द्धा] पूर्वदेवव्रद्धादायरहितः^{१२} शकनृप-
 काला-
 54 तीत[सं]वत्सरशतैश्वष्टासु^{१३} षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरिषु [यु]वसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने

^१ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^२ Read 'रन्वु'.^३ Read समभूच्छी°.^४ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).^५ Metre: Mālinī.^६ Read वभूव.^७ Read 'संवध्य'.^८ This *mā* appears to have been first inadvertently omitted and then engraved quite close to the rim.^९ Read 'वन्धाय'.^{१०} Read 'सत्रद्व्य'.^{११} Read 'षिष्टिकः'.^{१२} Read 'शकनृप'.^{१३} The inner stroke of *sh* in *shva* is wanting.

- 55 श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवे¹ तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन्ग्रामान्
 56 अन्यान्यपि² पूर्वपृथ्वीपालवि[लु]मानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुम-
 लक्षैश्चा-
 57 ह्यैः सह विप्रेभ्यो विमुच्य³ वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथि[सं]तर्पणार्थम(र)-
 58 द्यौदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोऽस्योचितया⁴ ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुञ्जतो [भो]जयतः कृषतः
 59 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदप्यपि परिपथना कार्या [१*] तथा-
 गामिभिरस्म-
 60 दंशैरन्यैर्व्या सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायो-
 नुमन्तः⁵
 61 व्यः [१*] यश्चाज्ञानाल्लोपयति स पंचभिर्भ्रष्टापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च
 भगवता व्यासेन ॥ ष-
 62 ष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२५*] सा-
 63 मान्योयं⁶ धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भा-
 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
 64 भूयो भूयो [य]ाचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*] श्रीचिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य
 सनुना कृता प्रशस्त्यं श्री [१*]

TEXT OF No. II.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति । स वीव्यादेधसा धाम यस्माभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
 [का]न्तेन्दुकलया कम-
 2 लंकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति¹⁰ विबुधवन्धुर्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवत्तस्थलविमलविलोललक्ष्मी-
 स्तुभः कंस-
 3 तुः¹¹ । सुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्म[र]भरपरिताम्यतारकास्ते
 कटा-
 4 चाः ॥ [२*] स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्रत[दु]र्धरारिचक्रः ।
 अपहृतवलिम-¹²

¹ Read °बन्धोत्सवे.² Read ब्रह्म°.³ Read °अद्वयम्°.⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh); this verse was left incomplete for want of space⁵ Read विबुधवन्धु°.⁶ Read °मान्यान्यपि.⁷ Corrected by the engraver from °हास्य°.⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).⁹ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh); this verse was left incomplete for want of space¹⁰ Read कंसकेतुः°.¹¹ Read बलि°.¹² Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹³ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁵ Read °बलि°.

- 5 ण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ [३*] अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभि-
स्फुरदुरुसरसांभोज(१)-
- 6 जन्मा [स्व]यंभूस्तस्मादत्रिः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द^१ इन्दुस्ततोपि । त[स्मा]-
द्वंशो यदूनां
- 7 जगति स ववृधे यत्र तैस्तैर्विलासैः शाङ्गी गोपाङ्ग[नानां] नयनकु-
वलये-
- 8 रर्चमानश्चचार ॥ [४*] तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-
नृपतिः
- 9 पुरुषोत्तमीभूत् । चालुक्यवशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शं[स्व]चक्रकरलाङ्क-
- 10 न[म]ाजगाम ॥ [५*] कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यदेशे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्द्य
च मध्यदेशं ।
- 11 यस्यासम[स्य] समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः ^२काण्चीपदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः
॥ [६*] आ सेतोः सा-
- 12 ^३नुवप्रप्रवलकपिकु[लो]लूनफुल्लवङ्गादा कैलासाङ्ग[वा]नीचलचरणरणन्नपुरो-
- 13 त्रादितान्तात् । यस्यान्नां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मौ[लि]मालायमा-
नामानमैरु-
- 14 त्तमाङ्गैरवनितललुठज्जानवी मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्जि-
गोषीः स्वर्ग
- 15 विजितुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । (१) तत्राभवत्परमधास्त्रि पदे पितृव्यः
श्रीकृष्णराजनृप-
- 16 तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*] दिक्षुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्रभंगलीलायमानघनविस्तृत-
[का]न्तको-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 17 त्तैः [१*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मादभून्निरुपमो निरवद्यशैर्यः
॥ [९*] कीर्त्तैः कु-
- 18 न्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्ण-
- 19 न्दुविम्बद्युति^४ । एकं कंपितकोसलेश्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु[न]र्येनोदीचनरा-
धिपाद्य-
- 20 श इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्मात्तेभे जगत्तुङ्गो जन्म सम्मानि-
तद्विजः । सोपि श्रीवल्ल-

^१ Read 'परिस्पन्द'.

^२ Read 'द्वानौ'.

^३ Read 'काशी'.

^४ Read 'विम्ब'.

^५ Read 'प्रवल'.

[illegible]

- 36 हरिरिव परिणित्ये तां जगत्तुङ्गदेवः ॥ [१६*] चतुर्दधितटान्तख्यातश्रीर्थोथ
ताभ्याम[भ]व-
- 37 दरिघरद्वो रट्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां ^१सवाल-
जनशरण्यः पु-
- 38 ख्यलावख्यराशिः ॥ [२०*] देवो ^२यश्चतुरन्वुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रा-
मन्निजविक्रमेण स-
- 39 मभूत्^३ श्रीकीर्त्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं
विद्विषां
- 40 दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवाजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२१*] कृतगो-
वर्द्धनोद्धारं हेलो-
- 41 न्मूलितमेरुणा [१*] उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२२*]
सकलजनममस्यः^४
- 42 सोथ कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारानां^५ उपरि परशुरामस्यैक-
- 43 कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्त्यागकीर्त्या वभूव^६ ॥ [२३*] स च परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराज-
- 44 परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीमन्त्रित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानिव ^७यथासंवध्यमानकाब्राह्मपतिविषयपति-
ग्राम-
- 46 कूटयुक्तकनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
श्रीमान्य-
- 47 खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवाय^८ कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया माता-
पित्रोराल्म-
- 48 नक्षैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिद्वये (१) लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसत्रह्यचा-^९

Third Plate.

- 49 रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गत[श्रीवेन्न]पभट्टसुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गत-
कम्पणिज्ज-
- 50 समीपे तेन्ननामग्रामः [१*] यस्य पूर्वतो वारडपल्लिका [१*] दक्षिणतो
नाम्भोतटकं [१*] पश्चिमतो वली-

^१ Read सकल°.

^४ Read °जननमस्य°.

^७ Read °संवध्य°.

^२ Read °रन्वु°.

^५ Read °हारान् ।.

^८ Read °वन्धो°.

^३ Read समभूञ्जी°.

^६ Read वभूव°.

^९ Read °सत्रह्य°.

- 51 आ [1*] उत्तरतो वव्वियणग्रामः [1*] एवमा[घा]टचतुष्टयोपलक्षितस्त्रोद्वंगः
सपरिकर[ः] सदण्ड-
- 52 दशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहि[र]स्या[दे*]योभ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या शकनृप-
कालातीतसंवत्सर-
- 53 शतेश्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुक्लसप्तम्यां संपन्ने श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्स-¹
- 54 वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामानन्यान्यपि पूर्व-
पृथ्वीपालवि-
- 55 लुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुमलक्षैस्सार्धैः सह विमुच्य ²वलि-
चरुवैश्वदेवाम्नि-
- 56 ह्योत्रातिथिसंतर्पणार्थम(1)द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया ³ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या
- 57 भुंजती भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि
परि-
- 58 पन्थना कार्या [1*] तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्त्रहंशैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं
भूमिदानफल-
- 59 मवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयम[स्त्र]हृददायोनुमन्तव्यः⁴ [1*] यश्चाज्ञानाज्ञोपयति
स पंचभिर्गृहा-
- 60 पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादु[क्तं] च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आ[च्छे]-
- 61 ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२४*] अ[ग्ने]रपत्यं पथमं⁵
सुवर्णं भूर्वर्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च [गा]-
- 62 वः [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्भि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥
[२५*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुनृपाणां
- 63 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो
याचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*]
- 64 श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन [ने]मादित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्तेयमिन्द्रराजां-
घ्नितेविना ॥ [२७*] श्रीः [॥*]

TRANSLATION OF No. II.

Om. Hail!

(Verse 1.) May he (Vishṇu), the water-lily (*springing from*) whose navel was made (*his*)
abode by Vêdhas (Brahman), protect you, and Hara (Śiva) whose head is adorned by the beauti-
ful crescent of the moon!

¹ Read °वन्धो°.⁴ Read °अद्वय°.² Read वलि°.³ Read प्रथमं.⁵ Read ब्रह्म°.

(V. 2.) Victorious is (Kṛishṇa), (*who is*) the comet (*of destruction*) to Kāṁsa (*and is*) the friend of the gods, on whose chest, extensive as the Vindhya (*mountain*), dangles the pure Kaustubha, (*and*) on the stage of whose lotus-like face dance the side-glances of Lakshmi, with the pupils (*of her eyes*) languid through excess of love !

(V. 3.) Ever victorious is the king Indrarāja (III.), whose long arms (*were made her*) refuge by the goddess of Wealth, who has rooted out in battles the circle of (*his*) enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (*and who is*) the lion (*i.e.* the best) among men, just as Upēndra (Vishṇu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (*were made her*) support by (*the goddess*) Lakshmi, who held up in battles (*his*) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bali and (*his*) legions (*to Pātāla*), (*and who was*) a man-lion (*in his fourth incarnation*).

(V. 4.) The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the wide and blooming water-lily springing from the navel of (Vishṇu) the lord of Śrī ; of him was born (*his*) son Atri ; (*and*) of him again (*i.e.* of Atri) the Moon that overflows with rays of nectar. From him there grew on earth the lineage of the Yadus, amongst whom (*at one time*) flourished (Vishṇu) the wielder of the Śrin̄ja (bow) (*in his eighth incarnation as Kṛishṇa*), who was worshipped by the lotus-eyes of cowherdesses with every kind of flirtation.

(V. 5.) In that family there arose the illustrious king Dantidurga, born in the great Satyaki branch, the best of men, whose hand (*bore*) the (*auspicious*) marks of the conch and discus, (*and*) to whom of herself came the goddess of wealth of the Chālukya family, just as (*in that family*) there arose Purushōttama (Kṛishṇa), who prolonged the line of Sātyaki,¹ who (*held*) the conch and discus in (*his*) hands as (*his peculiar*) characteristics, (*and*) to whom of herself came (*the goddess*) Lakshmi from the ocean.

(V. 6.) The hand (*i.e.* the prowess) of this (*prince*), matchless in battle, having (*first*) established itself on the beautiful lowermost region of the earth, and having again overcome in a gentle manner at its own will the central region (*Madhyadēśa*), again established itself in the province of Kāñchi, just as the hand (*of a lover*), after (*first*) establishing itself on the hips of a woman, attractive to the heart, and pressing again gently at its will (*her*) waist, again establishes itself on the region (*below the waist*) where the girdle (*is worn*).

(V. 7.) His orders, forming a wreath on (*their*) crests with which came in contact (*their*) hands (*joined*) like buds, (*all*) kings respect with (*their*) heads slightly bent (*and*) with (*their*) knees rolling about on the surface of the earth, from Sētu (Rāmēśvaram), where the blossoming *lavanga* (trees) are destroyed on the declivities of mountain-tops by hosts of powerful monkeys, as far as the Kailāsa (*mountain*), the outskirts of which resound with the jingling anklets on the moving feet of Bhavānī.

(V. 8.) When that king, after conquering the world by his own arm, had gone to heaven as if to conquer (*it*), being desirous of a fresh victory,— (*his*) paternal uncle, the illustrious king Kṛishṇarāja (I.), of well-known prowess, occupied his position of supreme majesty.

(V. 9.) Nirupama, of spotless valour, sprang from that (*king*), whose fame, solid, extensive and bright, diverted itself in the form of the lines of sandal-painting on the faces of the beauties, (*viz.*) the quarters, (*and*) who adorned the mountain (*consisting of*) the family of the glorious Rāshtrakūṭas.

(V. 10.) From the hand of the trembling lord of the Kōśalas was snatched away by him in battle one white (*regal*) parasol, which was the white (*auspicious*) water-pitcher for the setting out of (*his*) fame, bright as the *kunda* (flower), on a journey over the whole world, (*and*) which

¹ "Patr. of Yuyudhāna (a warrior in the Pāṇdu army who acted as the charioteer of Kṛishṇa and belonged to the Vṛishṇi family)."—Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

was the toy-lotus, resplendent as the disc of the full moon, on the palm of the hand of Lakshmi; another again (*was snatched away by him*) from the king of the northern (*country*) as if it were (*his*) glory.

(V. 11.) From him obtained birth **Jagattuṅga**, who honoured the twice-born; he in his turn begat as son the king of kings **Śrivallabha**.

(V. 12.) This (*prince*), possessed of fortitude, on raising again the glory of the **Raṭṭa** kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the **Chalukyas**, became (*i.e.* assumed the epithet of) **Viranārāyaṇa**, just as (*Vishṇu*), again uplifting the earth, drowned in the ocean, became **Viranārāyaṇa** (*i.e.* the heroic **Nārāyaṇa**).

(V. 13.) Having, by means of punishment, put down obnoxious persons, he destroyed the fiery **Chalukyas**, (*his*) enemies, who had completely devastated (*the city of*) **Stamba**,¹ just as (*a gardener*), after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots.

(V. 14.) From him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain tree, (*viz.*) the high family of the **Chalukyas**, was born **Kṛishṇarāja** (II.), of spotless life, whose fame, bright as the moon, wanders about, though constantly drunk by the people by means of the cavities of (*their*) ears.

(V. 15.) On the advent of clouds, when there is a heavy downpour of rain (*and*) when the circular rainbow (*appears in the sky*), the old men thus describe the event of his fight with the roaring **Gūṛjara**:—"Thus did (*he*) in anger draw (*his*) bow, studded with a series of gems darting forth rays; thus did (*he*) discharge arrows at the heads of the warriors of (*his*) enemy "

(V. 16.) From him was born the illustrious **Jagattuṅgadēva**, who caused the destruction of the multitude of (*his*) enemies, who surpassed the beauty of Madana, who was the beloved of the goddess of Heroism, (*the palm of each of*) whose hands (*bore the auspicious sign of*) a discus shining by means of (*the marks of*) a banner, a lotus and a conch, (*and*) who (*thus*) by (*his*) greatness excelled **Vishṇu**.

(V. 17.) There was a king (*named*) **Sahasrārjuna**, sprung from the **Haihaya** lineage, who relieved the itching sensation² of the powerful and shining long arms of the roaring and invincible **Rāvaṇa**, (*and*) the letters (*setting forth*) whose fame and name, finding a resting-place in the ears of the gods, (*and*) written by the Siddhas with the dense fluid of nectar, covered the walls of the quarters.

(V. 18.) In the dynasty of him who was an axe to the families of (*his*) enemies, there arose the renowned illustrious king **Raṇavigraha**, the son of king **Kokkalla** (*and*) the lord of **Chēdi**, into whose circle (*of feudatory princes*), pilferer as he was of the ornaments of the wives of (*his*) enemies, entered every enfeebled lord of the earth on the destruction of (*his*) partisans, just as the moon, destitute of (*all*) the digits, enters the disc of the sun at the end of the (*dark*) fortnight.

(V. 19.) From him who was the receptacle of a collection of all virtues (*and*) the abode of resplendent majesty, there was born a daughter (*named*) **Lakshmi**, possessed of lotus-like hands, [just as from the ocean, which is the abode (*of the sun*) of intensely gleaming rays, there sprang **Lakshmi**, possessed of a lotus in (*her*) hand]; **Jagattuṅgadēva**, the moon to the night-lotus of the **Yadu** race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*viz.* **Lakshmi**, the daughter of **Raṇavigraha**), just as **Hari**, the moon to the night-lotus of the **Yadu** race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*viz.* the goddess **Lakshmi**).

¹ The same as **Tāmrālipta**, *i.e.* **Tamlūk**; see p. 27 above.

² [Compare **Śiṣupālavadha**, I. 48.]

(V. 20.) From these two sprang **Baṭṭa-Kandarpadēva**, whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, who was a refuge to all men, (*and*) who was a store of merit and beauty, [just as from (*Hari* and *Lakshmi*) sprang the god *Kandarpa* (*i.e.* *Cupid*), whose prowess is known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who is a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who abides in the minds of beautiful women, who is a refuge to all persons, (*and*) who is a store of heavenly beauty].

(V. 21.) This king, overrunning, by means of his own valour, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, became (*i.e.* was known as) **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa**, just as the god (*Vishṇu*), covering, with his stride, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, was known as **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa**; on hearing of whose birth, the lustre of the faces, the minds, and the heads of (*his*) enemies, whose understanding was bewildered, simultaneously experienced dejection, fear, and the cavity of the hands folded (*as a mark of*) servitude.

(V. 22.) This **Indrarāja (III.)**, having uprooted **Mēru** (*Mahôdaya*?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) defeating (*king*) **Upēndra** who had saved **Gôvardhana**, just as the god *Indra*, who uprooted (*Mount*) *Mēru* with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) vanquishing (*the god*) **Upēndra** (*Kṛishṇa*) who had uplifted the *Gôvardhana* (*mountain*).¹

(V. 23.) This lord of the earth, entitled to obeisance from all men, on founding many endowments to temples and *agrahâras* (to *Brâhmanas*), to be respected (*by all*), became, in point of fame for charity, superior to *Paraśurâma*, the greatness of whose merits shone by the gift of a single insignificant village.²

(Ll. 43-56.) And he, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous *Nityavarshanarēndradēva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous *Akâlavarshadēva*, being well, commands all the lords of provinces (*râshṭra*), lords of districts (*vishaya*), chiefs of villages, leading persons, officials, employés, functionaries, *etc.*, according as they are concerned :—

“Be it known to you that by *Me*, who resides at the capital of **Mānyakhêṭa** (*and*) who has come to **Kurundaka** for the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet,—for the enhancement of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) parents and *Myself*—with heartfelt devotion—eight centuries of years increased by thirty-six having elapsed since the time of the *Śaka* king, on the seventh (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of *Phâlguna* in the *Yuva-samvatsara*—having, on the completion of the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet, ascended the *Tulâpurusha*,³ and having, without coming down from the pan, given away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, **Kurundaka** and other villages, and four hundred villages besides, that had been confiscated by previous kings,—was bestowed to-day, by pouring water from the hand, for the sake of the *Bali*, *Charu*, *Vaiśvadēva*, *Agnihôtra* and *Atithisantarpana*,—upon *Siddhapabhaṭṭa*, of the *Lakshmana gôtra*, a student of the *Vâjī-Mādhyandina (sâkhâ)*, (*and*) the son of *Śrī-Vennapabhaṭṭa* who had come from *Pāṭaliputra*,—the village of the name of *Tenna* in the vicinity of *Kammanijja* situated in the country of *Lâṭa*, defined by the four boundaries, *viz.* to the east *Vāraḍapallikâ*, to the south *Nâmbhitâṭaka*, to the west *Valiśâ*, (*and*) to the north the village of *Vavviyaṇa*,⁴ together with the royal share,

¹ There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident; see above, p. 27 f.

² There is here a play on the word *ku*, which means both ‘the earth’ and ‘insignificant.’

³ “Gift of gold, *etc.*, equal to a man’s weight.”—*Monier-Williams’ Dictionary*.

⁴ According to No. I. l. 49 ff.—“upon *Prabhâkarabhaṭṭa*, of the *Lakshmana gôtra*, a student of the *Vâjī-Mādhyandina (sâkhâ)*, and the son of *Rânapabhaṭṭa*,—the village of the name of *Umvarâ* in the vicinity of *Kammanijja* situated in the country of *Lâṭa*, defined by the four boundaries, *viz.* to the east *Tôlêjaka*, to the south *Môgalikâ*, to the west the village of *Sanikî*, (*and*) to the north *Javalakûpaka*.”

with the appurtenances, with (*the proceeds of the punishments for*) faults and the ten offences, with (*the right to*) forced labour as it arises, with the assessment in grain and gold.

(Ll. 56-59.) "No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to him while enjoying (*this village*), allowing (*others*) to enjoy (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or assigning (*it*) to another, in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. Likewise, this My gift to a Brāhmaṇa should be assented to, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether My descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift of land is common (*both to the grantor and to the preserver*)."

[L. 59 f. and vv. 24-26 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(V. 27.) This praiseworthy panegyric¹ was composed by the illustrious Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nēmāditya (*and*) serving the feet of Indrarāja.

No. 5.—RAGHOLI PLATES OF JAYAVARDHANA II.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S.; NAGPUR.

These plates were kindly sent to me by Mr. C. E. Low, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Bālāghāt district, Central Provinces. They were found in the village Ragholi belonging to the Sāletekri Zamindārī, now under the Court of Wards and included in the Baihar tahsil of that district, by a cultivator while ploughing the field. There are three copper-plates, of which the second and third bear writing on both sides; the third plate has only two lines on the reverse side. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom. At the broadest part they measure nearly $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and the average height is $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are held together by a circular ring, $2\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter, which is somewhat thicker and rugged at the place where the two ends are soldered together. A circular seal with tasselled borders is attached to the ring and was put on it before the ends of the ring were soldered together. The seal has in two lines the legend *Śrī-Jayavardhanadēvasya*, which is enclosed by ornamental circles running round the bottom of the tassels. The ring was cut and resoldered by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who kindly took for me the impressions which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate. The copper-plates were found when Mr. Low was writing the *Gazetteer of the Bālāghāt District*, in which an extract from my translation has already appeared.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, written in characters belonging to the northern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". They are badly formed and somewhat difficult to read. The first 20 lines of the inscription (excepting the opening words *Om svasti Śrīvardhanapurāt*) and again lines 35 to 45 are in verse. The rest is Sanskrit prose. Final forms of *t* occur in lines 1 and 38, and one of *m* in line 45. The letter *b* is not distinguished from *v*. A notable orthographical peculiarity occurs in lines 32 f. and 40 f., where we find *mv* written for *m* in *tāmva* and *kaṃva*. On the other hand *b* is omitted in *kuṭumina* (l. 24) for *kuṭumbinaḥ*, but regularly expressed by *v* in *dalāmvu* (l. 41). The letters with a *rēpha* at the top sometimes assume a very peculiar shape such as in *sarva* (l. 25) and *varsha* (l. 37). At other places they have the usual form, as in *surva* (l. 29). There is also a tendency to change the final forms of nasals into *anusvāra* in contravention of the accepted grammatical rules, as in *pramukhām* (l. 24) and *purushām* (l. 25). The *ka* of *kaṃva* in line 40 f. has a peculiar form and differs from other *kas* occurring in the inscription.

¹ The word *prastā* is here evidently used in the same sense as *prastāsi*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Khaddikā** in the **Kaṭēra** district (l. 23) to a temple of the Sun-god at **Chaṭṭullihā** (l. 29 f.) by king **Jayavardhana II.** It was issued from **Śrīvardhanapura** (l. 1) and is dated in the 3rd year of his reign on the 30th day of the month **Kārttika** (ll. 46 and 31). Judging from the writing it may be assigned to the eighth century A.D.; the characters very much resemble those of the **Paithāṇ** plates of **Gōvinda III.** dated in the year 794 A.D.¹ **Jayavardhana II.** is described in lines 20-22 as a devotee of **Mahēśvara**, the lord of the whole **Vindhya**, and **Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara**. He belonged to the **Śailavamśa** (verse 1). His grandfather, who bore the same name as himself, killed the former king of the **Vindhya** and made the **Vindhya** his residence (v. 3). The son of **Jayavardhana I.** and father of the donor was **Śrīvardhana II.**, who styled himself **Vindhyēśvara** (v. 4), and who may have founded **Śrīvardhanapura** from which the present charter was issued. Five more ancestors of this line are mentioned, the first of whom was **Śrīvardhana I.** His son was **Prithuvardhana**, who is stated to have attacked **Gujarāt** (v. 1). In his family was born **Sauvardhana** (v. 2), one of whose three sons killed the king of **Paundrā**² (Bengal and Bihar), while another conquered the king of **Kāśi** (Benares). Of this latter, whose name is not mentioned, **Jayavardhana I.** was the son (v. 3).

The first verse of this charter opens with an obscure epithet to **Śrīvardhana I.** who is called *Kailāś-ūchala-tuṅga-śṛṅga-vipula-drōṇīja-vamśa-prabhuh*, which apparently means 'the lord of the family of her who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the **Kailāsa** mountain.' It is very difficult to hit at the true import of this expression, and the only conjecture I can hazard is that it may mean the **Gāṅgavamśa**, of which the **Śailavamśa** was probably a branch or a more well known name at that time. Otherwise it is difficult to see why in the same verse the same person should be called the lord or ornament of two families. If my conjecture is correct, the force of *prakhyātō bhuvī* (famous or known on the earth) preceding *Śailavamśa-tilakaḥ* would be apparent. The **Śailavamśa** is very probably identical with the **Śailōdbhavas** or **Śilōdbhavas** of Orissa, to which Prof. Hultzsch has kindly drawn my attention. In the plates of the time of **Śaśāṅkarāja**,³ a feudatory chief **Mādhavarāja II.**, who issued the charter, is spoken of as belonging to the **Śilōdbhava** family, which is identical with the **Śailōdbhava** of the **Buguḍa** plates of **Mādhavarman**⁴ as pointed out there. The former is dated in the year 619-20 A.D. and is the older of the two. Both were found in the **Ganjam** district, and both the charters were issued from **Kōṅgōda** or **Kaiṅgōda**, which is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the **Kong-u-t'o**⁵ of the Chinese traveller **Hsien Tsiang**, who visited the place in the year 639 A.D.⁶ This principality was included in the **Kaliṅga** country or, roughly speaking, Orissa. In fact the village granted by **Mādhavarāja II.** was situated in the district of **Kṛishṇagiri**, a synonym of **Nilagiri** which is a name of **Jagannātha** (Purī) in Orissa.⁷ And it is well known that Orissa is the country where the **Gāṅgavamśa** originated. King **Indravarman** of **Kaliṅganagara** is spoken of as the 'establisher of the spotless family of the **Gāṅgas**,'⁸ an epithet which does not occur in other grants of the **Gāṅgas** of **Kaliṅga**. So he was a perpetuator of a dynasty with a new name, which probably he introduced in preference to an old one which was not very complimentary. The new name is a metronymic; so we may suppose that the one suppressed was a patronymic. The **Buguḍa** inscription tells us how one **Pulindasēna** worshipped **Brahmā** in order to create a fit ruler for the land, and how the god granted his wish by creating out of a rock the lord **Śailōdbhava**, who became the founder of the family of that name. However complimentary the story may have been in the beginning, it could not have failed later on to appear somewhat analogous to the alleged origin of low

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 103 ff.

² Above, Vol. VI. p. 144.

³ Above, Vol. VI. p. 136.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI. p. 144.

⁵ Wilson's *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Vol. II. p. 170, note 5.

⁶ Above, Vol. III. p. 42.

⁷ Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 515.

⁸ Above, Vol. III. p. 127.

castes, which trace their origin to some such inanimate objects as scarecrows, dirt from Mahādēva's body, or the sweat of his brow. In fact the aboriginal Gonds aver that their leader Lingo liberated the first men of the tribe from a cave in the Iron valley in the Red hill by removing a stone 16 cubits high with which Mahādēva had closed the mouth of the cave, and out came 16 scores of Gonds at once.¹ The Śailōdbhava origin would thus appear something like an improvement on this story. Recognising the tendency, which has always existed and still exists, to adopt eponymous names under the influence of what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the gradual Brāhmanising of castes, it would not be surprising to find a family with a dubious patronymic insinuating a non-Brāhmanical origin, preferring a metronymic connected with so holy a deity as the Ganges, in spite of the Kshatriya mode of calling themselves after the male parent. It will then be asked why in the present grant the Śailavamśa was at all mentioned, to which an answer may be found in the fact that there are always three classes of people: the conservatives or those who would stick to the old things only, the moderates who would tolerate both the new and the old, and the extremists who would wholly discard the old, and probably the donor of the present grant belonged to the second class. All this is, however, extremely hypothetical, and I only hazard it in the hope that a better explanation may be forthcoming. By the way I may mention that it was the Gāṅgavamśa kings of Orissa who revived Sun-worship and built many temples dedicated to that deity;² and again most of the officials, such as *samāhartri* and *sannidhātri* (l. 24), are those chiefly found in the grants of Orissa kings. These are other items in support of the donor's family connection with Orissa.

With regard to the places mentioned in the grant, I identify Khaddikā with Khadi, a village three miles north-east of Ragholi where the plates were found. It is only a Sanskritised name like Lanjikā³ for Lanji, which is also not very far away from this place. Kaṭāraka is probably the present Katera near Katangi, 60 miles west of Ragholi. I cannot identify Chaṭṭulliha, unless it is a mistake for Raghulliha or Ragholi, where the plates have been found. With the elision of a little stroke in the first letter, and giving a slightly slanting position to the second, the word would read as Raghulliha. This may find support from the fact that the engraving of the grant is very defective, and that several other mistakes have been committed in lines 33, 40, 44, etc. I cannot find in the Central Provinces a place answering to Śrīvardhana-pura. It could not be Śrīvardhana in the Bombay Presidency, the famous seaport referred to by European travellers as Ziffardān and celebrated as the birth-place of the first Peshwa.⁴ From what has been stated above, the family would seem to have come from a seaport in the east rather than from the west. But the place must be searched for nearer home, and it may be that it is now non-existent. The probability is that it was situated somewhere near Rāmtēk in the Nāgpur district. Five miles from this place there is a village called Nagardhan which was known as Nandivardhana⁵ in olden times, and local traditions assert that the surrounding country was ruled from that place by Kshatriya Rājas.⁶ The village contains ancient remains and is mentioned as the name of a district together with Nāgpur in the Dêôli plates of the Rāshtrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III. dated in the year 940 A.D.⁷ It is plain therefore that

¹ Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 153.

² See Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. I. p. 279 f. Dr. Hunter says:—"At a remote period, Sun-worship, driven out of Vêdic India by materializing superstitions, found shelter on the secluded Eastern coast. Its existence in Orissa in ancient times is proved not only by the fact of a specific division of the country being devoted to it, but also by the rock writings The most exquisite memorial of Sun-worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Konārak upon the Orissa shore."

³ In the Bātanpur inscription of Jājalladēva, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 33.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI. p. 467.

⁵ Mr. Craddock's *Settlement Report*, 1895, p. 15.

⁶ It may be borne in mind that this part of the country was for a long time under Gonds and afterwards the Marāṭhas, and as a rule the memory of these only survives.

⁷ Above, Vol. V. p. 196 f.

Nandivardhana must have been a place of great importance before it gave its name to the district. I hold that this was founded by a successor of Jayavardhana II. who removed the capital from Śrīvardhanapura, also named after a king of the same line, to the place to which he gave his own name.¹ The Rāshtrakūṭas rose in power on this side in the eighth century, and it is probably they who displaced the Śailavamśa dynasty of the Vindhya mountains. Nandivardhana or Nagardhana is about 100 miles from Ragholi, and both were included in the same district about a century ago. It may also be stated that, so far as I have been able to find, there are no other villages ending in *vardhana* in Bālāghāt or any of the surrounding districts, and the name is so peculiarly different from those of other villages in the locality that it may almost be called unique; for these reasons the location of Śrīvardhanapura round about Nandivardhana or Rāmték carries at least a certain probability with it.

TEXT.²

Seal.

1 श्रीजयव-

2 ईनदेवस्य [॥*]

First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति श्रीवर्धनपुरात् [॥*] ³कैलासाचलतुङ्गशृङ्ग-
- 2 विपुलद्रोणोजयेशप्रभुः⁴ प्रख्यातो भुवि शैलवं-
- 3 शतिलकः श्री — —⁵ वर्धनो यो नृपः । तत्पुत्रः पृथ्व-
- 4 र्धनो निजभुजव्याकुलखड्गः[.] सुया⁶ देशं गौर्जरमास-
- 5 साद सहसा विक्रान्तिभिर्यस्ततः ॥ [१*] तदंशप्रभवो
- 6 व्यजीजनदलं सौवर्धनो भूपतिर्भूचक्रक-
- 7 मलध्वविक्रमयशः⁷ पुत्रत्रयं त्वीरसं । ते-
- 8 ⁸षामुर्जितवैरिदारणपटुं पीण्डाधिपं क्षाप-
- 9 तिं हर्त्तुं विषयं तमेव सकलं जग्राह श्री-
- 10 र्यान्वितः ॥ [२*] ताभ्यामन्यतमो विहृत्य सहसा द-
- 11 पंडितं दारुणं काशं काशिनराधिपं सित-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 12 गुणो जग्राह जेता द्विषां । तत्पुत्रो जयवर्धने-
- 13 ति वचसा ख्यातो वरो भूभृतां विम्ये विम्यनरेशमेव

¹ It is noticeable that all names of this line end in *vardhana*.

² From the original plates. I am indebted to Pr. f. Hultzsch for a few corrections in my readings.

³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; also of the two next verses.

⁴ Read °जवर्ध°.

⁵ There are two letters here which appear to have been struck off by the engraver. The metre also shows that they were redundant.

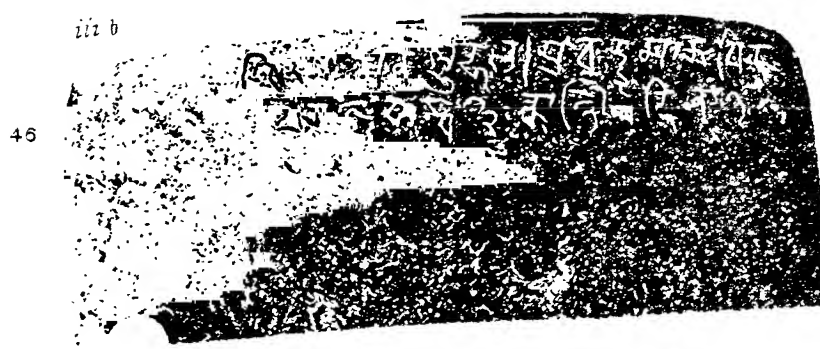
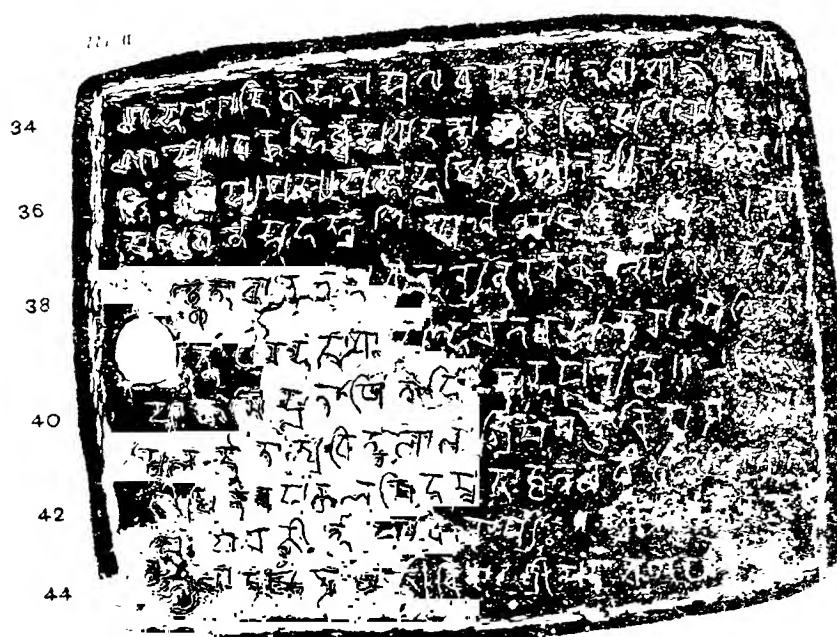
⁶ Read पुरा.

⁷ Read °लक्ष°.

⁸ Read °मुञ्चित°.

- a.

W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH



- 14 सुचिरं हत्वा चकार स्थितिं ॥ [३*] 'मातङ्गदानक्षतदीनचे-
 15 ष्टः 'सर्वर्षितानेकविशालवंशः । विन्ध्येश्वरो विन्ध्य
 16 इवाचलश्रीः श्रीवर्द्धनस्तस्य सुतो वभूव^१ ॥ [४*] 'तस्या-
 17 ळजः सकलवैरिविनाशदक्षो जातो महा-
 18 गुणनिधिर्जयवर्द्धनाख्यः । लक्ष्मीप्रगाढ-
 19 परिरंभणपीडिताङ्गं दृष्ट्वा दिवं यमगमत्यरु-
 20 षेव कीर्तिः ॥ [५*] परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादा-
 21 नुध्यातः, सकलविंध्याधिपतिः महाराजाधिरा-
 22 जपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्द्धनदेवः कुशलो

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 23 कटेरकविषयीयखट्वाकायां ब्राह्मणा[न्*]^२ संपूज्य प्रति-
 24 वासिनोन्यांश्च कुटुम्बिन^३ (i) समाहर्षसन्निधात्प्रसुखान्^४
 25 यथाकालाध्यासिनः सर्वराजपुरुषां^५ विषयपती-
 26 श्च समान्नापयति [॥*] विदितमस्तु भवता^६ यथास्माभिर-
 27 यं ग्रामः सन्निधिः सोपनिधिः सर्व्वकरादान-
 28 समेतः प्रतिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः सदशा-
 29 पराधः सर्व्वपीडाविवर्जितः चटुस्त्रिहप्रतिष्ठि-
 30 तश्रीमदादित्यभट्टारकाय अधिष्ठानविघ्नमिकया
 31 ^{१०}कात्तिक्यामुदकपूर्व्वमाचन्द्रार्कग्रहसमकालोप-
 32 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये ता-
 33 ^{११}भ्रशसनेन प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत^{१२} समुचितभो-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 34 गभागादिकं भक्ता^{१३} सुखं वस्तव्यं ॥ तथा चोक्तं धर्म-
 35 शास्त्रे ॥ ^{१४}बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
 36 भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [६*]
 37 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आ-

^१ Metre: Indravajra.

^२ Read संवर्द्धिता^०.

^३ Read वभूव.

^४ Metre: Vasantatilaka. The simile here is विरुद्धमतकारिका; compare श्रीनियोगाद्विदुमिव गतेत्यञ्चिं यस्य कीर्तिः in the *Śāhityapradīpa*, 7th *ullāsa*, *śloka* 241. For this parallel quotation I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda Sastri, M.A.

^५ Read ब्राह्मणान्.

^६ Read कुटुम्बिनः.

^७ Read 'प्रसुखान्.

^८ Read 'पुरुषान्.

^९ Read भवता.

^{१०} Read कार्तिक्या^०.

^{११} Read ताव^०.

^{१२} Read इत्यवगत.

^{१३} Read सुखा.

^{१४} Read बहु^०.

- 38 च्छेत्ता चानुत्ता¹ च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [७*] स्वद-
 39 तां परदता² वा यो हरेत वसुधरां । स विष्ठा-
 40 यां कर्मभूता³ पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [८*] इति क-
 41 ष्वलदतास्वविन्दुलेलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-
 42 जीवितं च रुक्लमिदमुदाहृतं⁴ च बुध्वा⁵ न हि पुन-
 43 र्नेः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [९*] श्रीश्रीवर्धनदेव-
 44 स्य पाद[पद्मोप]जीविना⁶ । श्रीमहाचण्डपालेन लि-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 45 खितं शासनं शुभम् । [१०*] प्रवर्द्धमानविज-
 46 यराज्ये सख्यं⁸ ३ कार्त्ति[के ?] दिन ३० [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om. Hail! From Śrīvardhanapura.*

(Verse 1.) (*There was*) king Śrīvardhana (I.), the lord of the family of her⁹ who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāsa mountain, (*and*) famous on (*this*) earth (*as*) the ornament of the Śailavamśa. His son Prithuwardhana, formerly having drawn the sword with his own arm, at once overcame the Gaurjara country by (*his various*) attacks.

(V. 2.) King Sauvardhana, who was born in his family, begat three sons of his own, who in due course acquired the glory of heroism on the circle of the earth. One of them, possessing valour, having killed the Paupdra king who was skilled in rending up (*his*) powerful enemies, took the whole of that country.

(V. 3.) The third of them,¹⁰ of white (*i.e.* pure) character, the vanquisher of foes, having forcibly killed the self-conceited (*and*) cruel king of the Kāśis, took Kāśi (*from him*). His son, known by the name of Jayavardhana (I.), the best of kings, having killed the lord of the Vindhya, took up his residence in the Vindhya for a long time.

(V. 4.) His son was Śrīvardhana (II.), the lord of the Vindhya, who possessed immovable (*permanent*) wealth like the immovable Vindhya mountain itself, who banished poverty by gifts of elephants, (*and*) who augmented the prosperity of various (*other*) big families.

(V. 5.) His son, skilled in destroying all (*his*) enemies (*and*) a treasury of great virtues, was called Jayavardhana (II.). The goddess of Wealth so closely embraced him that the goddess of Fame, as if (*jealous of her cowife*), out of anger ascended to the heavens.¹¹

¹ Read चानुत्ता.

² Read परदता.

³ Read कर्मभूता.

⁴ Read रुक्लमिदमुदाहृतं.

⁵ Read बुध्वा.

⁶ Read जीविना.

⁷ The words in brackets are very common in inscriptions; see *e.g. Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 210, note 3.

⁸ Read सख्यं.

⁹ I take *drōṇīja-vamśa* to stand for *drōṇījā-vamśa* in accordance with Pāp. VI. 3. 63, and to mean the *Gaṇḍā-vamśa*.

¹⁰ Literally, 'another than the two.'

¹¹ The idea is that he was very wealthy, and that his fame reached up to the heavens.

(L. 20.) The devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of his parents, the lord of the whole Vindhya, the Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Jayavardhanadēva, being in good health, having worshipped the Brāhmaṇas in (the village) Khaddikā in the district (vishaya) of Kaṭēraḥ, issues a command to the inhabitants and other householders (as well as) revenue collectors, receivers of public property and so forth, as they are appointed from time to time, (and) to all state officers and provincial governors.

(L. 26.) "Let it be known to you that this village is given by Us, with hidden treasures (and) deposits, together with (the right of) taking all the dues, with the prohibition for the regular or irregular forces to enter (the village), with (the fines leviable on) the ten offences,¹ free from all troubles, to (the temple of) the holy Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka (i.e. the Sun-god) set up at Chaṭṭulliha, at the request of the residence (viz. Śrīvardhanapura, l. 1), on the Kārttiki (tithi), with libations of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the planets endure, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourselves, by (this) copper-plate charter. Knowing this, let (all) live happily, enjoying (their) due portion of rights, etc. And it is thus enjoined in the Dharmasūtra :"—

[Here follow four of the customary imprecatory verses.]

(V. 10.) (This) auspicious charter was written by the illustrious Mahāchandaṇḍapāla, who subsisted on the lotus-feet of the illustrious Śrīvardhanadēva.

(L. 45.) The year 3 of the augmenting and victorious reign, the 30th day of Kārttika.

No. 6.—MALIYAPUNDI GRANT OF AMMARAJA II.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first published in 1905 by Messrs. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 164 ff., with seven photographic Plates. The original copper-plates had been "discovered by Mr. Venugopal Chetti in the Rāmaṅgēśvarasvāmi temple at Madanūr, a village about 10 miles from Ongole, Nellore district." I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, to whom the original plates were kindly forwarded at my request by Mr. Butterworth, and who contributes the following remarks on them :—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by about $4\frac{1}{8}$ ". The first and last plates bear writing only on their inner side and have raised rims about $\frac{3}{8}$ " high only on their engraved side. The three remaining plates, which bear writing on both sides, have rims of the same height projecting on both sides.² Through holes ($\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter), bored on the left margin of each plate, is passed a circular ring, which appears to have been cut and re-soldered before the plates came into my hands. The ring measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. Its ends, which are slightly thinner, are secured in the upper part of an expanded lotus flower of eight petals. To the lower part of the same lotus, which is fashioned into a rim-like projection, is soldered a circular seal, which measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is nearly $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. It bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāṁku[śa]* in the centre, in characters similar to those of the inscription. Below

¹ These were probably killing (murder), theft, wrong action (adultery), slander, harsh language, untruthfulness, incoherent conversation, uncivility, atheism and perverse behaviour, enumerated as *daṭadhā pāpakarma* in the *Sukrantti*, *adhyāya* 3, *śloka* 6.

² The high rims are responsible for the fact that some symbols at the beginning and the end of lines have not come out well in the ink-impressions.

the legend is an expanded lotus flower, and above it a running (?) boar facing the proper left. In front of the boar is an elephant goad, and behind its tail a crescent."

The alphabet is of the same Telugu type as in other grants of the same dynasty and period. No distinction is made between secondary *ô* and *au*, and secondary *i* and *û* is often written as *i* and *u*. Final *k* occurs in line 32, *t* in ll. 8, 30 and 51, *n* in ll. 10, 18, 24, 37, 39, 52, and *m* in ll. 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 51, 54, 55 and 60. The *jihvāmūlīya* is used in ll. 42, 51, and the *upadhmanīya* in ll. 10, 41, 43, 46 and 51.

The following orthographical irregularities deserve to be noted. Against one of Pāṇini's rules (VIII. 4, 49) the *sh* of *varsha* is doubled in ll. 8 and 11, but not in ll. 13, 18, 25 and 40. Some spellings are due to the Telugu pronunciation. Thus we find *yētaḍ* (l. 57) for *ētaḍ*, *yuttara* (ll. 54 f. and 57, but not in l. 59) for *uttara*, *rakshaṇāyayiva* (l. 47 f.) for *rakshaṇāy=aiva*, *aruha* (l. 50) for *arha*, *kṛishṭa* (l. 39) for *kṛishṇa*. Dental *n* is employed instead of lingual *ṇ* in *Kīranapuram* and *kṛishṇa* (l. 43), *punya* (ll. 49, 50), *ābharana* (ll. 49, 53), *ganēsa* (l. 50), *yuttarāyana* (l. 54 f.). The vowel *ri* is replaced by *ṛi* in *kṛishṇa* (l. 43), *śadriśô* (l. 52) and *kritvâ* (l. 56). The palatal sibilant is improperly used in *śaṁha* (l. 50) for *saṁgha* and *śadriśô* (l. 52) for *sadriśô*.

The language is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with 20 Sanskrit verses. In ll. 56-60 some names of villages, tanks and fields appear in their Telugu forms. At the end of the record the usual imprecatory verses and the names of the *Ājñapti*, composer and writer are missing.

As the inscription records a grant to a Jaina temple, it opens with an invocation of the Jaina religion (v. 1). Ll. 3-41 contain the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty down to *Samastabhuvanāśraya Vijayāditya* (VI.) or *Ammarāja* (II.), the date of whose coronation is given in the same two verses (13 f.) as in his *Paṇḍakalūru* grant.¹ The genealogical portion contains two passages of historical importance, the first (ll. 13-16) describing the reign of *Vijayāditya* III., and the second (ll. 22-32) the accession of Chālukya-Bhīma II.

The Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapādēva reports that *Vijayāditya* III. slew Maṅgirāja, burnt Chakrakūṭa, terrified Saṅkila, residing in Kīranapura and joined by Kṛishṇa, restored his dignity to Vallabhendra, and received elephants as tribute from the king of Kaliṅga.² The slaying of Maṅgi is referred to also in three other inscriptions.³ The second of them adds the burning of Kīranapura, and the third states that the king, having terrified Kṛishṇa and Saṅkila, completely burnt their city. Hitherto we did not know who Maṅgi and Saṅkila were. Verse 3 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant calls the former 'the king of the great Nodamba-rāshṭra' and the second 'the lord of the excellent Dā[ha]la.' Thus Maṅgi seems to have been one of the Pallavas of Nodambavāḍi⁴ and Saṅkila an early chief of Dāhala (or Chēdi). While two of the above-mentioned inscriptions couple the name of Saṅkila with that of Kṛishṇa, the Maliyapūṇḍi grant (v. 3) states that Saṅkila was 'joined by the fierce Vallabha.' The *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 5) correctly conclude from this that Saṅkila's ally Kṛishṇa was a Vallabha, i.e. a Rāshṭrakūṭa. Hence my former identification of this Kṛishṇa with the Paramāra king Kṛishṇarāja⁵ must be wrong, and he may be identified, as was done by Dr. Fleet,⁶ with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II. The latter is known to have been connected with the Chēdi family, being the son-in-law of Kokkalla (I.) and the brother-in-law of Śaṅkuka.⁷ I feel no hesitation in identifying Saṅkila of Dāhala with Śaṅkuka (or Śaṅkaragaṇa) of Chēdi, the son of Kokkalla I., but am unable to identify Kīranapura, where Saṅkila resided according to the

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 16. Ll. 23-34 of this grant are identical with ll. 32-41 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 239 f.

³ Above, Vol. V. p. 126, verse 5; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 213, text line 16 f.; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV. p. 226 and notes 7 and 8).

⁴ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 332 f.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 102.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 263.

Piṭhāpuram inscription and Kṛishṇarāja according to the Maliyapūṇḍi grant (v. 15). In two grants the burning of this Kiraṇapura,¹ the residence of Kṛishṇa and Saṅkila,² is attributed to Vijayāditya III. himself. Verse 15 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant informs us that this feat was in reality performed by a military officer named Pāṇḍaraṅga. It is perhaps worth noting that another Rāshtrakūṭa prince named Kṛishṇarāja is mentioned in a grant of A.D. 888.³ Between the slaying of Maṅgi and the victory over Saṅkila the Maliyapūṇḍi grant mentions that Vijayāditya III. 'defeated the Gaṅgas who took refuge on the peak of Gaṅgakūṭa.' As suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 3), this statement may or may not be a mere variant of one in the Piṭhāpuram inscription, according to which the king burnt Chakrakūṭa.⁴ He is elsewhere said to have 'defeated the unequalled Gaṅgas.'⁵ Finally the new grant reports that Vijayāditya III. bore the surname Parachakrarāma (l. 14).

The Maliyapūṇḍi grant gives a vivid description of the struggles that took place after the death of Vikramāditya II. Five years passed in continual wars between the rival claimants, among whom Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtanḍa and Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya are mentioned by name. Then Rājabhīma (or Chālukya-Bhīma II.) succeeded in restoring order by slaying Rājamārtanḍa, defeating and banishing Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla, and killing many other rebels. Yuddhamalla (II.) is the son of Tāla, to whom one grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II. attributes a reign of seven years,⁶ while two other grants,⁷ like the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, take no official notice of his reign. Rājamārtanḍa is perhaps the same as Rājamayya in the Kaluchumbarru grant,⁸ and he is mentioned also in the Kolavennu plates.⁹ In editing these plates I committed a mistake, which has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet¹⁰ and Prof. Kielhorn,¹¹ in taking Rājamārtanḍa as a surname of Chālukya-Bhīma II. As stated in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 170, note 4), the Maliyapūṇḍi grant now shows that Rājamārtanḍa was a distinct person. Dr. Fleet has already noticed that ll. 17-19 of the Kolavennu plates contain a verse,¹² the first half of which I would now, with the help of his remarks, correct as follows:—

यस्तातविक्रानाख्यं ध७९दिं मुद्रि७७वराजमार्त्तण्डी [1*]

Thus the verse mentions four enemies of Chālukya-Bhīma II. :—Tātabikyana, Dhalādi (or Dhalāga), Munṇiṇṇiṇṇi and Rājamārtanḍa. Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya, whom the king banished along with Yuddhamalla II., is undoubtedly the same as Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta or Vijayāditya V., the son of Amma I. and the ancestor of the Eastern Chālukyas of Piṭhāpuram.¹³

The subjoined grant was made at a winter solstice (*uttarāyana*, l. 54 f.). The donee was a temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) in the south of Dharmapurī (v. 17), which was in charge of a priest of the Yāpaniya-saṅgha¹⁴ (v. 18). It had been founded by the Kaṭakarāja (l. 54) Durgarāja (v. 16) and was named Kaṭakābharaṇa-Jinālaya (v. 17 and l. 53), evidently after a surname of the founder. At his request (l. 54) the grant was made, and the grant portion opens with a pedigree of his family. His ancestor Pāṇḍaraṅga is stated to have burnt Kiraṇapura, the residence of Kṛishṇarāja (v. 15), and accordingly must have been a military officer of Vijayāditya III.¹⁵ His son Niravadyadhavala was appointed Kaṭakarāja (l. 44 f.). His son was the Kaṭakādhipati Vijayāditya (l. 45 f.), and his son was Durgarāja (v. 16).

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 213, text line 17.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV. p. 226 and note 7).

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 66.

⁴ Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 214, text line 31.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 44; above, Vol. V. p. 138, note 3.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII. p. 181.

⁹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 46 and note 1.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 269, and above, Vol. VII. p. 182.

¹¹ *Lists of Southern Inscr.* No. 562.

¹² Above, Vol. VII. p. 181 f.

¹³ Above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

¹⁴ Compare *ibid.* p. 333.

¹⁵ See notes 1 and 2 above.

Pāṇḍaraṅga (the Pāṇḍaraṅga of v. 15) is mentioned as *Ājñapti* in a grant of Vijayāditya III.¹ The title *Kaṭakarāja* or *Kaṭakādhīpati*, i.e. 'superintendent of the royal camp,' which was borne by his three lineal descendants, seems to be peculiar to the court of the Eastern Chālukya kings. Dr. Fleet remarked that the grants of Amma I. and Amma II. mention *Kaṭakarāja*, *Kaṭakēśa* and *Kaṭakādhīśa* as *Ājñapti*, and came to the conclusion that these two words were not proper names, but mere titles.² The Maliyapūṇḍi grant now shows that in each case they refer to one of the three direct descendants of Pāṇḍaraṅga, who bore that title, viz. Niravadyadhavala, Vijayāditya and Durgarāja. It seems preferable to take also *Kaḍeyarāja* in the grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I.³ as a vulgar form of *Kaṭakarāja*, the title of Vijayāditya, and not as a proper name.

The object of the grant was the small village (*grāmaṭikā*) of **Maliyapūṇḍi** (l. 55) in the district (*vishaya*) of **Kamma-nāṇḍu** (l. 42). Its boundaries are given in l. 56 f. The northern boundary, **Dharmavuramu**, is the Telugu form of Dharmapurī, to the south of which the *Jinālaya* was situated (v. 17). According to the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 174, note) both **Dharmapuram** and the western boundary, **Kalvakuru**, are now in the Addanki division of the Ongole tāluka. Of two inscriptions at Dharmavaram (p. 966 ff. of the same work) the first mentions Gupakenalla (Vijayāditya III.), Pāṇḍaraṅga, the burning of Kiranapura, and Dharmavuram. An inscription at Addanki (p. 896 f. of the same work) also refers to Pāṇḍaraṅga and Dharmavuram. Maliyapūṇḍi itself, the village granted, does not exist any more at present (*ibid.* p. 167), but its former position is fixed by the identification of two of its boundaries. The district of Kamma-nāṇḍu, to which it belonged, is identical with the **Kamma-rāshṭra** or **Kammāka-rāshṭra** of other inscriptions. To my former remarks on this geographical name⁴ may be added that it occurs as *Kammāka-raṭha* in the Jaggayyapēṭa inscriptions of Purisadata.⁵ This Prākṛit form renders my suggestion that *Kammūka* may be meant for *Kammūka*⁶ untenable; for the latter would have become in Prākṛit *Kammaṅka*, and not *Kammūka*.

TEXT.⁷

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ भद्रं स्याच्चिजगद्भुताय सततं श्रीमन्निन्दप्रभोरुद्दामाततशासन[१]-
- 2 य विलसद्भर्मावलंबाय च । सामर्थ्यात्खलु यस्य दुष्कलिकता दोषाश्च
मिल्याद्भव[१]⁸ (१) दु-
- 3 वर्तमानानि च भूतली न वितता शान्तिश्च नित्यं चित्ते[*] ॥ [१*] ॐ स्वस्ति
श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसं-⁹
- 4 स्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्राणां कौशिकिवरप्रसादलब्धरा-
- 5 ज्ञानाश्चातुग[ण*]परिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यायिनाम् भगव-
- 6 न्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहलांछनेक्ष्णक्ष्णवशिकृतारातिमण्ड[ला]-¹⁰

¹ Above, Vol. V. p. 125, verse 9.

² Above, Vol. VII. p. 184 f.

³ Above, Vol. V. p. 130.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 238.

⁵ See Bhagwanlal Indraji's transcript in *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, p. 56, and Buhler's transcripts in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 258 f. and in *Amaravati and Jaggayyapēṭa*, p. 110 (compare Plate lxii. f.).

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 234.

⁷ From two sets of ink-impressions.

⁸ Read मिल्योद्भव.

⁹ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁰ Read °वशीकृता°.

- 7 नामश्रमेधावभ्यस्तानपवित्रीकृतवपुषाम्¹ चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिणीस्त्वया[श्र]-
 8 यवज्ञभेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुञ्जविष्णुवर्धनोष्ट[1*]दश वर्षाणि² वेगिमण्डलमपालयत् ।
 तदात्म-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 जो ³जयसिंहस्त्वयस्त्रिंशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्पू-
 नुर्म्मगियुवराज-
 10 Xपंचविंशतिन्तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्वयोदश । तदवरज[:*] कोक्किलिष्यमासान् ।
 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता
 11 विष्णुवर्धन[स्त्र]मुच्चाव्य [स]प्तत्रिंशतम्⁴ (I) वर्षाणि [1*] तत्पुत्रो विजया-
 दित्यभट्ट[1*]रकोष्टादश । तत्पुत्रो
 12 विष्णुवर्धनस्त्रिंशतम् । नरेन्द्रमृगराजाख्यो मृगराजपराक्रमः [1*] विजयादित्य-
 13 भूपालः⁵ चत्वारिंशत्समाष्टभिः [॥ २*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्धनोध्यर्धवर्ष । त-
 14 पुत्रः परचक्रामापरनामधेयः [1*] हत्वा ⁶भूरिनोदंबराष्ट्रनृपतिं मंगिमहा-
 संग-
 15 र⁷ गंगानाश्रीवगंगकुटशिखरान्निर्जित्य ⁸सङ्ग[1]लाधीशं संकिलमुग्रवह्मभयुतं
 यो भ[1]-
 16 ययित्वा चतुश्चत्वारिंशतमब्दकांश्च विजयादित्यो ररच्च क्षितिं । [३*]
 तदनुजस्य लब्ध-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 यौवराज्यस्य विक्रमादित्यस्य सुतश्चालुक्यभिमस्त्रिंशतं⁹ [1*] तस्याग्रजो
 विजयादित्यः
 18 षण्मासान् [1*] तदग्रसुतुरम्भराजस्सप्त वर्षाणि । तत्सुनुमाक्रम्य बालं
 चालुक्यभिमपि-⁹
 19 तुष्ययुद्धमल्लस्य नन्दनस्तालनृपो मासमेकं । नानासामन्तवर्गैरधिकबल-
 युतैश्च¹⁰
 20 त्तमातंगसैनो¹¹ हात्वा तं तालराजं विषमरणमुखे सार्द्धमत्युग्रते-
 21 जाः [1*] एकाब्दं सम्यगभोनिधिवलयवृतामन्वरच्चरित्रिं¹² श्रीमाञ्चालुक्य-

¹ Read °वपुषां.

² Read वर्षाणि.

³ Read जयसिंह°.

⁴ Read °विंशतं वर्षाणि.

⁵ Read °पालयत्वा°.

⁶ Read °नोदंब°.

⁷ Read °संगरे गंगानाश्रितगंगकुट°.

⁸ Read सङ्गहत्वा°; in contravention of the rules, the first half of the verse ends in the middle of a compound word.

⁹ Read °भीम°.

¹⁰ Read °वर्गै° and °युतैर्भ°.

¹¹ Read °सेनेहरवा.

¹² Read °हरित्री श्रीमाञ्चालुक्यभीम°.



- 22 भिमचित्तिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूपः । [४*] पञ्चादहमहमिकया विक्र-
मादित्यास्त-
23 म[य*]ने राक्षसा इव प्रजावाधनपरा दायदराजपुत्रा राज्याभिलाषिणो
युद्धमल्लरा-
24 'जमार्त्तण्डलकण्डिकाविजयादित्यप्रभृतयो विग्रहिभूता' आसन् [१*] विग्र-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 25 हेनैव पंच वर्षाणि गतानि [१*] ततः [१*] 'योवधिद्र[१]जमार्त्तण्डन्तेष[१]
येन रणे कृतौ [१*] क-
26 ण्डिकाविजयादित्ययुद्धमल्लो' विदेशगौ । [५*] अन्ये मान्यमहिभृतोपि^५
बहवो^६ दु-
27 टप्रवृत्ताऽताः^७ देशोपद्रवकारिणः प्रकटिताः कालालय^८ प्रापिताः [१*]
'दोह्ण्डेरि-
28 तमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योयसंशामकावाज्ञा^{१०} तत्परभृन्पैश्व^{११}
29 शिरसो मालिव सन्धार्यते । [६*] नादग्वा^{१२} विनिवर्त्तते रिपुकुलं कोपाग्निरा
मूल-
30 तः शुभ्रं य[स्य] यशो न लोकमखिलं सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [१*] द्रव्यां-
भोधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं^{१३}
31 सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जनसंसस्ये^{१४} न नो वर्षति । [७*] स
चालुक्यभिमनसा^{१५} वि-
32 जयादित्यनन्दनः [१*] द्वादशाव्यात्समास्तम्यक्^{१६} राजभिर्मो धरातलं । [८*]
तस्य महेश्वरमू-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 33 'तेरुमासमानाकृतेः कुमारभः [१*] लोकमाहादेव्याः^{१७} खलु यस्मभभवदम्भ[रा]-
34 जात्यः ॥ [९*] जलजातपत्रचामरकलशांकुशलक्षणां [क*] करचरणतलः [१*]
लसदाजा-

^१ As remarked in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 178, note 1, the ल after मार्त्तण्ड is superfluous; it was perhaps engraved because the writer had in his mind the frequent word मण्डल.

^२ Read विग्रहीभूता.

^३ Read योवधीद्रा.

^४ Read 'महो.

^५ Read 'महोय'.

^६ The *akṣaras* लो and दु are engraved on an erasure.

^७ Read 'वृत्तोऽता.

^८ Read 'लयं.

^९ Read 'दोह्ण्डे'.

^{१०} Read perhaps 'संशामिकस्याज्ञा.

^{११} Read 'भृन्पैश्व' as proposed in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 178, note 6; य is engraved on an erasure.

^{१२} Read नादग्वा.

^{१३} The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^{१४} Read जनतास्ये.

^{१५} Read 'भीम'.

^{१६} Read द्वादशाव्यात्समास्तम्ययाजभोमो.

^{१७} Read 'मूर्ते'.

^{१८} Read 'महा'.

i.
2
4
6
8

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ii a.
10
12
14
16

ii b.
18
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24

iii a.
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32

SCALE .45

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E. HULTZSCH.

34

36

38

40

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

42

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Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

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Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

60

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

- 35 न्वलंबितभुजयुगपरिघो गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः¹ ॥ [१०*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो
विविधायु-
36 धकोविदो ²विलिनारिकुलः [1*] करितुरगागमकुशलो हरचरणांभोजयुग-
37 लमधुपश्रीमान् ॥ [११*] कविगायककल्पतरुर्दिजमुनिदिनाम्बवन्भुज-³
38 सुरभिः [1*] याचकगणचिन्तामणिरवनीशमणिर्महोशमहसा द्युमणिः ॥
[१२*] गिरिरसवसु-
39 संख्याद्दे शकसमये मार्गशीर्षमासेस्मिन् [1*] 'कृष्टत्रयोदशदिने शुग्वारे
मैत्रनक्षत्रे [॥ १३*]
40 धनुषि रवौ घटलग्ने द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः पटं [1*] योधादुदयगिरीन्द्रो
रविमिव लोका-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 41 नुरागाय ॥ [१४*] स ⁵समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविजायदित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
श्वरपरम[धा]-
42 ⁶भिकोम्भराजकृष्णनाण्डविषयनिवासिनो ⁷राष्ट्रकुटप्रसुखान्कुटुंबिनस्सर्व[1*]नित्यमाज्ञा-
पयति [1*]
43 आर्या[1*] । ⁸किरनपुरमधाक्षीत्किष्पूराजस्थितं⁹ यस्त्रिपुरमिव ¹⁰महेशपरम-
रंग[1*] प्रतापि¹¹ [1*] तदिह [सु]-
44 ¹²खसहाश्रीरन्वितस्याप्यशक्य¹³ गणनममलकीर्त्तस्तस्य¹⁴ सत्साहसानाम¹⁵ ॥ [१५*]
तस्य[1*]त्त-
45 जो निरवयधवल[ः] कटकराजपट्टशोभितललाटः¹⁶ [1*] तत्तनयो विजया-
दित्यकट-
46 काधिपति[ः] । वृत्त¹⁷ । तत्पुत्रो ¹⁸दुग्गराजपरमगुणनिधिर्धार्मिकस्स-
त्यवादि¹⁹ त्यागि भो[गी]
47 महात्मा समितिषु विजयि²⁰ विरलस्त्रिनिवासः²¹ [1*] चालुक्यानां च लक्ष्म्या
यदसिरपि सदा रक्षणा[य]-²²

¹ Read गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः.

² Read विलीना°.

³ Read °मुनिदीनाम्.

⁴ Read कृष्ण°.

⁵ Read °विजयादित्य°.

⁶ Read °धार्मिकी°.

⁷ Read °कुट°.

⁸ Read किरण°.

⁹ Read °धाक्षीत्किष्पूराजस्थितं, as suggested in the Nellore District Inscriptions, p. 173, note 2.

¹⁰ Corrected from महाश°.

¹¹ Read प्रतापी.

¹² Read °सहस्र°.

¹³ Read °शक्य°.

¹⁴ Read °कीर्त्त°.

¹⁵ Read °सानाम°.

¹⁶ The visarga was added subsequently.

¹⁷ Read वृत्त°.

¹⁸ Read वृत्त°.

¹⁹ Read दुग्गा°.

²⁰ Read °वादी त्यागी.

²¹ Read विजयी वीरलक्ष्मी°.

²² The visarga was added subsequently.

²³ Read रक्षायैव.

- 48 यिव वंश[:*] ख्यातो यस्यापि वेङ्गीगदितवरमहामण्डलालंबनाय ।
[१६*] तेन कृतो धर्मपु[रीद]-
49 क्षिणदिशि सज्जिनालयश्चाहतरः [1*] कटकाभरणशुभांकितनाम¹ च पुन्यालयो
वसति [॥ १७*]

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 50 ³[श्री]यापुनियशंहप्रपुज्यकोटिमडुवगनेशमुख्यो⁴ यः [1*] पुन्यारुहणन्दिगच्छो
जिननन्दिमुनिश्वरो[य]⁵ ग-
51 [ण]धरसदृशः । [१८*] तस्याग्रशिष्यः प्रथितो ध(र)रायाम्⁷ (i) दिव[1*]-
कर[1*]ख्यो मुनिपुंगवोभुत्⁸ [1*] यक्षेवलक्ष[1*]ननिधि-
52 म्हात्मा स्वयं जिनानां शत्रिश्च⁹ गुणौघे ॥ [१९*] श्रीमान्दिरदेवमुनिस्सु-
तपोनिधिरभवदस्य शिष्य¹⁰ धीम[1]न् [1*] य-
53 आतिहार्यमहिमा¹¹ संपन्नमिवाभिमन्यते लेकः¹² [॥ २०*] ¹³तदधिष्ठितकटक[1*]-
भरणजिनालय[1]-¹⁴
54 य कटकराजविज्ञप्तै¹⁵ खण्डस्फुटनवक्रत्योपिलिप्रपुजादिसत्रसिद्ध्यर्थम्¹⁶ (i) यु-
55 त्तरायननिमित्ते मलियपूण्डिनामग्रामटिका सर्व्वकारपरिहार(म्)मुदक-
56 पुर्व्व¹⁷ क्रित्वा दत्ता । अस्य ग्राम[स्व*]ावधयः पूर्व्वतः मुञ्जुन्य¹⁸ ॥ दक्षिणतः
यिनिमिलि ॥ पश्चि[म]-
57 तः कल्बकुर ॥ युत्तरतः[1]¹⁹ धर्मवुरसु ॥ ²⁰वेतवामस्य चेन्नावधयः पूर्व्वतः
गोह्लनि-
58 गुण्ड ॥ आग्नेयतः[1] रावियपेरियचे²¹वु । दक्षिणतः स्थापितशिला ॥
नैरित्य²² स्थ[1*]पितशिलैव [1*]

Fifth Plate.

- 59 पश्चिमतः मस्कप²³ को²⁴वोयुतट[1]कश्च ॥ वायव्यतः स्थापितशिलैव ।
उत्तरतः दुव[चे]वु [1*]
60 ईशान्याम्²⁵ (i) कल्बकुरि एव्वोकचेनि सिमैव²⁶ सीमा ॥

¹ Read °भरण°. The whole compound seems to be meant for कटकाभरणशुभनामांकितः, which would have offended against the metre.

² Read पुण्या°.

³ Read श्रीयापनीयसंघप्रपुज्य°.

⁴ Read °गणेश° or perhaps, for the sake of the metre, °गणेश्वर°.

⁵ Read पुण्याई° and compare below, p. 56, note 2.

⁷ Read धरायां.

⁸ Read °भूत्.

¹⁰ Read शिष्यो.

¹¹ Read यमतिहार्यमहिमा.

¹³ Read °धिष्ठित°.

¹⁴ Read °भरण°.

¹⁶ Read °नवक्रत्यावलिप्रपुजादिसत्रसिद्ध्यर्थम्मुत्तरायण°.

¹⁸ Or possibly मुञ्जुन्य.

¹⁹ Read उत्तरतः.

²¹ Read नैरित्यां.

²² Read ईशान्यां.

⁶ Read °सुनीर्.

⁹ Read सदृशो गुणौघः.

¹² Read लोकः.

¹⁵ Read °विज्ञप्ते.

¹⁷ Read °पूर्व्व° कृत्वा.

²⁰ Read एत°.

²³ Read सीमैव.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the religion (*śāsana*) of the lord Jinendra.

(Line 7.) **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana (I.)**, the brother of **Satyāśraya-Vallabhendra** who adorned the family of the **Chālukyas**, ruled the **Vēṅgi** country (*maṇḍala*) for eighteen years; his son **Jayasimha (I.)** for thirty-three; **Vishṇuvardhana (II.)**, the son of his younger brother **Indrarāja**, for nine; his son **Maṅgi-yuvarāja** for twenty-five; his son **Jayasimha (II.)** for thirteen; his younger brother **Kokkili** for six months; his eldest brother **Vishṇuvardhana (III.)**, having expelled him, for thirty-seven years; his son **Vijayāditya (I.)-bhaṭṭāraka** for eighteen; his son **Vishṇuvardhana (IV.)** for thirty-six.

(V. 2.) King **Vijayāditya (II.)**, surnamed **Narēndramṭigarāja**, who had the courage of a lion, for forty years with eight.¹

(L. 13.) His son **Kali-Vishṇuvardhana (V.)** for one year and a half. His son, whose other name was **Parachakrarāma**,

(V. 3.) (*was*) **Vijayāditya (III.)**, who, having slain in a great battle **Maṅgi**, the king of the great **Noḍamba-rāshṭra**, having defeated the **Gaṅgas** who took refuge on the peak of **Gaṅgakūṭa**, and having terrified **Saṅkila**, the lord of the excellent **Dā[ha]la**, who was joined by the fierce **Vallabha**, ruled the earth for forty-four years.

(L. 16.) **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, the son of his younger brother **Vikramāditya (I.)** who had received the dignity of **Yuvarāja**, for thirty. His eldest son² **Vijayāditya (IV.)** for six months. His eldest son **Ammarāja (I.)** for seven years. Having overcome his infant son, **Tāla-nṛipa**, the son of **Yuddhamalla (I.)**, the paternal uncle of **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, for one month.

(V. 4.) Having slain at the head of a rough battle this **Tāla-rāja** together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (*and*) had troops of furious elephants, the glorious king **Vikramāditya (II.)**, the son of king **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, of very fierce power, righteously ruled for one year the earth surrounded by the girdle of the oceans.

(L. 22.) Afterwards at the setting (*i.e.* the death) of **Vikramāditya (II.)**, the kinsmen-princes who were desirous of the kingdom, (*viz.*) **Yuddhamalla**, **Rājamārtanḍa**, **Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya**, *etc.*, were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like **Rākshasas** (*at the setting of the sun*). In mere war five years passed away. Then (*succeeded*)—

(V. 5 f.) The fierce warrior who slew among those **Rājamārtanḍa**; who in a battle made **Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya** and **Yuddhamalla** go to a foreign country; the curved sword wielded by whose strong arm dispatched to the abode of Death many others who, though respectable kings, had shown themselves puffed up by evil conduct (*and*) causing distress to the country; (*and whose*) command is carried on the head like a garland by the eager kings of the earth.

(V. 8.) This **Rājabhīma (II.)**, the son of **Vijayāditya (IV.)** (*and*) grandson of **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, righteously ruled the surface of the earth for twelve years.

(V. 9.) **Ammarāja (II.)**, who was born to him by **Lōkamahādēvi**, as **Kumāra** to **Mahēśvara** by **Umā**;

(V. 13 f.) Who—as the eastern lord of mountains, to redden the world, (*puts on himself*) the sun—put on, to please the world, the fillet in the **twelfth year** of (*his*) birth, in the year reckoned by the mountains (7), the flavours (6) and the Vasus (8)—(*i.e.* 867)—of the **Śaka** era,

¹ The reading of the text seems to be meant for चत्वारिंशत्सन्ना षट्भिः, which would however be against the metre.

² The other Eastern Chālukya inscriptions show that *agraja* has to be taken here to mean 'the first-born son,' and not, as usually, 'the elder brother.' A similar use of the word *agrajanman* is noted by Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VII. p. 181.

in this month of Mārgaśīrsha, on the thirteenth day of the dark (*fortnight*), on Thursday, in the Maitra (Anurādhā) *nakshatra*, while the sun (*was*) in Dhanus, in the Ghaṭa *lagna*;

(L. 41.) This *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, the glorious **Vijayāditya (VI.)**, the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the very pious **Ammarāja (II.)** thus commands all the ryots, headed by the *Rāshtrakūṭas*, inhabiting the district (*vishaya*) of **Kamma-nāṇḍu** :—Lords!

(V. 15.) Even one possessed of thousands of mouths (*would be*) unable to count the great achievements of that valiant **Pāṇḍaraṅga**, of spotless fame, who burnt **Kiraṇapura**, the residence of **Kṛishṇarāja**, as Mahēsa (Śiva) (*burnt*) Tripura.

(L. 44.) His son (*was*) **Niravadyadhavala**, whose forehead was decorated with the fillet of *Kaṭakarāja*. His son (*was*) the *Kaṭakūḍhipati* **Vijayāditya**.

Verse (16.) His son (*was*) **Durgarāja**, whose sword always (*served*) only for the protection of the fortune of the **Chālukyas**, and whose renowned family¹ (*served*) for the support of the excellent great country (*maṇḍala*) called **Vēṅgi**.

* (V. 17.) There is on the southern side of **Dharmapurī** a very charming excellent temple of **Jina** (*Jinālaya*) founded by him, an abode of merit, and marked with the auspicious name of **Kaṭakābharāṇa**.

(V. 18.) (*There was*) the lord of ascetics **Jinanandin**, who resembled the *Gaṇadharas*, belonged to the pure and worthy² **Nandi-gachchha** (*and*) was the chief lord of the **Koṭimaḍuva(?)**-*gaṇa*, which is to be worshipped (*as belonging to*) the holy **Yāpaniya-saṃgha**.

(V. 19.) His first disciple was a chief of ascetics called **Div[ā]kara**, renowned on earth, a store of highest knowledge (*and*) high-souled, who resembled the *Jinas* themselves by great virtues.

(V. 20.) His disciple was the wise ascetic **Śrīmāndiradēva**, a store of great austerities, whom people desire as if he were possessed of the power of *pratihārya*.³

(L. 53.) To the **Kaṭakābharāṇa-Jinālaya** superintended by him there was given, at the request of the *Kaṭakarāja*, for the cost of repairs of breaks and cracks, offerings, worship, *etc.*, and of an alms-house (*sattra*), on the occasion of the winter solstice (*uttarāyana*), the small village named **Maliyapūṇḍi**, with exemption from all taxes, with libations of water.

(L. 56.) The boundaries of this village (*are*): in the east **Muñjuny[u]ru**; in the south **Yinimili**; in the west **Kalvakuru**; in the north **Dharmavuramu**.

(L. 57.) The boundaries of the fields of this village (*are*): in the east the *Gollani-guṇṭha* (*pond*); in the south-east the *Rāviya-periya-cheṇuvu* (*tank*); in the south a demarcation stone; in the south-west also a demarcation stone; in the west **Malkaparru** and the *Korabōyu-taṭāka* (*tank*); in the north-west also a demarcation stone; in the north the *Duba-cheṇuvu* (*tank*); in the north-east the boundary (*is*) also the boundary of the *Evṇōka-chēnu* (*field*) in **Kalvakuru**.

NO. 7.—PLATES OF VIJAYA-DEVAVARMAN.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Two sets of excellent ink-impressions of this grant were sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who had received the original plates from the Collector of the Kistna district.

¹ The word *canṣa* means also 'a cane'; see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 173, note 5.

² It is not quite impossible that *punydruha* is a mistake for *Punndga*; compare the *Pannāgavṛkṣamūlagāṇa* of the *Nandisaṃgha*, above, Vol. IV. p. 338.

³ According to Buddhist works, *pratihārya* or *pratihārya* means 'jugglery, working miracles'; see the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*.

"The plates belong to the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur, in whose office they have been lying for a long time. The person from whom they were originally obtained is not known."

"The copper-plates are four in number. Their length is $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and their height $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the ends and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the middle. Their margins are not raised into rims. The ring was cut by me (*viz.* Mr. Venkayya) for the first time. Its diameter is $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and its thickness slightly over $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The ends of the ring are secured at the base of an oval seal, measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The seal is all but obliterated; but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen."

The inscription on the plates is carefully engraved and on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of the three grants of Simhavarmā¹ and of the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman.² But neither *t* nor *n* have a loop at the left. As in the Hirahadagalli plates,³ the former is distinguished by a slight curve at the right; compare *e.g.* the *ta* of *etassa* (l. 8) with the *na* of *vayanena* (l. 7). As first members of a consonant group both look the same: see the *ttā* of *āchchhettā* and the *ntā* of *ch=ānumantā* (l. 17). Final forms of *t* and *m*, followed by a mark of punctuation which looks like a right angle, occur at the end of lines 17 and 19. The numerical symbol 20 occurs in line 11, the symbols 3 and 10 are used in the date (l. 15), and the plates ii.a, ii.b, iii.a, iii.b and iv. are numbered consecutively, like the pages of a modern book,⁴ with the symbols 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the left margin; on the first plate the sacred syllable *ōm* occupies the place of the figure 1.

The language is Prākṛit prose, with the exception of the last plate which bears two of the customary Sanskrit verses. While in the cave inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of the prose part of the subjoined plates agrees in this respect with that of the literary Prākṛit and of the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi.⁵ In *samvachchhara* (l. 14) *v* is doubled after *anusvāra*. The language of the new plates is more archaic than that of the literary Prākṛit in one important point: single consonants between vowels generally remain unchanged.⁶ Thus *k* is preserved in *bhaṭṭāraka* (l. 3); *kh* in *panukha* (l. 7); *g* in *bhagarato* (l. 1); *j* in *vijaya* (ll. 1, 6, 14), *yājīn* (l. 5) and *mahārāja* (l. 6); *t* in *bhagavato* (l. 1), *anujjhāta* (l. 2 f.), *bhāṇitavva* and *eta* (l. 8), *pariharitavva* (l. 13 f.); *th* in *ratha* (l. 2); *d* in *pāda* (ll. 2 and 3) and *padesa* (l. 10); *dh* in *medha* (l. 5). But elision and *ya-śruti* have taken place in *adhiya* (l. 11) for *ārdhika*, *niyattaṇa* (l. 10) for *nivartana*, *vayana* (l. 7) for *vachana*, and at the beginning of the enclitic *cha* in *duvaggāṇa ya* (l. 12) and *pariharitavvo ya* (l. 13 f.).⁷ The word *Pausa* (l. 15) appears in its Sanskrit form.⁸ Dental *n* occurs in *anujjhāta* (l. 2 f.), *Silāṅkāyana* (l. 4), *yājīno* (l. 5), *gharaṭṭhāna* (ll. 11 and 12) = Sanskrit *grihasthāna*, and lingual *n* in *bhāṇitavva* (l. 8), *Gaṇasamma* (l. 9), *duvaggāṇa* and *rakkhaṇa* (l. 12), *samāṇitta* (l. 13) = Sanskrit *samājñāpta*,⁹ and *samvachchharāṇi* (l. 14). Both *n* and *ṇ* appear in *vayanena* (l. 7), *niyattaṇān[i]* (l. 10) and *manussāṇam* (l. 11).¹⁰ Among the remaining Prākṛit words may be noted the two numerals *terasa* (l. 15) and *vīsaṃ* (l. 11),¹¹ and of other inflected words the ablative *Vēṅgīpurā* (l. 1), the genitives *Devavamassa* (l. 6) and *Gaṇasamma* (l. 9),¹² the two differently formed locatives *Elūre* (l. 7) and *padesamhi* (l. 10), and the instrumental *parihārehi* (l. 13).

The inscription is dated on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa in the thirteenth year (in words and figures, l. 14 f.) of the Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvavarman (l. 6), who issued

¹ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 160.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 175 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2 ff.

⁴ Another instance, in which the single pages of a grant are numbered, are the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi; see above, Vol. VIII. p. 144.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 144 and note 5

⁶ Compare Prof. Piechel's Prākṛit grammar, § 189.

⁷ Compare *ibid.* § 184.

⁸ Compare *ibid.* § 61a.

⁹ Compare *ibid.* § 88.

¹⁰ Compare *ibid.* § 224.

¹¹ *Ibid.* §§ 443 and 445.

¹² Compare *ibid.* § 402.

this grant from **Vēṅgipura** (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of **Ēlūra** (l. 7). The donee was named **Gaṇaśarman** (l. 9) and received twenty (in words and figures, l. 11) *nivartanas* of land, evidently near **Ēlūra**, together with a site for his house and a site for the houses of his servants.

The king is described as 'the performer of horse-sacrifices, the **Śālaṅkāyana**, the fervent **Māhēśvara**, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy **Chitrarathasvāmin**.' Nearly the same epithets are applied in another set of plates to the **Mahārāja Vijaya-Nandivarman**,¹ who was the son of the **Mahārāja Chaṇḍavarman**, issued his grant likewise from **Vēṅgipura**, and addressed it to the inhabitants of a village in the district of **Kudrāhāra**.² This family may be designated the **Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas of Vēṅgipura**. As **Dēvavarman**'s grant is in **Prākṛit**, he was presumably an ancestor of **Chaṇḍavarman**'s son **Nandivarman**, whose grant is in **Sanskṛit**.

Vēṅgipura, the capital of the **Śālaṅkāyanas**, has been identified with **Pedda-Vēgi**, a village near **Ellore** in the **Godavari** district.³ The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a small mound which, on a visit to **Pedda-Vēgi** in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of **Chitrarathasvāmin**,⁴ the family deity of the **Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas**. Other indications point to the same part of the country. The plates of **Vijaya-Nandivarman** were found in the neighbouring **Kolleru lake**,⁵ and **Ēlūra**, to whose inhabitants the subjoined edict was addressed, is no doubt the modern town of **Ēlūru (Ellore)**, 7 miles from **Pedda-Vēgi**.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

Om⁷ [!*

- 1 Sirī-vijaya-Vēṅgipurā [!* Bhagavato
- 2 Chittarathasāmi-pādānu-
- 3 jjhātassa bappabhaṭṭāraka-pādabhattassa

Second Plate; First Side.

- 4 paramamāhessarassa Śālaṅkāyanassa
- 5 assamedhayājino
- 6 mahārāja-sirī-Vijaya-Devavammassa

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 7 vayanena Elūre muḷuḍa-pamukho
- 8 gāmo bhāpitavvo [!* Etassa
- 9 Ba[bhura]-sagottassa Gaṇasammassa

Third Plate; First Side.

- 10 sundara-padesamhi bhūmi-niyattañān[i]
- 11 viśaṁ 20 gharatṭhānaṁ adlhiya-manussānaṁ
- 12 duvaggāṇa ya gharatṭhānaṁ parihāra-rakkhaṇaṁ

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 175 ff.

² This is the actual reading of the plates; see above, Vol. VI. p. 316 and note 4.

³ *South-Ind. Pal.* p. 16, note 1; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 93.

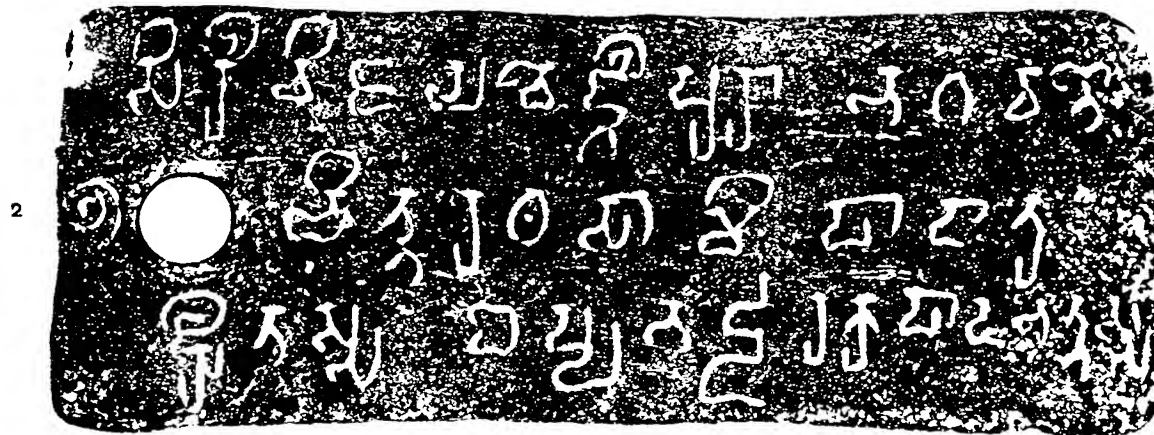
⁴ Compare the quotation from the *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIX. (which is at present inaccessible to me), above, Vol. IV. p. 143, note 7.

⁵ *South-Ind. Pal.* p. 135, note 1.

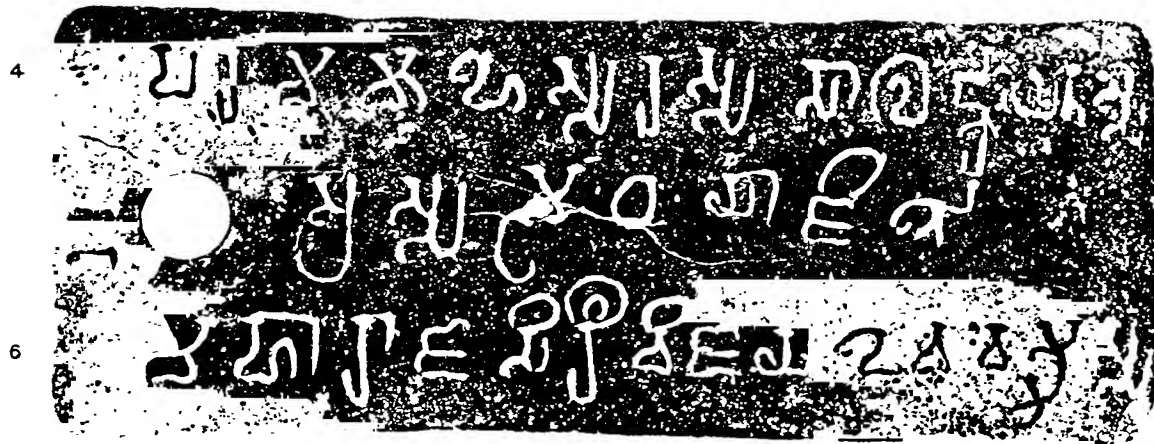
⁶ From two sets of ink-impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol, which stands on the left margin of line 2.

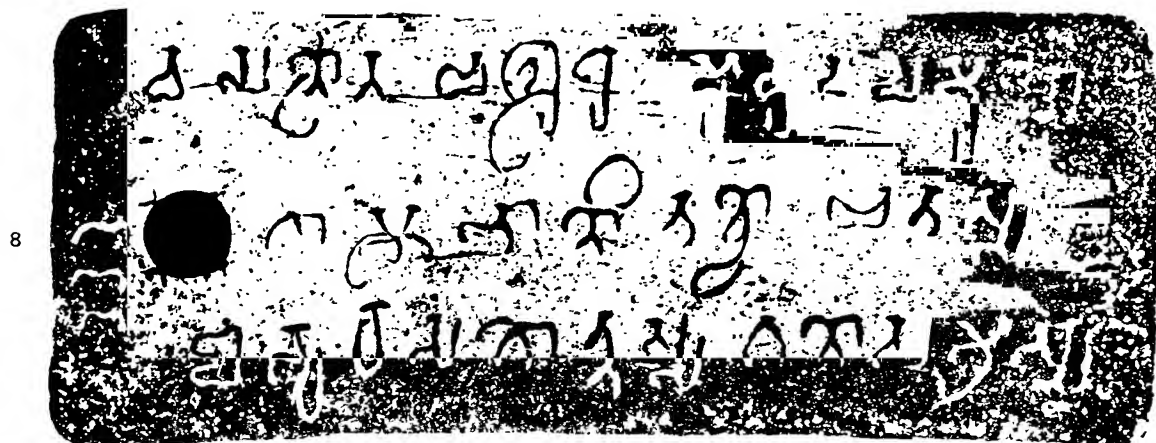
i.



ii a.



ii b.



Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 samānattam [1*] Evañ savva-parihārehi parihari-
 14 tavvo ya [1*] Vijaya-samvṛachchharāṇi
 15 terasa 10 3 Pausha-kālapakkha-dasamī [10?][1*]

Fourth Plate.

- 16 Shashtim varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē krīḍati bhūmi-daḥ [1*]
 17 āchchhettā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē¹ vasēt ||
 18 Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [1*]
 19 yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ² tasya tasya tadā phala[m] ||

TRANSLATION.

Om. (Line 1.) From the prosperous and victorious Vēṅḡpura. The villagers³ of Ēlūra, headed by the Muḷuḍa,⁴ must be addressed (*as follows*) by the word of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvavarman, the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śālaṅkāyana, the fervent Māhēśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father, (*and*) who meditates at the feet of the holy⁵ Chitrarathasvāmin :—

(L. 8.) “It has been ordered that to this⁶ Gaṇaśarman of the Ba[bhura]⁷ gōtra (there have to be made over) twenty—20—*nivartanas* of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (*for himself, and*) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop⁸ and for (*his*) door-keepers,⁹ (*and*) that the immunities (*granted to him*) have to be protected. And thus he must be exempted with all immunities. (*In*) the victorious year thirteen—13—(*of the reign*), (*on*) the tenth—[10]—*tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausha.”

[Ll. 16-19 contain two of the usual verses.]

No. 8.—BENARES INSCRIPTION OF PANTHA.

By P. DAYA RAM SAHNI.

I edit this inscription from two rubbings kindly supplied to me, one by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, and the other by Mr. G. D. Ganguli, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. A transcript of it has been published before in 1886 by Prof. Hultzsch in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XL. p. 55.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been discovered in the vicinity of the modern city of Benares, and is one of the twenty-four objects which were presented. at the instance of Mr. J. H. Marshall, to the Lucknow Museum by the Principal of Queen's

¹ This word looks almost like *narakō*.

² Read *bhūmiś*.

³ Literally, ‘the village.’

⁴ This looks like a Dravidian word, which however cannot be traced in the dictionaries. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman (l. 4) seem to read, instead of it, *Munuḍa*; but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may be in reality an obliterated *ṇu*.

⁵ The genitive *bhagavato* refers to *Chittarathasāmi*, the first member of the following compound. This is of course a grammatical blunder of the officer who drafted the inscription.

⁶ The pronoun ‘this’ evidently had been uttered by the king in the presence of the donee, just as *etāham* in the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman, l. 5.

⁷ Prof. Kielhorn suggests to me that this doubtful word may be meant for *Babhru*.

⁸ On *drdhika* or *ardhasātri* see the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya, I. 166. The Prākṛit form *addhika* occurs in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 6, text line 39.

⁹ The Sanskrit original of *davagga* seems to be *dvārga*, which may be taken in the sense of *drāghatā*.

College, Benares, in December 1903.¹ In discussing these sculptures, Dr. Vogel also noticed this stone, but failed to ascertain its precise find-spot.²

Judging from the rubbings, the slab which bears the extant portion of the inscription measures 26" by 15" (66 cm. by 38 cm.). The stone-mason has done his work with great care and neatness, and the letters are deeply cut.

The inscription consists of eight lines, but it is far from complete. About one-fifth of the entire slab is broken away along the proper left edge, and consequently lines 1-7 have each lost a number of syllables, which varies from nine to fourteen. The first three syllables of the first line and the first *akshara* of the second line have also disappeared owing to a small piece of stone having chipped off from the upper right corner. The record is further damaged by the surface having more or less peeled off in the marginal portions.

The characters of the inscription very closely resemble those of an inscription from Jhâlrapâtan³ and are of the ornamental type current in Northern India about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Attention must, however, be drawn to the letters *bh* and *y*.⁴ The former of these always, and the latter in several cases, exhibit forms which come very close to those of the Maukhari alphabet of the sixth century A.D. The language is correct Sanskrit and metrical throughout. As regards orthography, there are three different points which deserve notice: (1) the doubling of the letters *m*, *t*, *p* and *v* in conjunction with a preceding or following *r*, in *-maranayôr=mmôksha-*, l. 1; *yattra*, l. 2; *attra* and *-mûrttiḥ*, l. 4; *sarppat-sarppa-* and *-ruchir=vvilôla-*, l. 6; (2) the substitution of a single consonant for a double one in *-tatva-*, l. 3; *-vṛityâ*, l. 4; *ujvalam*, l. 7; and (3) the use of *v* for *b* in *vrahmahâ*, l. 2, and *sandhivandhu-*, l. 7.

The inscription is not dated, and its object is to record the erection of a shrine of **Bhavâni** at Benares. There are altogether five verses, the first three in the *Sragdharî* and the last two in the *Śîrādulavikriḍita* metre. The first stanza is devoted to the praise of the city of **Vârânasî**. The purport of the second verse is not quite certain; it seems to speak of a particular quarter of the holy city, which was often visited even by the moon when practising her penance. The third verse contains an eulogy of the builder of the shrine, named **Pantha**, and the last two speak of the consecration of the **Bhavâni** image (?) and the construction of the shrine, respectively.

TEXT.

- 1 [Ôm svasti ||*] [Khyâ]tâ Vârânas=iyam tribhuvana-bhavan-âbhôga-chaur=iti dūrât=sevantê yâm viraktâ janana-maranayôr=mmôksha-sakt-aika-[chi]ttâḥ [i] sô —
— — — — —
- 2 ∪[ta] saganô yattra dêvô vimuktaḥ yâm dṛishṭvâ vra(bra)hmah=âpi chyuta-kalikalusô jāyatê suddha-bhâvaḥ || [1*] Asyâm=uttuṅga-śrînga-sphuṭa-śa[śi]-kirana-[śvêta-bhâsâ sanâtham ramy-âyâma*]-
- 3 pratôli-vividha-japada-stri-vilâs-âbhirâman | vidyâ-vêdârtha-tatva(ttva)-vrata-japaniyama-vyagra-chandr-âbhijusṭam śrîmat=sthânam [pri]thivyâ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ —
— ∪ — — ∪ — — || [2*]
- 4 Attr=âbhût=Pantha-nâmâ śîsur=api vinaya-vyâpatô bhadra-mûrttiḥ tyâgi dhîraḥ kṛitajñāḥ parilaghu-vibhavô=py=âtma⁵vṛity(tty)=âbhitu[sṭaḥ⁶ | Gaṅgâ-srôtaś-śuchi-śrî*]-

¹ *Annual Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum* for 1903-4, p. 2.

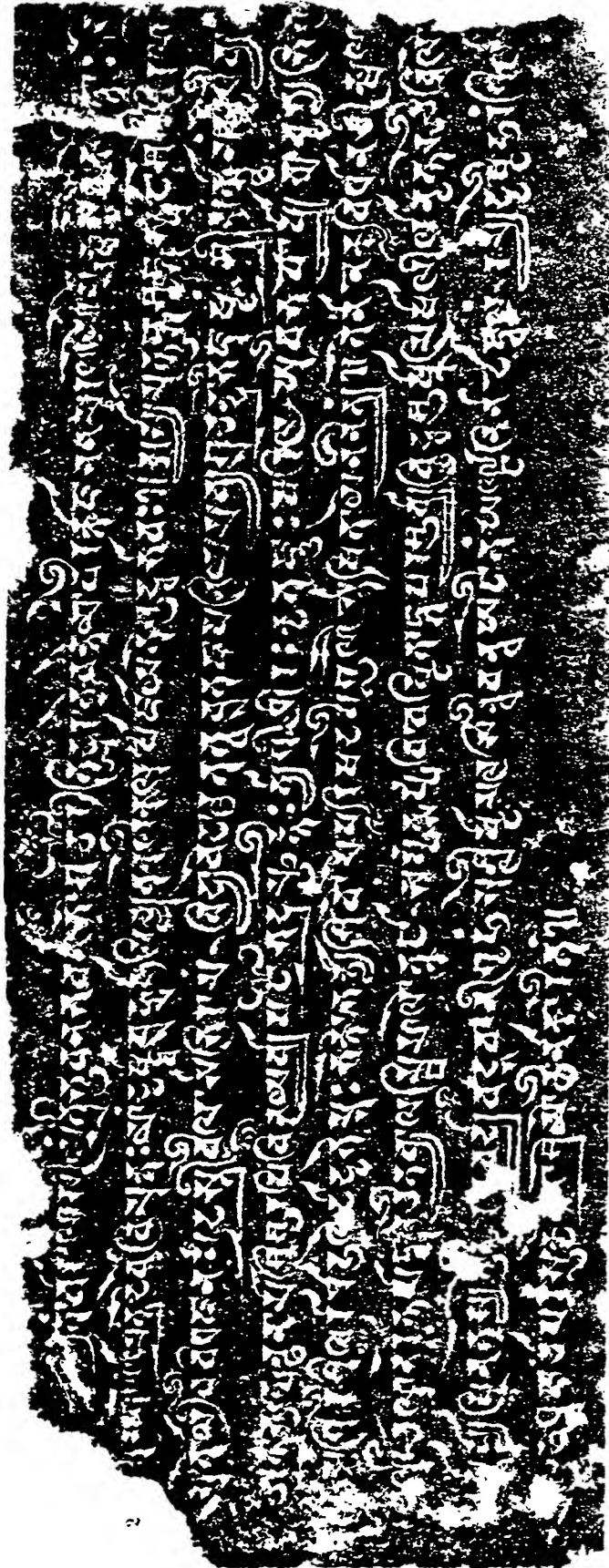
² *Archæological Survey Report* for 1903-4, p. 212.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 180 and Plate.

⁴ E.g. in *yattra*, *jāyatê*, l. 2; *vinaya*, l. 4; and *yâma*, l. 5.

⁵ [In my own transcript this word was misread as =*ârya*-.—E. H.]

⁶ This restoration is based on the preceding *âbhîtu*^o and *âtma-vṛittyâ*.



F. Hultzsch

Scale one third

From a rubbing supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle.

- 5 Himagiri-sikhar-ârôha-khêdâd=ritê=mbhaḥ bhaktô bhaktyâ Śivô mê parishad=api
gunais=tôshitâ yêna nityam || [3*] Têna=ânêka-vidhâna-dikshana-[sataih sam-
sthâpit=lârtha-vyayaiḥ*]
- 6 chaṇḍî chaṇḍa-narôttamânga-rachita-vyâlambi-mâl-ôtkatâ | sarppat-sarppa-vivêshṭi-
ânga-paraśu-vyâviddha-śushk-âmishâ lîlâ-nṛitta-ruchir=vvilô[la-²nayanâ mûrtir=³
Bhavânyâḥ śubhâ || 4*]
- 7 [Samsthâ]py=âpi na tasya [tushtî]r=a[bha]vad=yâvad=Bhavâni-grihaṁ suślisṭ-
âmala-sandhiya(ba)ndha-ghaṭitaṁ ghaṇṭâ-ninâd-ôjva(jjva)lām | ramyam dṛishṭi-
haram silâ ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ —
- 8 [prârûḍha]-dhvaja-châmaram su[kṛi]tinâ śrêyô-rthinâ kâritam || [5*]

TRANSLATION.

[Ôm. Hail!] (Verse 1.) Famous is this Vârâṇasî which, having usurped the extent ¹ of the abode of the three worlds, is worshipped from afar by passionless people, with their mind solely fixed on liberation from birth and death; at which place was emancipated the god⁵ . . . with his attendants; and at the sight of which even the murderer of a Brâhmaṇa, freed of the stain of sin, becomes pure of heart.

(V. 2.) In this (*city there was*) a place, renowned on earth; [bathed in the white light] of the bright rays of the moon (*as they fell on its*) lofty turrets; charming with the gracefulness of the wives of the various inhabitants of the [beautiful and extensive]⁶ streets; a favourite resort of the moon⁷ engaged in study, interpretation of the Vêdas, (*search after*) truth, (*observance of*) vows, muttering of prayers and austerities

(V. 3.) Here lived (*a man*) named **Pantha**, who even as a child was well-behaved,⁸ handsome, generous, wise, grateful, (*and*) contented with his earnings in spite of his limited means; (*who used to think thus to himself*): 'The god (*ambhaḥ*)⁹ Śiva is worshipped by my devotion without the toil of ascending the peaks of the Himâlaya, [purified by the waves of the Ganges];' and who constantly gladdened the assembly (*of the wise*) by (*his*) virtues.

(V. 4.) By him [was erected at a considerable cost (*and*) [with hundreds of] different consecrations [a beautiful image of Bhavâni], fierce-looking, awe-inspiring owing to a garland formed of gruesome human heads hanging (*from her neck*); with limbs encircled by crawling snakes, and with dry flesh pierced on an axe; delighting in a sportive dance, (*and*) with rolling [eyes].

¹ Compare the expression *saṁsthâpya* in l. 7.

² This syllable is required to complete the word *vilôla*.

³ The restoration of *mûrtir*, etc., is purely conjectural; but that it is probably correct, may be concluded from the fact that the epithets *chaṇḍî*, etc., clearly refer to an image of Bhavâni. Moreover, since the very next verse records the foundation of a Bhavâni shrine, it seems almost necessary to assume that an image of the same goddess should have been placed in this shrine.

⁴ Literally, 'the thief of the extent,' etc.

⁵ This passage presumably alludes to Śiva's residence at Benares in the *Trêtâyuga*. See Rajendralal Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II. p. 63.

⁶ Literally, 'whose extent was charming.'

⁷ *-bhakt-âbhijushtaṁ* would be a better reading.—[Or *chandra* may be meant for *nara-chandra*, 'an excellent man.'—E. H.]

⁸ I do not find the word *vyâpaṣa* in any Sanskrit Dictionary. *Vyâpristô* would be a more appropriate reading.

⁹ [But *ambhaḥ* does not mean 'a god.' I would rather conjecture at the end of line 4 *Gaṅgâya gâhamânô* and translate: 'devoutly (*bhaktah*) [entering] the water (*ambhaḥ*) [of the Gaṅgâ].' In the following I prefer to join *Śivôm* and to translate: 'who daily pleased Siva and Umâ by (his) devotion (and their) attendants by (his) virtues.'—E. H.]

(V. 5.) Not satisfied with the erection (of this image only), the pious man, desirous of bliss, caused to be built a shrine of Bhavāni, which was joined with a very adhesive and bright cement, resplendent with the sound of bells, lovely, attractive, . . . (and decorated) with lofty flags and yak-tails.

NO. 9.— THE CHAHAMANAS OF NADDULA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī we possess two long inscriptions. One of them is the Harsha inscription of Vighraharāja, edited by me in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 116 ff. It is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1030, corresponding to about A.D. 973, and gives the genealogy of the Chāhamānas from Gūvaka I., 'who attained to pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of the glorious Nāgāvalōka,¹ the foremost of kings,' to Vighraharāja. The other is the difficult Bijoli (Bijaoli, Bijolia, Bijholi) rock inscription of the reign of Sômēśvara, which has been uncritically edited in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 40 ff. This inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1226, corresponding to A.D. 1170, and gives a long genealogy, commencing with Sāmanta, the reputed founder of the family, and ending with Sômēśvara.² Between these two longer records, and subsequently to the second, we have a few shorter inscriptions of the same family, notably the Delhi Siwālik pillar inscriptions of Viśaladēva-Vighraharāja of A.D. 1164, and two short inscriptions on the defeat of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva by the Chāhamāna Prithvirāja II., of the [Vikrama] year 1239=A.D. 1182. The latest available date for this family is the [Vikrama] year 1244=A.D. 1187.³

From this Śākambharī family there branched off, some time in the first half of the 10th century A.D., another line of Chāhamānas (or Chāhumānas), which was founded by the Śākambharī prince Lakshmaṇa, and which for a long time had its seat of government at Naddūla,⁴ the modern Nadol in the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna.⁵ To this branch of the family there is assigned in my *Northern List* only a single inscription, No. 141, the Nadol copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Ālhanadēva of A.D. 1161. But there belong to it also other inscriptions of the *List*, inscriptions of chiefs whose connection with the family was not known

¹ I have already stated elsewhere that the true reading in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription is *śrīman-Nāgāvalōka-pravarāṇṛipa-sabhā-lavdha(bdha)-virapratishṭhaḥ*. In my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have suggested that Nāgāvalōka may be identical with the Pratihāra Nāgabhatta; but this appears to be a mistake. A definite date for a king Nāgāvalōka—apparently the Vikrama year 813=A.D. 756—will, so far as I can see now, be furnished by a copper-plate inscription which has been quite recently discovered, and of which I have received a photograph from my friend Mr. Ojha.

² See above, Vol. VIII. Appendix I. p. 13 f.

³ See my *Northern List*, Nos. 144, 176 and 183.

⁴ So this name is spelt below, in the inscriptions A., B. and C., and in the inscription of Luntigadēva, treated of under D. We find the name spelt in the same way (with *dd*) in verse 21 of the Bijoli rock inscription, which is quite wrongly given in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 42, the actual reading on the stone being: *Jāvālipuram jvālā-puram kṛitā Pallik=āpi pall=tea | nadvala-tulyam rōshān=Naddūlam yēna sau(sau)-ryēna .* In the inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Ābū, which will be mentioned below, p. 81, the name is *Nadūla*. In verse 42 of the Mount Ābū inscription of Samarasimha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 349) it is either *Naddūla* or *Naddūla* (not *Nadūla*); and in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Berlin Library, Vol. II. pp. 1003 and 1004, we find *Naddūla*, *Naddvalapura* and *Nadūlapura*. In Mr. Kāthavate's edition of the *Kṛtikāumudī*, II. 69, and, copied from it, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 26, verse 14, we also have *Nadūla*, but this almost certainly is a mistake.

⁵ Towards the end of the 12th century A.D. the seat of government was transferred to Jāvālipura (Jālōr); and at the commencement of the 14th century a branch of the family took Chandrāvati with Mount Ābū from the Paramāras.

when I compiled the *List*. My object in writing this paper is, to give the genealogy of these Chāhamānas of Naddūla, so far as the documents which lately have come to my knowledge enable me to do so. For this purpose I shall give the texts of three inscriptions which the kindness of Dr. Fleet and Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha allows me to edit, and an account of the contents of some Mount Âbū inscriptions, based on excellent impressions for which we have to thank Mr. Cousens.

A.—NADOL PLATES OF ÂLHANADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1218.

These plates were obtained by Colonel Tod,¹ in October 1819, at Nadol, a town in the Jôdhpur State of Rājputāna, and presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. An account of their contents was given by him in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 804; and the inscription which they contain was edited, in a rather slovenly manner, by Rao Bahadur H. H. Dhruva, in *Journ. Bombay As. Soc.* Vol. XIX. p. 26 ff. I re-edit it from an excellent photolithograph,² prepared under the superintendence of, and kindly placed at my disposal by, Dr. Fleet.

These are two plates, each of which measures about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Both plates contain a hole for a ring, but the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have not been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of orthography it will suffice to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal. The text contains a considerable number of clerical mistakes, most of which can be easily corrected. Other mistakes are shown by the metre to be due to the author himself, who possessed no accurate knowledge of Sanskrit. Of these I would point out here merely the wrong *saṁdhi* in *sprihayān=amaratām* (for *sprihayann=amaratām*) in line 17, the meaningless *-pragunībhūtāpasavyakāḥ pāṇiḥ* (for *-pragunībhūtāpasavyapāṇiḥ*) in line 21, and the omission of some word like *viditām* before the words *vô=stu* in line 18. In lines 13, 14 and 16 the potential *syāt* is used for *asti* or *bhavati*.³

The inscription records a donation by the Mahārāja Âlhanadēva of Naddūla.⁴ According to lines 18-23, this chief, on Sunday, the 14th *tithi* (described as *mahāchaturdaśi-parvan*⁵) of the bright half of Śrāvāṇa in the year 1218, after worshipping the Sun and Īśāna (Śiva) and making gifts to Brāhmanas and *gurus*, granted to (the Jaina temple of) Mahāvīradēva in the Saṇḍēraka *gachchha*,⁶ at the holy place⁷ (*mahāsthāna*) of Naddūla, a monthly sum of five *drammas*, (to be paid) from the custom-house (*śulka-maṇḍapikā*⁸) in the grounds⁹ of Naddūla.

¹ See his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 698; my *Northern List*, No. 141.

² *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 10, not yet published.

³ For instances where the potential is used for the imperfect see e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 135.

⁴ So the name is spelt twice in line 22, and the same spelling is required by the metre in line 3. See above, p. 62, note 4.

⁵ For the similar use of *parvan* in other dates see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 413, and Vol. XXV. p. 289 f.

⁶ In Mount Âbū inscriptions this *gachchha* is also called *Saṇḍēra-gachchha* and *Shanḍēraka-gachchha*. The town of *Saṇḍēra* (the Sanderao of the map of the Rājputāna Agency) is mentioned below in C., line 16.

⁷ According to Colonel Tod Naddūla was one of the ancient seats of the Jains.

⁸ For passages in which the term *maṇḍapikā* occurs, compare e.g. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 114, l. 27; p. 173, l. 6 (*Śtyadōni-ratka-maṇḍapikā*); p. 175, l. 19; p. 177, l. 29 and l. 30; p. 179, l. 45; p. 262, l. 3 (*pattana-maṇḍapikā*); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10, col. 2 (*Śrīpathā-stha-maṇḍapikā*); *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 47, iv., and p. 48, v.; *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 205, l. 7. *Śulka-maṇḍapikā* occurs e.g. in *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 158 f., ll. 10, 15 and 18.—The meaning of *maṇḍapikā* is suggested by the Marāṭhī *māṇḍavṭ*, 'a custom-house.'

⁹ The word *talapada* (in *śrī-Naddūla-talapada-śulkamaṇḍapikāyām*) is not found in the dictionaries. I take it to be synonymous with, or similar in meaning to, *satāla*, which occurs in some of the Valabhī inscriptions, and for which see Dr. Fleet's note above, Vol. VI. p. 166. Compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 339, note 30.

The inscription, after the words 'ôm, adoration to the Omniscient,' opens with a verse in which the holy Mahâviradêva, 'the youngest of the Jinas,' is desired to bestow welfare. It then (in verses 2-7) gives the following genealogy of the grantor:—

In the Châhumâna race there was first at Naddûla the king Lakshmaṇa. His son was Sôhiya, and his son Balirâja. After him came his paternal uncle Vighrahapâla. His son was Mahêndra, his son Anahilla, and his son Bâlaprasâda. His brother was Jêndrarâja, and his son Prithivipâla. His brother was Jôjalla, and his younger brother Âsârâja, whose son was Âlhanadêva. Nothing of historical importance is said about any of these chiefs.

According to lines 33-38, the dâta of this grant was the minister, appointed to the secretaryship (*śrīkarāṇa*),¹ Lakshmidhara, the son of Dharanigga, of the Prâgvâta race; and the grant was composed and written by Śrīdhara, the son of Vāsala (Vīsala?), who was the son of Manô-ratha, of the family of the Naigamas. The inscription ends with the words 'this is the own hand (i.e. sign-manual) of the Mahârâja, the illustrious Âlhanadêva.'

Naddûla of course is the modern Nadol where the plates were obtained, and where the temple of Mahâvira to which the grant was made apparently still exists.² The date of the grant, for the expired *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1218, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 6th August A.D. 1161, when the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrâvapa ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.³

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Ôm⁵ || Ôm namaḥ Sarvvajñāyaḥ⁶ | Disatu⁷ Jina-kanishṭhaḥ karmmavam(bain)dha-kshayishṭhaḥ parihṛita-madamârakrôdha-
- 2 lôbhâdivâraḥ | duritaśikhari-samvaḥ⁸ svô(śvô)vasīyam cha śam vas=
- tribhuvanakṛita-sêvaḥ |⁹ śrī-Mahâvî-
- 3 radêvaḥ || [1*] Asti¹⁰ parama â-jalanidhi jagati-talê¹¹ Châhumâna-vamśô hi |
- tav(tr)=âsin=Nadû(ddû)lê bhûpaḥ
- 4 śrī-Lakshmaṇa âdan¹² || [2*] Tasmâd=va(ba)bhûva putrô râjâ śrī-
- Sôhiyas¹³=tad=anu sūnuḥ | śrī-Va(ba)lirâjô râ-
- 5 jâ Vighrahapâlô=nu cha pitṛivya(vyaḥ) || [3*] Tasy=ât=¹⁴tanûjô bhûpâlâḥ |¹⁵
- śrī-Mahêndradêv-âkhyâḥ | taj-jah śrī-¹⁶
- 6 Anahilô(illô)¹⁷ nṛpati-varô=bhût=prithula-têjâḥ || [4*] Tat-sūnuḥ śrī-
- Vâ(bâ)lprasâda ity=ajani pārthiva-
- 7 śrêshṭhaḥ | tad-bhrât=âbhû[t*]=kshitipâḥ subhataḥ śrī-Jêndrarâj-âkhyâḥ || [5*]
- Śrī-Prithivipâlô=bhû[t*]=tat-putrah sai-¹⁸

¹ Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 209, line 8 of the text. Above, Vol. III. p. 317, l. 45, *śrīkarāṇa* by itself is used to denote the official ('a secretary').

² See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X. p. 142.

³ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 30, No. 35.

⁴ From a photo-lithograph prepared under the superintendence of, and supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet.

⁵ Denoted by a symbol.

⁶ Read 'jñāya.

⁷ Metre: Mālini.

⁸ Read 'samvaḥ, 'a thunderbolt.'

⁹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 2-9: Âryâ.

¹¹ For the sake of the metre for *jagati-talê*.

¹² Read 'nat=ch=âdan.

¹³ Mr. Dhruva's text has *Lôhiyas*; but *Sôhiyas* is quite clear in the original. The same name, *Sôhiya*, I find above, Vol. VIII. p. 221, l. 19, and in another Mount Âbû inscription, No. 1699 of Mr. Cousens' List.

¹⁴ Read 'âbhavat=.

¹⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁶ Here and elsewhere the *t* of *śrī* has purposely not been changed to *y* before a vowel; compare below, lines 9 and 38, *śrī-Âlhanâ*, and other passages in B. and C. and elsewhere.

¹⁷ The name is written *Anahilla* in B., line 7, and C., line 11, and the same spelling is required here by the metre.

¹⁸ Read *sauryavṛttisôbh-âdhyâḥ*.

- 8 ryavṛitisōbh-āḍhyaḥ | tasmād=abhavad=bhrātā śrī-Jōjallō raṇaras-ātmā [|| 6*]
Tad-avarajō=bhūch=chhrimā-
- 9 n=Āsā(śā)rājaḥ pratāpavara-nilayaḥ | tat-putraḥ kshōṇipah śrī-Āhaṇadēva-
nām=ābhūt || [7*]
- 10 Yasya pratāpa-psā(?)lām¹ saṃkuladikchakra-prithulavistāraṃ | śimchaṃti
sva(sū)ditāhitagaṇa-lalanā
- 11 nayanasalil-aughaiḥ || [8*] Sō=yam mahā-kshītīśah sāram=idam vu(bu)ddhimān=
achintayāta [1*] iha saṃ-
- 12 sāra² asāram³ sarvvaṃ janm-ādi jantūnām |(||) [9*] Yataḥ [1*] Garbhaḥ⁴
strīkukshi-madhyē pala-rudhira-vasā-
- 13 mēdasā va(ba)ddha-pimḍō mātuh prāṇāntakārī⁵ prasavana-samayē prāṇinām
syān=nu janmā⁵ dharmm-ā-
- 14 dīnām=avēttā bhavati hi niyataṃ vā(bā)la-bhāvas=tataḥ svā(syā)t=tārunyam
svalpamātraṃ svajana-pari-
- 15 bhavasthā(?)natā⁶ vṛiddha-bhāvaḥ |(||) [10*] Khadyōtōdyō(ddyō)ta-tulyāḥ |⁷
kshaṇam=iha sukhadāḥ sāmpa-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 16 dō dṛishṭa-nashṭāḥ prāṇitvaṃ chaṃchalam syād=dalam=upari yathā tōya-
vimdur=nnalinyāḥ | jūātv=avam⁸ sva-pi-
- 17 trō spṛibayan=⁹amaratām ch=aihi¹⁰dharmma-kirtti dēsāntō¹¹ rājaputrān¹²
janapada-gaṇān vō(bō)dhayaty=ēva
- 18 vō=stu¹³ || [11*] Saṃ 1218 varshē | Śrāvaṇa-śudi 14 Ravau | asminn=ēva
mahāchaturdāśi-parvvaṇi || Snātva¹⁴ dhautā-
- 19 paṭē nivēśya(śya)¹⁵ dahanō datv=āhutīn¹⁶ punya(nya)krin=Māmrtvādasya¹⁷
tamahprapāṭana-paṭōḥ sāmpūrya ch=āghamjilim¹⁸ [1*]
- 20 trailōka(kya)sya prabhuṃ charāchara-gurum sāmsnāpya paṃch-āmṛitair-Īśānam
kanak-ānna-vastra-dadanaiḥ¹⁹ sāmpūjya viprā-
- 21 n gurūn || [12*] Anu²⁰ tilakukshātōdaka-²¹pragunibhūtāpasavyakaḥ²² pāṇiḥ |(||)
śāsanam=ēnam=²³ayachchhata yā-

¹ Read *jālam*.

² Observe the wrong *saṃdhi* (for *sāmsāre=sāram*).

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Metre of verses 10 and 11: Sragdharā.

⁵ Read *kāri* and *janma* |.

⁶ The *th* of the *akshara sthā* is not quite clear, but there seems to be no doubt that the above is the actual and intended reading. One would have expected *-paribhavasthānam*, but this would not have suited the metre.

⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Here a syllable, perhaps *vai*, has been omitted.

⁹ Here, again, observe the wrong *saṃdhi* for which the metre shows the author to be responsible; *spṛibayan* would have offended against the metre.

¹⁰ Read *=aihi¹⁰dharmma-kirtti*; one misses a second *cha*.

¹¹ I can only suggest that *dēsāntō* may stand for *dēsāntā*, i.e. *dēsāntaḥ*, *dēsāntar*, 'in (this) country.'

¹² After this word a short syllable is missing; perhaps the reading should be *trān=va-janapada*.

¹³ The words *vō=stu* cannot be construed with the preceding. The author had in his mind the phrase *viditām vō=stu*.

¹⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛidita.

¹⁵ Mr. Dhruva read this *Maitapaṭē nivēśya*, which he translated by 'while encamped at Maitapata.' Compare *dhautā-vāsast paridhāya* in line 19 of B., and, e.g., in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 347, l. 7 of the text.

¹⁶ Read *datv=āhutī*.

¹⁷ Read *=Māmrtvādasya*.

¹⁸ Read *=āghamjilim*.

¹⁹ *Dadana* in the sense of *dāna*.

²⁰ Metre: Āryā.

²¹ Read *tilakukshātōdaka*. The *ka* of *ōdaka* is treated as a short syllable before *pr*; see *Ind. Studien*, Vol. VIII. p. 224.

²² The metre, in my opinion, shows that the author undoubtedly wrote this; what he intended was *pasarya-pāṇiḥ* (= *dakṣiṇa-pāṇiḥ*).

²³ Wrong for *śnad*=, or, better, *ślad*=.

- 22 vach-chamdrârkkapûpâlam¹ | (||) [13*] Śrī-Naddûla-mahâsthânê śrī-Sam̐dêraka-gachchhê śrī-Mahâviradêvâya śrī-Naddûla-
- 23 talapada-śulkamam̐dapikâyâm māsânumâsam dhûpavêlârtham |² śâsanêna dra³ 5
pamcha prâdât [1*] Asya
- 24 dēvarasyanam⁴ bhumjânasya asmadvam̐sējair=⁵bhâvi-bhōktṛibhir=aparais=cha
paripam̐thanâ na kâryâ | yataḥ [1*]
- 25 ⁶Sâmānyô=yam̐ dharma-sêtur-nṛipânām kâlê kâlê pālanīyô bhavadbhiḥ
sarvvân=ēvam̐ bhâvinah̐ pā-
- 26 rihivēindrân bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Rāmacham̐draḥ || [14*] Tasmât |
⁷Asmadanva[ya*]jâ bhûpâ bhâvi-bhûpatayaś=cha yê [1*]
- 27 tēshâm=aham̐ karê lagnah̐ pālanīyam=idam̐ sadâ | (||) [15*] Asmad-vam̐sê
parikshīṇê yah̐ kaśchīm⁸ nṛipatir=bhavêt [1*]
- 28 tasy=âham̐ karê lagnô=smi sâ(śâ)sanam̐ nâ(na) vyatikramêt | (||) [16*]
Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ rājanyaiḥ Sagar-â-
- 29 dibhiḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmī(mi)s=tasya tasya tadâ phalam̐ || [17*]
Vvashṭhi.⁹varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati dâna-
- 30 dah̐ [1*] âchchhêtâ(ttâ) ch=ânumam̐tâ cha tâny=ēva narakam̐¹⁰ vasê[t] || [18*]
Sva-dattam̐ para-dattam̐ vâ dēva-dāyam̐ harêta yah̐ [1*] sa
- 31 vishṭhâyâm krimir=bhûtvâ pitri(tri)bhiḥ saha majjati || [19*] Sû(śû)ny-
âtavivy(shv)=atôyâsu śushkakôṭara-vâsi-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 32 nah̐ | krishṇâbhayô=bhijâyam̐tê -dēva-dāyam̐ haram̐ti yê || [20*] Maṅgalam̐
mahâ-śrīḥ ||
- 33 ¹¹Prâgvâta-vam̐sê Dharapigga.¹²nâmnah̐ sutô mahâmâtya-varah̐ su-karmmâ |
va(ba)bhûva dû-
- 34 tah̐ prâ(pra)tibhâ-nivâsô Lakshmidharah̐ śrīkaraṇê niyôgi || [21*]
¹³Âsit=sva-
- 35 chchha-malâ(nâ) Manôratha iti prâk¹⁴ Naigamânâm kulê sâ(śâ)stra-
jñânasudhârasa-
- 36 plavita.¹⁵dhîs=taj-jô=bhavat¹⁶ Vâsalah̐ | putras=tasya va(ba)bhûva loka-
vasani(ti)ḥ śrī-
- 37 Śrīdharah̐ Śrīdharê sūpâsti rachayâm̐chakâra lilikhê ch=êdam̐ mahâ-śâ-
- 38 [sa]nam̐ || [22*] Sva-hastô=yam̐ mahârâja-śrī-Âlhanadēvasya ||

**B.—NADOL PLATES OF THE RÂJAPUTRA KĪRTIPĀLA;
[VIKRAMA-JSAM̐VAT 1218.]**

Mr. Ganrishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Râjputâna has informed me that these plates also were obtained, in the course of last year, at Nadol. My account of them is mainly based on two good rubbings, kindly supplied to me by Mr. Ojha.

¹ Read °bhûkâlām; compare °kshîtikâlām in line 26 of B.

² Read dhûpa-tail-ârtham, without the sign of punctuation.

³ I.e. dramam̐.

⁴ Read °sy=asmadvashajair=.

⁴ Read dēvasy=ainam̐ (for =ainad=, =aitad=).

⁵ Metre: Śālinī.

⁶ Metre of verses 15-20: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁶ Read kaśchīm=.

⁷ Read shashṭi- or shashṭim̐.

¹⁰ Read narakâ.

¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹² The name *Dharapigga* occurs above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, line 8 of the text; here the letter *g* seems to have been doubled simply for the sake of the metre.

¹³ Metre: Sârdulavikṛidita.

¹⁴ Read prâg=.

¹⁵ *Plavita* wrong for *plâvita*, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁶ Read =bhavad=, and, perhaps, *Vâsalah̐*.

These also are two plates, each of which measures about $9\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides.¹ The writing on them is in a state of perfect preservation. Each plate contains a hole for a ring; I do not know whether the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The text contains eight verses² of chiefly genealogical matter, three of the ordinary imprecatory verses, and one verse giving the writer's name; the rest is in prose, which in one or two places is grammatically incorrect. As regards orthography, the letter *v* is used for both *b* and *v*, except in *-labdhajanmā*, l. 3; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *Mahēsvaram*, l. 22; and the sign of *avagraha* is once employed, in *śṃgajak*, l. 16. In line 29 the gerund *lagitvā* is used in the sense of 'commencing from, beginning with.'

The inscription records a grant by the *Rājaputra* (or king's son) *Kīrtipāla*, a son of *Ālhanadēva* of *Naddūla*. After the words *ōm svasti*, it invokes the blessing of the gods Brahman, Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu), and Śaṃkara (Śiva), 'who, always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinas' (or Jaina Arhats). It then (in verses 2-8) gives the following genealogy:—

In the town of *Śākambhari* there was formerly, in the *Chāhamāna*³ lineage, the king *Vākpātirāja*. His son was *Lakshmaṇa*, who was king at *Naddūla*; and his son was *Sōbhita*. From him sprang *Balirāja*, and after him there ruled his paternal uncle *Vigrahapāla*. *Vigrahapāla*'s son was *Mahēndra*, his son *Anahilla*, and his son *Jēndrarāja*, from whom sprang *Āsarāja*.⁴ His son was *Ālhaṇa*, the lord of *Naddūla*, who defeated the *Saurāshtrikas*. This king married *Annalladēvi*,⁵ a daughter of *Anahula* of the *Rāshtraudra*⁶ race, who bore to him three sons — *Kēlhaṇa*, *Gajasimha*, and *Kīrtipāla*. Of these, *Kēlhaṇa*, the eldest son, was made *kumāra* (or heir-apparent) and given a share in the government.

According to l. 17 ff. the *Rājakula*⁷ *Ālhanadēva* and the *Kumāra* *Kēlhanadēva* were pleased to give to the *Rājaputra* *Kīrtipāla* twelve villages appertaining to *Naddūlāi*. And then, on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of *Śrāvana* of the year 1218, the *Rājaputra* *Kīrtipāla*, after bathing *etc.* at *Naddūla* and worshipping the Sun and *Mahēśvara* (Śiva), granted a yearly sum of two *drammas* from each of the twelve villages of *Naddūlāi* to (the temple of) the Jina *Mahāvira* at the village of *Naddūlāi*, and ordered this money to be paid in the month of *Bhādrapada* of every year, commencing with the year then current. The twelve villages to which this order referred were *Naddūlāigrāma*, *Sūjēra*, *Ḍarijī*, *Kavilāḍa*, *Sōnāṇam*, *Mōrakarā*, *Haravandam*, *Māḍāḍa*, *Kāpasuvam*, *Dēvasūri*, *Nāḍāḍa*, and *Maūvaḍi*.

So far as I can judge, the village of *Naddūlāi* mentioned in the above is different from (the *mahāsthāna*) *Naddūla*, and the words *Naddūlāi-pratibaddha* in line 18 appear clearly to show that *Naddūlāi* not merely was the name of a village, but also denoted the district to which the twelve villages given to *Kīrtipāla* belonged.— On the map of the *Rājputāna* Agency I find,

¹ The second side of the second plate contains three lines of writing. Of these no rubbing, but only Mr. Ojha's transcript has been sent to me.

² The metre of verse 6 is a mixture of *Upēndravajrā* and *Vasantatilakā*.

³ So the name is spelt here and below in C.

⁴ In C. the name is *Āsarāja*, while in A. the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*. Here we have *Āsarāja*, and in D. the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*.

⁵ The occurrence of this name here induces me to state that the name in the Delhi Siwālik pillar inscription of *Viśaladēva-Vigrahārāja*, A., line 2 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 218) is *Annalladēva*, not *Avalladēva*, and that therefore *Annalladēva* should be substituted for *Avalladēva* also in my *Northern List*, No. 144, and above, Vol. VIII. App. I. p. 14, col. 1 (after *Arpōrāja*).

⁶ For a *Rāshtrōḍa vamsa* see my *Northern List*, No. 273.

⁷ On this and similar titles see my remarks above, Vol. IV. p. 312, note 7. *Mahārājakula* occurs below in D., and in other Mount Ābū inscriptions.

south-east of Nadol, Desuri, which most probably is the Dēvasūri of this inscription; of the other villages I can find no traces on the map.

After the imprecatory verses the inscription (in lines 33 and 34) has the words 'this is the own hand (*i.e.* sign-manual) of the *Mahārājaputra* (or *Mahārāja's* son), the illustrious *Kīrti-pāla*,' and the statement that this grant was written by Śubhāṅkara, the son of Dāmōdara and grandson of the *Kāyastha* Sōdha of the Naigama lineage.

The possible equivalents of the date, for the *pūrnimānta* and *amānta* month Śrāvaṇa, would be --

for the *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218 current: Saturday, the 25th June A.D. 1160, and Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise);

for the *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218 expired: Friday, the 14th July A.D. 1161, and Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1161 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise);

for the *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1218 expired: Tuesday, the 3rd July A.D. 1162 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise), and Thursday, the 2nd August A.D. 1162.

From this it will be seen that the given date is correct only for the *amānta* month Śrāvaṇa of the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218, and therefore apparently corresponds to Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160. As current Vikrama years are quoted very rarely, this result is not perhaps quite free from suspicion; but I can see no valid reason to question the authenticity of the wording of the original date.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ || Svasti || Śriyai⁴ bhavaṃtu vò dēvā⁵ Vra(bra)hma-Śrīdhara-Śaṃkarāḥ
sadā virāgavaṃ-
- 2 tò yē⁶ Jinā jagati viśrutāḥ || 1 Śākambhari-nāma-purē pur=āsi⁶ch=chhri-
Chāha-
- 3 mān-ānyaya-labdhañmā | rājā mahārājanat-āmbhriyugmaḥ khyāt⁷=vanau Vākpa-
- 4 tirāja-nāmā || 2 Naddūlē⁷ samabhūt=tadīya-tanayaḥ śrī-Lakshmaṇō bhūpatiḥ=⁸ ta-
- 5 smāt=sarvvagun-ānvitō nripa-varaḥ śrī-Sōbhita-ākhyāḥ⁹ sutaḥ | tasmāch=chh[r*]i-
Va(ba)lirāja-nā-
- 6 ma-nripatih paśchāt=tadīyō mahi-khyātō Vighrahapāla ity=abhidhayā rājyē
pitṛivyo=bhavat || 3
- 7 Tasmāt=tivramahāpratāpa-taraṇih putrō Mahēndrō=bhavat=taj-jāch=śrī-Aṇahilladēva-
nripatēḥ śrī-Jēṃ-
- 8 drarājah sutaḥ | tasmād=durddharavairikumjaravadha-prōttālasimh-ōpamaḥ sat-
kirttyā dhaval[i]kṛit-ā-

¹ With reference to the above I may state that Mr. Ojha has sent me a rubbing of a grant (engraved on one side of one plate only) of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Kēlhanadēva, which is dated in line 1: *saṃvat 1223 varshē Jy[ai]ṣṭhā vadi 12 Sōnē*. This date also works out satisfactorily only for the *amānta* *Jyāishṭha* of the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1223, for which it corresponds to Monday, the 7th June A.D. 1165.

² From two rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

³ Denoted by a symbol.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ Metre of verses 3-5: Sārdūlavikridita.

⁶ The inscription C. has *Sōbhita*, but as A. has *Sōhiya*, I do not alter the *Sōbhita* of the present inscription to *Sōbhita*.

⁷ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁸ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁹ Read *bhūpatiḥ*.

- 9 khilajagach=chrī-Āsarājō nripaḥ || 4 Tat-putrō nijavikramārjitam-¹
mahārājyapratāpodayō
10 yō jagrāha jaya-śriyam rapa-bharē vyāpāḍya Saurāshṭrikān | śauchāchāra-
vichāra-dāna-vasatir=Naddū-
11 la-nāthō mahān=samkhyōtpādita-vīravṛittir=amalaḥ śrī-Alhaṇō² bhūpatiḥ || 5
Anēna³ rājūā jana-viśrutē-
12 na |⁴ Rāshṭraūḍa-vamśaja var-Āṇahulasya putrī | Annalladēvir-iti śīla-vivēka-
yuktā |⁵ Rāmēna vai Janakaj=ēva vi-
13 vāhit=āsau || 6 Ābhyām⁶ jātāḥ su-putrā jagati vara-dhiyō rūpa-saumārya-
yuktāḥ |⁷ śāstraiḥ śāstraiḥ praga-
14 lbhāḥ pravara-guṇagaṇās=tyāgavantaḥ su-śilāḥ | jyēshṭhaḥ śrī-Kēlhaṇ-ākhyas=tad=
anu cha Gajasimhas=tathā Kī-
15 rttipālō |⁸ yadvan=nētrāṇi Śambhōs=tripurushavad=ath=āmi janē vaṁdaniyāḥ |
(||) 7 ⁹Madhyād=amishām pari-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 16 vāra-nāthō shṭhē(jyē)shṭhō smgajāḥ kshōṇi-talē prasiddhaḥ | kṛita[h*] kumārō
nījarājya-dhārī
17 śrī-Kēlhaṇa[h*] sarvva-guṇair=upētaḥ | (||) [8*] Ābhyām rājakula-śrī-
Ālhaṇadēva- |¹⁷ kumāra-śrī-Kēlha-
18 ṇadēvābhyām rājaputra-śrī-Kīrttipālasya prasādē datta-Naddūlāl-prativa(ba)ddha-
dvādaśa-grāmāṇi¹⁸ ||
19 Tatō rājaputra-śrī-Kīrttipālāḥ |¹⁹ sam 1218 Śrāvaṇa-vadi 5 Sōmē || ady=
ē[h*] śrī-Naddūlē snātvā dhō(dhau)-
20 ta-vāsasī paridhāya tilākshatakūsa-praṇayinām dakṣiṇa-karam kṛitvā dēvān=
udakēna samtarpya | va(ba)-
21 halatamatimirapaṭalapāṭana-paṭiyasō niḥśēshapātakapaṁka-prakshālanasya divākarasya
22 pūjām vidhāya | charāchāra-gurum Mahēsva(śva)ram namaskṛitya | hutabhujī
hōmadravay-āhutiḥ=ddatvā²⁰ nalini-
23 dalagatajalalava-taralam jīvitavyam=ākalayya | aihikam pārachi(tri)kam tha(cha)
phalam=aṁgikṛitya svapunya-
24 yasō-bhivṛiddhayē śāsanam prayachchhati yathā || Śrī-Naddūlālgrāmē | śrī-
Mahāvira-jināya Naddūlāl-¹¹
25 dvādaśa-grāmēshu grāmam prati dra 2 dvau dramman snapana-vilēpana-dīpa-
dhūp-ōpabhōgārtham | śāsanē
26 varsham prati Bhādrapada-māsē chaṁdrārkkakshiti-kāla[m] yāvat pradatta-
Naddūlālgrāma | Sūjēra | Parijī | [*]
27 Kavilāḍa | Sōnāṇam | Mōrakarā | Haravamdam [*] Mādāḍa | Kānasuam |
Dēvasūri | Nāḍāḍa [*] Maūvaḍi |
28 ēvam grā¹² 12 ētēshu dvādaśa-grāmēshu sarvvad=āpi asmābhiḥ śāsanē dattau |
ēbhīr=grāmair=adhunā samvatsa-

¹ Read °mārjita-.

² Read -Alhaṇō.

³ Metre : a mixture of Upēndravajrā and Vasantatilakā.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ Metre : Sragdharā. The last Pāda does not contain the proper cæsuras.

⁶ Metre : Uṇjāti.

⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Wrong for -grāmāḥ. The whole sentence which ends here is ungrammatical.

⁹ All the signs of punctuation in lines 19-23 are superfluous. In some places below the rules of *samdhā* have not been observed.

Read -ddatted.

¹¹ Read °idī.

¹² I. e. grāmāḥ.

- 29 rālagitvā¹ sarvvad=āpi varshaṁ prati Bhādrapadē dātavyau | atah ūrddh[v*]am
kēn=āpi paripamthanā na kartavyā |
30 ²Asmad-vamśē vyatikramtē yō-nyah kō=pi bhaviṣhyati [*] tasy=āham karē
lagnō³ na lōpya[m*] mama śāsanam || [9*] Shashthi[m*]⁴ va-
31 rsha-sahasrāpi svarggē tishṭhati dāyakaḥ | āchchhētā ch=ānuma[m]tā cha
tāny=ēva narakam⁵ vasēt || [10*] Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhā

Second Plate; Second Side.⁶

- 32 bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalam || [11*]
33 Sva-hastō=yam mahārājaputra-śrī-Kirttipālasya || Naigamānvaya-kāyastha-Sōḍha-
naptā Śubhāmkaraḥ |
34 Dāmōdara-sutō=lēkhi⁷ śāsanam dharmma-śāsanam || [12*] Maṁgalaṁ mahā-
śrīḥ ||

**C.—SUNDHĀ HILL INSCRIPTION OF CHĀCHIGADĒVA;
[VIKRAMA-]SĀMVAṬ 1319.**

This inscription is on two stones which were found on the **Sundhā Hill**, about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura in the Jaswantapura district of the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna.⁸ I edit it from rubbings, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

The first stone contains 26 lines of writing which covers a space of 3' 3" broad by 1' 7½" high, the second 24 lines which cover a space of 2' 10" broad by 1' 5" high. The size of the letters is about ½" on the first stone, and between ⅔ and ⅞" on the second. The inscription was carefully written by Nāmvasimha, a son of the physician Vijayapāla, and well engraved by Jisaravi, a son of the *sūtradhāra* Jisapāla, and is in a state of perfect preservation. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting two prose passages at the bottom of either stone which record the names of the author, the writer and the engraver, the date *sāmvat* 1319 in line 48, and another prose passage, numbered as a verse, in lines 35 and 36, the text is in verse, the total number of verses (including the prose passage counted as a verse) being 59. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the palatal sibilant is used for the dental in *śasya*, l. 16, *śravamti*, l. 19, *sahasrāmśu*- (for *sahasrāmśu*-), l. 22, *śalila*-, l. 23, *śitaḥ*, l. 25, and *śitāmśu*- (for *śitāmśu*-), l. 37; *kh* and *sh* are confounded in *mayūsha*- (for *mayūkha*-), l. 10, and *piyūkha*- (for *piyūsha*-), l. 41; the *i* of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name in *śrī-Āśārāju*-, l. 21, *śrī-Udayasimha*-, l. 35, and *śrī-Aparājītēśa*-, l. 43; *chchh* is written for *chh* in *chchhalēna*, l. 7, and *chchhāyayā*, l. 8; and the sign of *avagraha* is employed in *Saṁdérē śrka*, l. 16, and in four other places. The language is generally correct and plain, but there are one or two passages about the exact meaning of which I am still doubtful. I especially do not understand verse 12, which seems to allude to some legend unknown to me, in which the creator weighs the sun and the moon, apparently using the Ganges as a balance. Moreover, I am not sure about the meanings of the word *śrīkari*, which occurs in verses 19 and 59, and *gupyadguru* in verses 15, 26, and 27. To judge from the context in verse 59 (*śrīkari-saptakavādi*-), the former⁹ may denote some kind of musical instrument; and as a *gupyadguru* must be

¹ Read *rāl=lagitvā*, 'commencing from the current year.'

² Metre of this verse and the rest: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

³ Read *lagnō=emi*.

⁴ Read *shashṭim*.

⁵ Read *narakā*.

⁶ Of the three lines on this side only a transcript has been sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

⁷ The passive Aorist is used wrongly here for the active *alēkāt*.

⁸ I owe this information to Mr. Ojha.

⁹ From the St. Petersburg Dictionary I see that *śrīkari* occurs in the *Uttamacharitrakathānakam*, l. 234 (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akademie*, 1884, Part I. p. 232), where Prof. Weber has suggested for it the meaning 'a female singer.'

something on which a golden *kumbha* and a golden *kalāśa* can be placed,¹ the word perhaps denotes a temple generally or a particular temple. Of rare words or words employed in an unusual way we may note *kēli*, 'the earth,' in verse 6, *bhūsphōṭa*, 'a mushroom,' in verse 16, the feminine *yugali*, 'a pair,' in verse 18, and *tāmbūliya*, 'an areca-nut,' in verse 21; *bandhu* and *bāndhava* denote 'a brother' in verses 24, 26, and 20; and a cousin is described as *pitṛivyajatayā bāndhava*, i.e. 'a brother in consequence of being born from a paternal uncle,' in verse 9.

The inscription in the prose passage at the bottom of the first stone and in verse 59 is styled a *praśasti*. It was composed by the (Jaina) *sūri* Jayamaṅgala (Jayamaṅgalāchārya), who belonged to the Bṛihad-gachchha and was a disciple of Rāmachandra, himself a disciple of Dēvāchārya.² And its primary object is to glorify the Chāhamāna chief Chāchigadēva, during whose reign it was composed, and for whom it furnishes a date³ in the month of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319, falling in about A.D. 1262. Fortunately, the author has used the occasion to give a eulogistic account of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla generally, which is of considerable interest.

Verses 1-3 pray the moon on Śambhu's (i.e. Śiva's) forehead and (Śiva's consort) Pārvatī or Chāṇḍikā to grant continuous good fortune and happiness. Verse 4 then records that formerly there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Rishi Vatsa*.⁴ In his lineage there were :—

- (1.) The lord of Naddūla, king Lakshmaṇa, who was a Śākambhari prince⁵ (vv. 5 and 6).
- (2.) His son Śōbhita (v. 7; the Sōhiya and Sōbhita of A. and B.). He took away the glory of the lord (or lords) of the mountain Arbuda.⁶
- (3.) His son Balirāja (vv. 7 and 8). He defeated an army of Muñjarāja, i.e. the Paramāra Vākpatirāja II. Amōghavarsha of Mālava, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 974 to 993.
- (4.) His paternal uncle's son Mahindu (v. 9).—He is the Mahendra of A. and B., the son of Vighrahpāla whose name is here omitted. He most probably is identical with the Mahendra or Mahindra (?) mentioned under No. 53 of my *Northern List* as a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikunḍī, whose inscription is dated in A.D. 997.
- (5.) His son Aśvapāla (vv. 10 and 11; omitted in A. and B.).
- (6.) His son Ahila (vv. 12 and 13; likewise omitted in A. and B.). He defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Bhīma, i.e. the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I. of Anahilapāṭaka.
- (7.) His paternal uncle Anahilla (vv. 14-17; in A. and B. described as the son of Mahendra). He also defeated the king Bhīma (Bhīmadēva I.); took Śākambhari; and slew

¹ See verses 26 and 27.

² He is described as *śrīkart-saptaka-vādin* which, as intimated above, appears to mean 'playing the seven *śrīkarts*.'

³ The exact date (in verse 57) is the *akshaya-tritīyā* or third *tithi* of the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaiśākha) of the [Vikrama] year 1319, given both in words and in figures. The date does not admit of verification; its possible equivalents would be the 4th April A.D. 1261, the 23rd April A.D. 1262, and the 12th April A.D. 1263.

⁴ According to the inscription of Luṇṭigadēva treated of under D. the holy Vachchha (Vatsa) brought about the creation of the Chāhamāna family. And according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sōmāvara (No. 154 of my *Northern List*) Sāmānta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the Vatsa *gōtra* at Ahichchhatrapura.

⁵ The original has *Śākambharīndra*. It will be seen below under D. that Lakshmaṇa most probably had the epithet *Śākambharī-mānikya*, 'the jewel of Śākambhari.' Mr. Ojha tells me that a Chāhamāna even now will be addressed as *Sambhartrāja*, 'Śākambhari prince.'

⁶ I.e. Mount Ābū. With the expression *Himādri-bhava* of the original as a name of the mountain Arbuda compare *Himavataś śūṣaḥ* in the unpublished Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta; *Himagiri-tanayaḥ* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5; and *Gaurivaratapura-bhūdhara-sambhava* above, Vol. VIII. p. 210, l. 17. The lord (or lords) of Arbuda spoken of above probably belonged to the Paramāra family treated of in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pārnapāla, above, p. 10.

(or defeated) **Sâḍha**, a general of the **Mâlava** king **Bhôja** (*i.e.* the **Paramâra Bhôjadêva**), and the **Turushka**.

(8.) His son **Bâlaprasâda** (vv. 18 and 19; omitted in B.). He forced the king **Bhîma** (**Bhîmadêva** I.) to release from prison a king named **Kṛishṇadêva**.—This **Kṛishṇadêva** most probably is the **Paramâra Kṛishṇarâja** (the son of **Dhandhuka**¹ and grandson of (?) **Dêvarâja**), of whom we have two inscriptions at **Bhinmâl** (**Śrîmâla**), dated in A.D. 1060 and 1067 (Nos. 689 and 690 of my *Northern List*).

(9.) His brother **Jindurâja** (vv. 20 and 21; the **Jêndrarâja** of A. and B.). He fought victoriously at **Sanḍêra** (the modern **Sanderao** in the **Jôdhpur State**, south-west of **Nadol**).

(10.) His son **Prithvipâla** (vv. 22 and 23; omitted in B.). He defeated an army of the **Gûrjara** king **Karṇa**, *i.e.* **Bhîmadêva's** son and successor **Karṇa Trailôkyamalla**.

(11.) His brother **Yôjaka** (vv. 24 and 25; the **Jôjalla** of A., omitted in B.). He by force occupied **Aṇahillapura** (**Aṇahilapâtaka**).

(12.) His brother **Âśârâja** (vv. 26-30; in B. described as the son of **Jêndrarâja**). He pleased **Siddhâdhirâja**, *i.e.* **Karṇa's** son and successor **Jayasimha Siddharâja**, by the assistance which he rendered to him in the country of **Mâlava**, but afterwards apparently was on hostile terms with him.

With the account of **Âśârâja** ends that part of the inscription which is on the first stone. The part on the second stone (after a symbol for *om*) begins, as if it were an independent inscription, with a verse (v. 31) praying for the blessing of **Śambhu** (**Śiva**), 'the crest of the **Sugandhâdri**,² *i.e.* the mountain **Sugandha**, which clearly is the **Sundhâ Hill** where the inscription was found. The author then continues the genealogy by stating that **Âśârâja's** son was —

(13.) **Âhlâdana** (vv. 32 and 33; the **Âlhanadêva** of A. and B.). His assistance was sought by the **Gûrjara** king, and his army put down disturbances in the mountainous part of **Surâshṭra** (*gîrau Saurâshṭrê*). He built a **Śiva** temple at **Naddûla**.—We have seen above that the two inscriptions A. and B., which are of this chief's reign, are dated in A.D. 1161 and 1160. Before that time, he is mentioned (together with his son **Kêlhaṇa**), apparently as a feudatory of the **Chaulukya Kumârapâla**, in the **Kerâḍu** fragmentary inscription of **Kumârapâla's** reign which is dated in A.D. 1153 (No. 133 of my *Northern List*).

(14.) His son **Kêlhaṇa** (v. 34). He defeated the southern king **Bhilima**, and after destroying the **Turushka** erected a golden *tôraṇa*, 'like a diadem for the abode of the holy **Sômêsa**.'—For the **Mahârâjâdhirâja Kêlhaṇa** I have given above, p. 68, note 1, a date in A.D. 1165. The southern king **Bhilima**, whom he is said to have defeated, must have been the **Dêvagiri-Yâdava Bhîllama**, whose **Gadag** inscription is dated in A.D. 1191 (No. 334 of my *Southern List*).

(15.) His brother **Kirtipâla** (vv. 35 and 36). He defeated a **Kirâtakûṭa** chief named **Âsala**, and at **Kâsahrada** routed an army of the **Turushka**. As ruler of the kingdom of **Naddûla** he took up his residence at **Jâvâlipura**.—Of the places here mentioned **Kirâtakûṭa** is **Kerâḍu**, according to *Bhâvnagar Inscr.* p. 172,³ 'a small village near **Hâthamo** under **Bâḍamera**' (**Bârmer**) in the **Jôdhpur State**. **Jâvâlipura**, to which **Kirtipâla** transferred his residence, is the

¹ He apparently is the **Paramâra Dhandhu**, who according to an inscription at **Vimala's** temple on **Mount Âbû** which will be mentioned below, p. 81, transferred his allegiance from **Bhîmadêva** I. to king **Bhôja**, the lord of **Dhârâ** (*i.e.* **Bhôjadêva** of **Mâlava**).

² I understand this epithet to mean that there was a temple of **Śiva** on the mountain **Sugandha**.

³ In line 5 of the inscription given there the name appears as *Kirâtakûṭa*.—According to the *Râjputâna Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 265, 'Kherâru' is about 20 miles west of **Bârmer**.

town of Jālōr in the same State. A place named Kāsahrada has been identified by the late Prof. Bühler¹ with Kāsandra or Kāsandhra, a village with about 400 inhabitants on the road from Dholkā to Palitānā, in Long. 72° 11', Lat. 22° 19'; but the Kāsahrada of this inscription may be a different place nearer Nadol.—According to verse 41 Kirtipāla's daughter Rūdaladēvi built two temples of Śiva at Jāvālipura.

(16.) His son Samarasimha (vv. 37-40). He built extensive ramparts on the Kanakāchala (or 'gold hill') and founded the town of Samarapura.—This town I am unable to identify. Kanakāchala according to Mr. Ojha is the name of the fort² of Jālōr which, he informs me, is locally known as 'Sonalgarh,' and the Sauvarṇa-giri of Jāvālipura I find actually mentioned in an inscription on Mount Ābū.³ In an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1221, from which Mr. Ojha has sent me a quotation, it is called Kāñchana-gaḍha.—Samarasimha clearly is the Chāhu[māna*]-rāna[ka*]-Samarasimha, whose daughter Lilādēvi was the (or a) queen of the Chaulukya Bhimadēva II.⁴

(17.) His son Udayasimha (vv. 42-46). According to the prose passage in lines 35 and 36 he ruled 'the glorious Naddūla, the glorious Jāvālipura, Māṇḍavyapura, Vāgbhaṭamēru, Sūrāchaṇḍa, Rāṭahrada, Khēḍa, Rāmasainya, Śrīmāla, Ratnapura, Satyapura, and other places.'—With the exception of Māṇḍavyapura and Rāṭahrada the places here enumerated are easily found on the map of the Rājputāna Agency (in Marwar) under the names Nádol, Jālōr, Barmer, Surāchand, Kher (between Tilwāra and Bālotra), Rāmsen, Bhīmāl, Ratanpura and Sānchor. Māṇḍavyapura is Mandor, according to the Rājputāna Gazetteer three miles from Jōdhpur; Rāṭahrada I cannot identify.—Udayasimha's queen was Prahlādanadēvi, who bore to him two sons, Chāchigadēva and Chāmūṇḍarāja. Regarding his exploits, the inscription states in a general way that he curbed the pride of the Turushka, was not to be conquered by the Gūrjara kings, and put an end to the Sindhu king. He was a scholar conversant with the great works of Bharata⁵ and others, and built two Śiva temples at Jāvālipura.—Udayasimha clearly is identical with the Mahārājādhirāja Udayasimhadēva of whose reign we have three inscriptions at Bhīmāl (Nos. 697-699 of my Northern List) dated in the [Vikrama] years 1262, 1274 and 1305, corresponding to about A.D. 1205, A.D. 1218, and about A.D. 1248; and also with the Mahārājakula Udayasimhadēva, for whom I have given a date, falling in A.D. 1249, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 175, No. 115. He was succeeded by—

(18.) his son⁶ Chāchigadēva (vv. 47-57). He in verse 50 is described as 'destroying the roaring Gūrjara lord Virama, hating the enemy Śalya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking (or leaping) Pātuka, depriving of his colour Saṅga, and a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious Nahara.' As will be seen from this translation, the words śalya,⁷ pātuka and saṅga of the original must in my opinion, like virama and nahara, be taken as proper names; but of the five persons enumerated I can identify only the first. Being described as 'Gūrjara lord,' Virama appears clearly to be the Vāghēlā Viramadēva, the son of Vīradhavalā and elder brother of Viśaladēva, who is reported to have been the son-in-law of Udayasimha of Jāvālipura,⁸ and

¹ See his paper on the *Sukṛitasamkīrtana* of Arisimha, p. 25. For another identification of Kāsahrada see above, Vol. VIII. p. 206, note 2.

² For a description of this fort which is about 800 yards in length by 400 in width, and crowns a rocky hill of an altitude of 1,200 feet above the surrounding plain, see the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 260.

³ Line 33 of No. 1722 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ See the plates of Bhimadēva II. (of A.D. 1206) in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 195, Plate ii. line 1.

⁵ I.e. apparently the *Bhāratiya-nāṭyaśāstra*.

⁶ Udayasimha's other son Chāmūṇḍarāja is not further mentioned in the inscription. He may be the Chāmūṇḍarāja whose name occurs under No. 703 of my Northern List.

⁷ Śalya probably is a proper name, denoting an enemy of Lavaṇaprasāda, also in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 27, verse 19.—In our inscription the name may be *Satruśalya*; compare Prof. Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 1510.

⁸ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 190. Compare also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 203, where Jāvālipura has been taken to be Jabalpur.

would therefore have been the own brother-in-law of Châchigadêva. — The following verses treat of the same chief's works of piety. At Śrīmāla he remitted certain taxes, and at Rāmasainya he granted funds for the worship of (the god) Vighrahāditya, and placed a golden cupola (*kumbha*) and a flag-staff (*dhvaja*) on the temple of (the god) Aparājītēsa to whom at the same time he gave a silver girdle (*mēkhalā*). For the same temple he provided a hall (*śālā*) with a car (*ratha*) richly decked with precious stones. Châchigadêva visited the Sugandhādri, worshipped there the goddess Chāmūṇḍā, known by the name Aghaṭēśvarī, and at her temple established a *maṇḍapa* which was consecrated by the Brāhmins on the *akshaya-tritīyā* of the month Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319.

I have already stated that the inscription thus for the reign of Châchigadêva yields a date in about A.D. 1262. Two other dates, of the [Vikrama] years 1333 and 1334, falling in about A.D. 1276 and 1277, are furnished for him by the two Bhinmāl inscriptions Nos. 702 and 703 of my *Northern List*, where he is described as the *Mahārājakula* Châchiga or Châchigadêva.

I may add that Châchigadêva is mentioned, under the name **Châcha**, in line 8 of the Jōdhpur inscription of Rūpādēvi, published by me above, Vol. IV. p. 312 ff. In my text of that inscription I have given the name as *Chāva*, and a renewed examination of the impressions enables me to affirm that either this is the actual reading, or that at any rate the name would be so read in the impressions by any one not acquainted with what we have learnt now from the Sundhā Hill inscription. Knowing what I do now, I have no doubt that the intended reading is *Châcha*. This **Châcha** is called a Chāhumāna in Rūpādēvi's inscription and described as the son of Udayasimha¹ and grandson of Samarasimha, which exactly fits our Châchigadêva. The inscription supplies the additional information that Châcha's wife was Lakshmidēvi, and that this lady bore to him Rūpādēvi, who became the wife of a king Tējasimha (to whom she bore a son named Kshêtrasimha) and founded a well or tank in A.D. 1284, in the reign of the *Maṇḍarājakula* Sāmyantasimhadêva.²

TEXT.³

First Stone.

- 1 || Ōm⁴ || ⁵Śvētāmbhōj-ātapatram kim=u Giri-duhituḥ Svastatinyā gavākshaḥ kim
vā saukhy-āsanam vā mahimamukhamahāsiddhidēvi-gaṇasya | trailōkyānamda-
hêtōḥ kim=uditam=anagham ślāghya-nakshatram=uchchaiḥ Śāmbhōr=bhālasthal-
ēnduḥ sukritikṛita-
- 2 nūtiḥ pātu vō rājya-lakshmim || 1 ⁶Īsasy=āmk-āvanir=anupamānamdasamdhā-mūlā
chamchadvāsōmchaladalamayī bhūshana-praṇḍhapushyā(shpā) | sallāvanyōdaya-
suphalinī Pārsvatīprēma-vallī lakshmim pushnāt=anu-dinam=ativyakta-bhaktiyā
natānām || 2 ⁷Vikaṭamukuta-mādyattēja-
- 3 sâ vyōmni daityān=iva bhūvi maṇimayyā mēkhalāyāḥ kvapēna | ananurāṇita-
lilāhamśakais=trāsayaṁtī phanipatibhuvan-āmtas=Chandikā vaḥ śriyē=stu || 3
⁸Śrīmad-Vatsamaharshi-harshanayanōdbhūtām(vu)purāprabha-⁹pūrvvōrvvīd h a r a -
maulimukhyaśikharālāmkāra-tigmadyutiḥ | prithvīm trātu-
- 4 m=apāsta-daityatimirah śrī-Chāhamānah purā vīrah kshirasamudrasōdara-
yaśōrāśiprakāśō=bhavat || 4 ¹⁰Ratn-āvalyām=iva nṛipa-tatau tat-kramē viśrutāyām

¹ The proper relation to Udayasimha of the Mānavasimha who is mentioned in my account of Rūpādēvi's inscription, above, Vol. IV. p. 313, will be given below, under D.

² So the name is spelt in the inscription. The published texts of the inscriptions Nos. 704, 706 and 707 (of A.D. 1282, 1286 and 1289) of my *Northern List* have *Sāmtatasimhadêva*.

³ From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

⁵ Metre: Sragdharā.

⁶ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

⁷ Metre: Mālinī.

⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁹ Originally ^oprabhā was engraved, but the sign for *ā* has been struck out.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 5 and 6: Mandākrāntā.

- dharmasthānaprakarakaraṇa-prāptapūṇyōtsavāyām | śrī-Naddūl-ādhipatir-abhaval-
Lakshmanō nāma
- 5 rājā Lakshmīlāsadanasadṛiśākāra-Śākambhar-īmdrah || 5 Ā pātālāt=samara-
jaladhīm Maṁdarō yasya khaḍgō mushti-vyājād=bhujagapatinā śrīmkhalēn=
āvava(ba)ddhaḥ | nirmathy=ōchchaiḥ sapadi Kamalām līlay=ōddhṛitya(tya)
mattaś=chakrē nṛitam raṇita-katakāḥ kēlikam-
- 6 pa-chchhalēna || 6 ¹Tasmād=Dhimādrībhavanātha-yaśōpahārī śrī-Sōbhitō=jani
nripō=sya tanūdbhavō=tha | gāmbhīryadhairya-sadanam Va(ba)lirājadēvō yō
Mumjarāja-va(ba)la-bhaṁgam=achikarat=tam || 7 ²Sāmrājy-āsākarēpum
ripunripatigaja-stōmam=ākramya jahre yat-khaḍgō gam-
- 7 dhahasti samararasa-bharē Viṁdhyasailāyamānē | muktāsuktīmdukānt-
ōjjvalaruchishu lasatkīrti-Rēvātātēshu prauḍhānamdōpachār-ōlvaṇapulakatatiḥ
pushkarāṇām chchhalēna³ || 8 ⁴Tatpitṛivyajatay=ātha vām(bām)dhavaḥ
śrī-Mahīmdur=ajanishṭa bhūpatiḥ | yat-kṛipāpa-
- 8 latikām=upēyushām chchhāyayā⁵ virahitam mukham dvishām || 9 Jajñē⁶
kāntas=tad=anu cha bhuvas=tat-tanūjō=śvapālah kālah krūrē dvishi su-
charitē pūṇṇachamdrāyamāṇaḥ | yaḥ saṁlagnō na khalu tamasā n=aiva
dōshākar-ātmā tējō-muktaḥ kvachid=api na yaḥ kimcha mītr-ō-
- 9 dayēshu || 10 ⁷Kēyūrāgranivishṭaratnanikara-prōdyatprabhādamva(ba)ra-vyaktaṁ
saṁgararamga-maṁḍapatalē yaṁ vairi-lakshmīḥ śritā | virēshu prasṛitēshu
tēshu rajasā nītēshu durllakshyatām lavdhō(bdhō)pāyava(ba)l=āpi
nirmala-gupair=vaśyā prasasy-ākṛitiḥ || 11 Pu-⁸
- 10 tras-tasy=Āhila iti nripas=tanmayūsha(kha)-chchhalēna srashtā yasya vyadhita
yaśasām tējasām tōlanam nu | Gaṁgātōlē śasī-tapanayōr=datubhataś=
chārnchēlē madhyasthāyidhruvamisha-lasatkāntakē kautukēna || 12 ⁹Gūrjarādhipati-
Bhīma-bhūbhujah sainya-pūram=a-
- 11 jayad=raṇēshu yaḥ [*] Sāmbhuvāt-Tripura-sāmbhavam va(ba)lam vāḍavō=
nala iv=āmnu(bu)dhēr-jalam || 13 ¹⁰Sainyākrānt-ākṣhilavasumatīmaṁḍalas=tat-
pitṛivyaḥ śrīmān rāj=ābhavad=atha jit-ārātimallō=ṇahillaḥ | Bhīma-kshōṇipati-
gajaghaṭā yēna bhagnā raṇ-āgrē hṛidyārth-āmbhōni-
- 12 dhi-Raghu-kṛitē ch=ēha paṁktiḥ khalānām || 14 Āmbhōjāni¹¹ mukhāny=ahō
mrigadṛiśām chamdr-ōdayānām mudō Lakshmir=yatra narōttamānusaraṇavyāpāra-
pāraṁgamā | yānāni prasabham śubhāni śikhari-śrēṇ=īva gupyaḍguru-stōmō¹²
yasya narēśvarasya tulanām sēn=ām-
- 13 vu(bu)rāsēr=dadhau || 15 Urvviruṭ¹³ viṭapāvalamva(ba)-sugrihiharmyēshu datvā¹⁴
dṛiśam dhyāt-ātyamāmanōharākṛitiniḥprāsādavātāyanah | bhūsphōṭāni vanāmātarēshu
vitātāny=ālōkya hāhēti-vāk sasmār=ātapavāraṇāni śataśō yad-vairirājavraja-
- 14 h || 16 Dṛiṣṭaḥ kair=na Chaturbhujah sa samarē Śākambharīm yō
va(ba)lāj=jagrāh=ānu jaghāna Mālava-patēr-Bhōjasya Sādh-āhvayam |
daṁḍ-ādhiśam=apāra-sainyavibhavam tivrām Turushkam cha yaḥ sākshād=
Vishṇur=asā[dha]niya-yaśasā śrīmgārītā yēna bhūḥ || 17 Jajñē¹⁵ bhūbhṛit=tad=a-

¹ Metre : Vasantatilakā.² Metre : Sragdhara.³ Read *chhalēna*.⁴ Metre : Rathōddhatā.⁵ Read *chhāyayā*.⁶ Metre : Mandākrāntā.⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁸ Metre : Mandākrāntā. — I am unable to explain this verse. See above, p. 70.⁹ Metre : Rathōddhatā.¹⁰ Metre : Mandākrāntā.¹¹ Metre of verses 15-17 : Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹² The exact meaning of the word *gupyaḍguru* is unknown to me ; it occurs again in verses 26 and 27. See above, p. 71.¹³ Read *urvrudvi*.¹⁴ Read *datvā*.¹⁵ Metre : Mandākrāntā.

- 15 nu tanayas=tasya Vā(bā)laprasādō Bhima-kshmābhric-haranayugalîmarddana-
vyâjatō yaḥ | kurvan piḍām=ativa(ba)latayā mōchayāmāsa kārâgârâd=
bhûmîpatim=api tathâ Kṛishṇadêv-âbhîdhânām || 18 Śrîkaryō¹ jalada-bhramam
dadhur=ahô sainyê=sya sê-
- 16 vârasâyâtartu-pratimê samujvala-patâ² vâsâ marâla-śriyam | kampam vâyu-
vasêna kêtu-nivahâ śa(sa)sy-ânukâram cha tē³ saṁgîtâni cha kôkîlârava-
tulâm chittê tu tâpam dvishah || 19 'Śrîmâms=tasy-âjani narapatir=
vâm(bâm)dhavô Jimdurâjô yaḥ Samdêrê
- 17 srka⁴ iva timiram vairi-vrimdam vi(bi)bhêda | yasya jyôtiḥ-prakaram=abhitō
vidvishah kauśik-âbhâ drashtum śaktâ na hi giriguhâ-madhyam=adhyâsritâs=
tat || 20 Gachchhamtînâm rîṇu-mrigadṛisâm bhûshaṇânâm prapâtê vâshp-
âsarair=ghanatati-tulâm vi(bi)bhratînâm=aranyê | dūrvvâ-
- 18 bhrâmtim marakatamani-śrēṇayō yat-prayânê tâmvû(bû)liya-bhramam=iva chiram
chakrirê padmarâgâḥ || 21 Prithvim⁵ pâlayitum pavitramatimân yaḥ
karshukânâm⁷ karam munchan prâpa yasâmsi kûnda-dhavalâny=ânâmdahridy-
ânanaḥ | Prithvipâla iti dhruvam kshiti-
- 19 patis=tasy=âmgajanm=âbhavat=pratyakshôrunidhi⁸ sa Gûrjara-patêḥ Karṇasaya
sainy-âpahah || 22 Yat-senâ kila kâmadhēnu-sadṛiṣi kirttim śra(sra)vaṁti
payah svachchhamdam sacharâcharê=pi bhuvanê śatrûms=trîṇikurvati |
dharmaṁ vatsam=iva svakîyam=anagham vṛiddhim nayaṁti
- 20 mudâ kasy=ânâmda-kari va(ba)bhûva na bhuvô=bhîshṭam samâtanvatî || 23 'Śrî-
Yôjakô bhûpatir=asya vâm(bâm)dhur=vivêkasaudha-prava(ba)lapratâpah | svêt-
âtapatrēṇa virâjamânaḥ śakty-Âṇahillâkhyapurê=pi rēmê || 24 Tyaktvâ¹⁰
saudham=udâra-kêlivipinam kriḍ-â-
- 21 chalê dirghikâm palyamk-âsrayam karēṇnshu mudâm sthânām samantâd=api |
yasy=ârikshitipâla-vâ(bâ)lalalanâḥ śailê vanê nirjharê sthûlagrâva-śirassu saṁsmṛitim=
aguḥ pûrvôpabhukta-śriyam || 25 'Śrî-Âsarâja-nâmâ samajani vasudhâ-nâyakas=ta-
- 22 sya vâm(bâm)dhuh sâhâyyam Mâlavanâm bhuvi yadasi-kritam vikshya
Siddhâdhirâjah | tushtô dhattê sma kumbham kanakamayam=ahô yasya
guppyadguru-stham tam hartum n=aiva śaktaḥ kalushita-hṛidayah sêshabhûpâla-
vâgbhiḥ || 26 'Udayagirisirah-stham kim sahasrâmsu-vimvam¹³
- 23 vitata-vîsadakirttêr=mûrddhni kim nu pratâpah | upari subhagatâyâ udgatâ
mamjarî kim kanaka-kalâśa âbhâd=yasya guppyadguru-sthah || 27 Kanakaruchi-
sarirah śailasâr-âbhirâmaḥ phaṇipati-mahanîyasy=âvatârah sa Vishvôḥ |
śa(sa)lilanidhi-su-
- 24 tâyâ maṁdirê skandha-dêśê dadhad=avanim=udârâm=agrimah punya-mûrttiḥ || 28
¹⁴Sattrâgâra-taḍâga-kânana-Haraprâsâda-vâpi-prapâ-kûp-âdini vinirmamê dvijajan-
ânâmdî kshamâ-maṁḍalê | dharmasthâna-śatâni yaḥ kila vu(bn)dha-śrêṇishu

¹ Metre: Sârdûlavikṛîḍita. — Originally *śrîkaryô* was engraved, but this has clearly been altered to *śrîkaryô*. The word occurs again in verse 59. See above, p. 70.

² Read *samujjala*.

³ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out.

⁴ Metre of verses 20 and 21: *Mandâkrântâ*.

⁵ The sign of *avagraha* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

⁶ Metre of verses 22 and 23: Sârdûlavikṛîḍita.

⁷ Read *karshukânâm* (for the ordinary *karshakânâm*).

⁸ This word is quite clear in the rubbing, but I am not sure that it is correct. Perhaps the intended reading may be *pratyakshô=mbunidhi*.

⁹ Metre: *Upajâti*.

¹⁰ Metre: Sârdûlavikṛîḍita.

¹¹ Metre: *Sragdharâ*.

¹² Metre of verses 27 and 28: *Mâlîni*.

¹³ Read *sahasrâmsu-bimbam*.

¹⁴ Metre of verses 29 and 30: Sârdûlavikṛîḍita.

- 25 kalpadrumaḥ kas=tasy=ēmdutushāraśaīla-dhavalam stōtum yaśaḥ kōvidaḥ || 29
 Svētāny=ēva yaśāmsi tumgaturaga-stōmaḥ śi(si)taḥ subhruvām chamchanmauktika-
 bhūṣaṇāni dhavalāny=uchchaiḥ samagrāny=api | prēmālāpa-bhavam smitam
 cha viśadam śubhrā-
- 26 ni vastraukasām vṛimdan=īti nṛpasya yasya pritanā Kailāsa-lakshmiṃ śrītā || 30
 Praśastir=iyam Vṛi(bṛi)hadgachchhiya-śrī-Jayamaṅgalāchārya-kṛitiḥ || Bhishag-
 Vijayapāla-putra-Nāmvasimhēna likhitā | Sūtra-¹Jisapāla-putra-Jisaraviṇā² utkirṇā ||

Second Stone.

- 27 || Ōm³ || ⁴Jaṭā-mūlē Gaṅgāprava(ba)lalaharīpūrakuhanā-samunmīlachchhatraprakara⁵
 iva namrēshu nṛpatām | pradātum śrī-Śāmbhuḥ sakalabhuvan-ādhiśvaratayā
 tayā vā dēyād=vaḥ śubham=iha Sugamdhādri-mukutaḥ || 31 ⁶Āśārāja-kshitipa-
 tanayaḥ śrī-
- 28 mad-Āhlādan-āhvō jajñē bhūbhṛid=bhuvana-viditaś=Chāhamānasya vamsē | śrī-
 Naddulē Śivabhavana-kṛid=dharmmasarvasva-vēttā yat-sāhāyām pratipadam=ahō
 Gūrjjarēśaś=chakāmksha || 32 ⁷Chamchatkētakachampaka-pravilasattālitaṃmālāguru-
 sphūrjjachchamda-
- 29 nanālikērakadalidrākshāmra-kamrē girau | Saurāshtrē kuṭilōgrakamṭakabhid-
 ātyuddāmakirttēs=tadā yasy=ābhūd=abhimāna-bhāsuratayā sēnācharāpām ravaḥ || 33
⁸Śrīmāms=tasy=āṅgaja iha nṛpaḥ Kēlhaṇō dakṣiṇāśādhiś-ōdamchad-Bhili-
- 30 ma-nṛpatēr=mānahrit-sainyasmidhuḥ | nirbhidy=ōchchaiḥ prava(ba)la-kalitam yas=
 Turushkam vyadhatta śrīSōmēśāspadamukutavat=tōrapām kāmchanasya || 34
⁹Bhrāt=āsyā prava(ba)lapratāpa-nilayaḥ śrī-Kirttipālō=bhavad=bhū-nāthaḥ
 pratipakshapārthivachamūdāv-āmvu(bu)vāh-ō-
- 31 pamaḥ | yat-khadgāmru(bu)nidhan hat-ārīkariṇām kumbhasthalibhyaḥ ksharan=
 muktānām nikarō marāla-lalitām dhattē sma dhār-āśrayaḥ || 35 Yō
 durddāmta-Kirātākūṭa-nṛpatim bhittvā śarair=Āsalam tasmin=Kāsahradē¹⁰
 Turushka-nikaram jivā rapa-prāṅganē | śrī-Jāvālī-
- 32 purē sthitim vyarachayan=Naddulārājy-ēśvaraś=chintāratna-nibhaḥ samagra-
 vidushām niḥśimasainy-ādhipaḥ || 36 ¹¹Śrī-Samarasimhadēvas=tat-tanayaḥ
 kshōṇimamḍal-ādhipatiḥ | Indra iva vivu(bu)dhahṛiday-ānamdī purushōttamō
 Harivat || 37 Prākārah¹² Kanakā-
- 33 chalē virachitō yēn=ēha puṇy-ātmanā nānāyamtramanōjñā-kōshṭa(shṭha)katatir=
 vidyādharisīrshavān [*] kim Śēshaḥ phaṇavṛimdamēdura-tanur=vakshaḥsthalē
 vā bhuvō hārah kim bhramaṇa-śramād=udū-gaṇaḥ kim v=aisha bhējē
 sthitim || 38 ¹³Kamala-vanam=iv=ēdam vapraśīrshāli-dam-
- 34 bhān=nikhilavipuladēśaśrī-samākarshaṇāya | likhitaviśadaviṇduśrēṇivan=mattavairi-
 kshitipativiphalājistōma-samkhyānimitam || 39 Tōlayāmāsa¹⁴ yaḥ svarṇpair=ātmānam
 sōma-parvapi | ārama-ramyam Samarapuram yaḥ kṛitavān=atha || 40
- 35 ¹⁵Śrī-Kirttipālābhūpati-putrī Jāvālipuravarē chakrē | śrī-Rūdaladēvī Śivamaṇḍira-
 yugalam pavitra-matiḥ || 41 Śrī-Samarasimhadēvasya nāmdanaḥ prava(ba)-

¹ I.e. *sūtradhāra*; compare the same abbreviation e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 243, l. 27, and above, Vol.

III. p. 304, l. 5.

² Read °n=6l°.

³ Denoted by a symbol.

⁴ Metre: Śikharint.

⁵ Read °chchhatraprakara.

⁶ Metre: Mandākrantā.

⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁸ Metre: Mandākrantā.

⁹ Metre of verses 35 and 36: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁰ Here the *a* of the second syllable is (before *hr*) treated as a short vowel; see *Ind. Studien*, Vol. VIII.

p. 226.

¹¹ Metre: Āryā.

¹² Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹³ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁵ Metre of verses 41 and 42: Āryā (*pathyā* and *ādi-vipulā*).

- laśaurya-ramaṇīyaḥ | Śrī-Udayasimha-bhūpatir=abhūt=prabhā-bhāsvad-upamānaḥ¹ ||
42 ²ŚrīNaddū-
- 36 la-śrīJāvālipura-Māmdavyapura-Vāgbhaṭamēru-Sūrāchamḍa-Rāṭa h r a d a - K h ē ḍ a -
Rāmasainya-Śrīmāla-Ratnapura-Satyapura-prabhṛiti-dēsānām=ayam=adhipatiḥ || 43
Śēshaḥ³ stōtum=iva prarūḍha-rasanābhāraḥ samantād=abhūt kshirāvdi(bdhi)ḥ
pariravdhu(bdhu)m=uddhura-bhu-
- 37 jaḥ kallōlamālā-mishāt | drashtum ch=ānimish-ākshipamkajavanō Vāstōhpatir=⁴
yasya tām⁵ viśvaśrī-hṛidayasya hāralatikām kirttim sītāms-ūjvalām⁶ || 44 ⁷Śrī-
Prahā(hlā)danadēvi rājōi yasy=āngajam prasūtē sma | śrī-Chāchigadēv-
āhvam tath=aiva Chāmumḍarāj-ākhyam || 45⁸
- 38 ⁹Dhīrōdāttas=Turushkādhīpa-madadalanō Gūrjarēmdrsir=ajēyaḥ sēvāyātakshitiś-
ōchitakarapa-paṭuḥ Simdhurāj-āmtakō yaḥ | prōddāmanyāya-hētur=Bharata-
mukhamahāgramtha-tatvārthavēttā¹⁰ śrīmaj-Jāvāli-samjñē¹¹ puri Sivasadanadvaṁdva-
karttā kṛitajñāḥ || 46
- 39 ¹²Tatpatṭōdayasaila-bhānur=anaghaprōddāmadharmakriyā-nishṭāṭaḥ kamanīyarūpa-nilayō
dān-ēsvaraḥ suprabhuḥ | saumyaḥ sūra-sirōmaṇis=cha sadayaḥ sākshād=iv=
Ēmdraḥ svayam śrīmān¹³ Chāchigadēva ēva jayati pratyaksha-kalpadrumaḥ || 47
Bhrūbhāngēna
- 40 bhayamkarēṇa vijita-pratyarthibhūmipatiḥ śrīmān¹³ Chāchigadēva ēva tanutē
nirvighna-vṛittim bhuvam | dvaijihvyaṁ vidadhātu pannaga-patir=vakraṁ
varāhō mukham kūrmo nakra-tatim karīmdra-nivahaḥ saṁghāta-sausthyam
param || 48 Mērōḥ¹⁴ sthairyam vachana-rachanam Vā-
- 41 kpatēr=yasya tulyam¹⁵ prithvibhār-ōddharaṇam=asamaṁ pannagēmdr-ānushaṁgi |
sākshād=Rāmaḥ kim=ayam=athavā pūrṇa-pīyūkha(sha)rasmīs=chīmātāratnam
pranayini janē dēva ēv=aisha tasmāt || 49 ¹⁶Sphūrad-Virama-Gūrjarēsa-dalanō
yaḥ śatru-Śalyam dvishamś=chamchat-Pātu-
- 42 ka-pātanaikarasikaḥ Saṁgasya raṁg-āpahaḥ | ¹⁷unmādyan-Nahar-āchalasya kuliś-
ākāras=trilōkitala-bhrāmyatkirttir=asēshavairidahanōdagrapratāp-ōlvaṇaḥ || 50 Śrīmālē
dvijajānuvāṭikakara-¹⁸tyāgi tathā Vighrahādityasy=ā-
- 43 pi cha Rāmasainya-nagarē nityārchechan-ārthapradah | prōttumgē=py=Aparājītēsa-
bhavanē sauvarṇnakumbhadhvaj-ārōpī rūpyajamēkhalā-vitarāṇas=tasy=aiva dēvasya
yaḥ || 51 Chakrē śrī-Aparājītēsa-bhavanē śālā tath=āsyām rathaḥ Kailā-
- 44 sa-pratimas=trilōkakamalālamkāra-ratnōchchayaḥ | yēna kshōṇi-purāmdarēṇa kṛitinām=
ānanda-samvittayē bhāgyam vā nijam=ēva parvata-tulām nītam samantād=api || 52
Karṇō dāna-ruchir=Va(ba)liś=cha sukṛitī ślāghyō Dadhichis-tathā hṛidyah ka-
- 45 lpataruḥ prakāmamadhur-ākāras=cha chīmātāmaṇiḥ | śrīmach-Chāchigadēva-dāna-
muditās=tan-nāma gṛihna(hṇa)mti yat=tat-kirttēr=api nūtanatvam=abhavad=

¹ The meaning intended apparently is 'by his splendour like the sun' (*prabhayā bhāsvad-upamaḥ*).

² The prose passage which here begins is counted as a verse in the original.

³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁴ Read *Vāstōshpatir=*.

⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out again.

⁶ Read *sītāms-ūjvalām*.

⁷ Metre: Āryā.

⁸ The numeral 5 is engraved at the commencement of the next line.

⁹ Metre: Sragdhara.

¹⁰ Read *-tattvārtha°*.

¹¹ Originally *-samjñā* or *-samjñā* was engraved.

¹² Metre of verses 47 and 48: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹³ Read *śrīmāms=Chā°*.

¹⁴ Metre: Mandākrantā.

¹⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out again.

¹⁶ Metre of verses 50-54: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁷ Here originally a full stop was engraved.

¹⁸ The letter *i* of *vāṭika* has perhaps been struck out; the exact sense of *dvijajānuvāṭika* is not clear to me.

- bhūmibhujām sadmasu || 53 Sphūrjannirjharajhāmkrītēna¹ subhagaṃ tat=
kētakinām van n miśribhūtam=anēka-
46 kamrakadalī-vṛimēdēna dhattē śtra yaḥ | āmrāṇām vipinām cha dēvalalanāvakhō-
ruha-sparddhay=ēv=ōdyatprauḍhaphalāvalī-kavachitam jainvū(bū)vanēn=āmchitam ||
54 Marau² Mērōs=tulyas=tridaśalalanā-kēlisadanam Sugamdhādrir=nānātaruni-
47 karasannāha-subhagaḥ | n,ipēn=Ēmdrēn=ēva prasṛimaratuṃamgōchchayakhura-
prakamprōrvvipītham ratirasa-vaśāt=tēna dadṛśē || 55 ³Tan-mūrdhni tridaśēm-
drapūjita-padāmbhōjadvayām dēvatām Chāmuṇḍām=Aghaṭṣvar=iti viditām=
abhyarchchitām pūrvvajaiḥ |
48 natv=ābhyarchchya narēśvarō=tha vidadhē=syā maṇḍirē maṇḍapam krīdatkim-
narakinnarīkalarav-ōnmādyanmayūṛīkulam || 56 Saṃvat 1319 [!]⁴ Trayōdaśaśat-
aikōnavimśatau māsi Mādhavē | chakrē śkshayatṛitīyāyām pratishṭhā
maṇḍapē dvijaiḥ || 57
49 ⁵Saṃpal-lābham ghaṭayatu śubham kumbhi-vaktrō Gaṇēśaḥ siddhim dēyād=
abhimatatamām Chāṇḍikā chāru-mūrttiḥ | kalyāṇaya prabhavatu sa'ām dhēnu-
varggaḥ prithivyām rājā rājyam bhajatu vipulam svastī dēva-dvijēbbhyaḥ || 58
Sa⁶ śrīkarisaptakavādi-Dē-
50 vāchāryasya śishyō śjani Rāmachandraḥ | sūrir=vinēyō Jayamaṅgalō ssya
praśastim=ētām sukrītī vyadhata || 59 Bhishagvara-Vijayapāla-putrēna
Nāmvasihēna⁷ likhitā || Sūtradhāra-Jisapāla-putrēna Jisaraviṇ=ōtkirṇā ||

D.— MOUNT ÂBŪ INSCRIPTION OF LUṆṬIGADĒVA ;
[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1377.]

This inscription is on a stone which is built into the wall outside the porch of the Achalēśvara temple on Mount Âbū. A translation of it was given, about eighty years ago, by H. H. Wilson in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 285 ff.⁸ My account of its contents is based on impressions kindly sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, who had received them from Mr. Cousens.⁹ I mainly treat of the inscription here in order to give the true names of the chiefs who are mentioned in it, and to show the connection of these chiefs with those of the preceding inscriptions. The published translation long ago led me to suspect that this record also belonged to the Chāhamāna family of Naddūla; I am able to prove now that such is really the case.

The stone contains 32 lines of writing which covers a space of about 1' 11" broad by 1' 4" high. Portions of the first ten and the last three lines and some of the final letters of nearly all lines are entirely gone or defaced. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is somewhat incorrect Sanskrit. Up to nearly the end of line 29 there are 36 verses, forming a *praśasti* which was composed by a certain Mahidhara;¹⁰ the rest seems to be all in prose.

After three verses, for the greater part illegible, in which the blessing of certain divine beings is invoked, the author proposes to celebrate repairs made at the Achalēśvara temple, and to give the lineage of the person who made them. He then (in verses 6-10) records that, when the solar and lunar races had come to an end, the holy Vachchha (i.e. Vatsa) brought about the creation of a new race of warriors, the Chāhumāna¹¹ race, and that in it there was a personage named Sindhurāja,¹² who conquered all other families.

¹ Originally *jhāmkrītēna* was engraved.

² Metre : Śikharīṇī.

³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Metre : Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁵ Metre : Māndākrātā.

⁶ Metre : Upajāti.—Here, as in verse 19, *śrīkīrti* was originally engraved.

⁷ Read *śimhēna*, as in line 26.

⁸ See my *Northern List*, No. 256.

⁹ In Mr. Cousens' List the inscription is No. 1944.

¹⁰ The original has *Mahādharēna*.

¹¹ The name is not preserved here, but the family is called *Chāhumānāvaya* in verse 17.

¹² The original has *Sindhurājah*; in the Translation the name is Sindhuputra. The name Sindhurāja does not occur elsewhere in the Chāhamāna family. I suspect it to have been wrongly given here by the author instead of Simharāja.

Then there came **Lakshmaṇa**, who by his irresistible valour acquired part of the earth. In the mutilated verse 12, which together with verse 11 treats of this chief, the word *Naddūla* is distinctly legible, as well as *Śākambharī*; and it is certain that Lakshmaṇa is described in the verse as king of **Naddūla**, and highly probable that he is spoken of as *Śākambharī-māṇikya*, 'the jewel of Śākambharī'.¹ After him, verse 13 mentions 'his son' **Balirāja**,² and Balirāja's 'son,' whose name I read as *Sōhi*,³ regarding this to be another form of the name *Sōhiya* (*Sōbhita*, *Śōbhita*) of the preceding inscriptions. According to the latter, *Sōhiya* was Lakshmaṇa's son, and his son again was Balirāja; the author of the present inscription has erroneously transposed the two names. Verses 14-18 then enumerate **Mahindu**,⁴ **Jindurāja**,⁵ **Āśarāja**, **Ālhaṇa**, **Kirtipāla** and **Samarasimha**. From what we know already from the other inscriptions, this is the line, from father to son, of the *Chāhamānas* of **Naddūla** from **Mahindu** to **Samarasimha**, except that, between **Mahindu** and **Jindurāja**, **Anahilla**, the son of the former and father of the latter, has been omitted.—So far our inscription tells us nothing of importance that is new.

Samarasimha, according to verse 19, had two sons, of whom the one called **Udayasimha**, who also is already known to us from the inscription C., succeeded him in the government. **Udayasimha**'s elder brother⁶ was **Mānavasimha** (v. 20); his son was **Pratāpa** (v. 21), and his son **Vijaḍa**, also named **Daśasyandana**⁷ (v. 22). This chief married **Nāmalladēvi** (v. 23), who bore to him four sons—**Lāvanyakarna**, **Lunḍha**,⁸ **Lakshmaṇa**, and **Lūṇavarman** (v. 24), of whom the eldest became the ruling chief. When **Lāvanyakarna** died, he was succeeded by the next brother, whose name in verse 26 is clearly **Lunṭigadēva**, in verse 28 **Lunṭiga**, in verse 30 **Lunḍhāgara**, and in the prose passage in line 29 **Lūṇṭāgara**. **Lunṭiga** conquered and ruled 'all countries,' particularly **Chandrāvati** and the divine territory of **Arbuda** (*Arbuda-divyadēśam*, v. 27). On the mountain **Arbuda** he set up images of himself and his queen, and carried out repairs at the temple of **Achalēśvara**. As a grant to the temple, he moreover gave the village of **Hēṭhuṇjī**⁹ (v. 33) for the perpetual worship of the god.

From the prose passage which follows, and which is more or less illegible, we learn that in the year 1377, on Monday, the 8th of the bright half of **Vaiśākha**, in the **Kshaya-samvatsara**, **Lunṭiga**, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious **Lūṇṭāgara**, resided at **[V?]huṇḍha** which belonged to **Chandrāvati**.¹⁰ This date regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikādi*

¹ The Translation, after Lakshmaṇa, mentions "the hero, named *Māṇikya*, whose distinguished capital was *Śākambharī*;" but this is erroneous.

² The Translation has *Adhirāja* instead.

³ The second half of the verse, part of which is very indistinct, in my opinion is: *Sōhi-samjñā[sa]tā* *tō camśē śōbhit bhāmau hi tat-suta[h]*.—The name *Sōhi* occurs above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, l. 13.

⁴ The original actually has *Mahidu*.

⁵ The Translation has *Sindhurāja*, *Kulaviverddhana*, *Prabhurāsa Rājā* (derived from the actual reading *prabhur-Āsarāja*), *Dandana* (for *Ālhaṇa*), *Kirtipāla* and *Samarasimha*.

⁶ According to the Translation *Mānavasimha* was *Udayasimha*'s son; but this is a mistake. The original text, after mentioning *Udayasimha*, clearly has: *yō vai parō dāna-guṇair-garishṭhas-tasy-āgrajō Mānavasimha-nāma*.

⁷ I.e. *Daśaratha*. The original text of verse 22 is: *Tasy-ātmajō Spū[r]vaguṇ-ādhipāsa [ā]st(st)d=Daśasyam-dana-nāma[dhā(dhē)]yah [i*] va(ba)sā(dhā)ra vjāni tu Vtjadō yō(yaī=)chātārī rājyāya Harēḥ prasāddt (i)*. I shall show below that the chief here spoken of undoubtedly was named *Vtjadā*. The name *Daśasyandana* (*Daśaratha*) may have been given to him because, like *Rāma*'s father *Daśaratha*, he, according to the account here given, had four sons.—Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 215, v. 18.

⁸ The reading of the first syllable of this name is not absolutely certain here.

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 222, line 28, and in an unpublished Mount *Ābū* inscription (No. 1794 of Mr. Cousens' List) the name is spelt *Hēṭhuṇjī*.

¹⁰ The text has: *samvat 1377 varshē Vai[s]ākha-tūdi 8 Sōmē Kshaya-samvatsarē Sdy=ṭha Chamdrāvatt-pratīka(ba)ddha-[V?]huṇḍha-samvatsarā-mahārājakula-rt-Lūṇṭāgarē Chamdrāvatt-prabhriti-dēśēḥ tatthā*

Vikrama year 1377, to Monday, the 6th April A.D. 1321, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaisâkha ended 17 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise; the day did fall in the Jovian year Kshaya, which according to the northern mean-sign system lasted from the 30th May A.D. 1320 to the 26th May A.D. 1321.

Of the localities mentioned, in addition to the well-known Arbuda or Mount Âbû, Chandrâvatî according to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. p. 126, is a large place (now in ruins) on the Banās river near the south-east border of the Sirohi State. There can be no doubt that it was taken by Lūṇiga from the Paramāras.¹ Hēṭhūñjī is the small village of 'Hetamji' on Mount Âbû.² Vūhunḍha— if this is really the name— I am unable to identify.

On Mount Âbû there are at least two other inscriptions,³ of no great extent and partly illegible, of the reign of Lūṇigadēva, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūṇḍhāka or Lūṇḍha(?). One is dated on Wednesday, the 8th of the dark half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1372, corresponding, so far as I can see, to Wednesday, the 17th March A.D. 1316; the other on some specified day, which I cannot make out with certainty, in the [Vikrama] year 1373. And there is a third, partly effaced inscription,⁴ which also mentions the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūṇḍhāka or Lūṇḍhāka, and speaks of the glorious Nāmālādēvi, who clearly is the Nāmālādēvi of the present inscription, the mother of Lūṇigadēva. I am not at present prepared to give a fuller account of these three inscriptions.

But I may add here that another account of some of the later Chāhamānas is found in an inscription⁵ which is on a stone at a temple—the *Vimala-vasahikā*, ordinarily but wrongly called Vimala Sâh's or Shâh's⁶ temple— which was founded on Mount Âbû, according to the inscription itself in the Vikrama year 1088,⁷ by a certain Vimala, 'an ornament of the Prâg-vâta race,' after he had been appointed *daṇḍapati* at Arbuda by the (Chaulukya) king Bhīmadēva (I.). This inscription in lines 9-15 (verses 14-22) gives the following '*rājāvali*':—

There was a hero, Āsarāja⁸ by name, a moon to the lotus-flower—the Chāhuvāma⁹ family, who was king of the town of Nadûla¹⁰ (v. 14). Then there came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahānasimhabhaṭa (v. 15). Then came Pratāpamalla; and of him was born Vijaya, who ruled the Marusthali-maṇḍala (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūṇiga (v. 17). After him the text mentions Lūṇḍha (v. 18) and Lumbha (v. 19), without distinctly saying that they were his younger brothers. It then records the conquest of Arbuda (v. 20); says further that Lūṇiga's son was Tējasimha (v. 21); and after him eulogizes Tihunāka, to whom it wishes long life (v. 22).

The mutilated verse 23 appears to say that the glorious Lumbhaka, together with Tējasimha and Tihuna, in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda;

¹ See my *Northern List*, Nos. 193, 209 and 210 (now above, Vol. VIII. p. 201).

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 207, and the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. pp. 137 and 144.

³ Nos. 1907 and 1909 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ No. 1908 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ No. 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List. I hope soon to give the text of this inscription, which is ready for publication.

⁶ *Vimala* *śāha* seems to occur first in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, note. It owes its origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple,' which we find e.g. in line 8 of No. 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List.— I may add that in line 10 of the same inscription we have the similar term *Tējapāla-vasahikā*, 'Tējapāla's temple.'

⁷ The date is given in verse 11: *Śrī-Vikramāditya-nripād-vyattis Saktiditi-yatis śaraddā śakāśāś(śr)* | *śrī-Ādināthān śikharā-rūdasya nivṛti(śi)taś śrī-Vimalāna vāśāś I.*

⁸ I give all names here exactly as they are written in the original.

⁹ This may be a mi-take for *Chāhuvāma* or *Chāhuvāma*.

¹⁰ This is the actual spelling of the name, and is required by the metre. The same may be said of the name *Tējasimha*, which occurs below.

and the rest of the inscription treats of a private family, two members of which made repairs of the temple. The date given in verse 41 is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Jyêshthâ of the [Vikrama] year 1378. It corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322.

As regards the genealogy given in this inscription, it is curious, but of no historical importance, that it commences with Âsarâja¹ (Âsarâja, Âsârâja), who was neither the founder of the family nor the father of Samarasimha who is here mentioned immediately after him. Instead of the name Mânvasimha of Luptigadêva's inscription this account has Mahânasimha which must be regarded as another name of the same person; and while according to the former Vijâḍa had four sons, according to this genealogy he had only three—Lûṇiga, Luṇḍha and Lumbha. Of these, Lûṇiga undoubtedly is identical with the Lāvanyakarna of the other inscription,² and Luṇḍha with Luptiga (Luṇḍha), while Lumbha (Lumbhaka) most probably is another name of Lûṇavarman. What is new to us and of some importance, is, that by the account here given Têjasimha, who is known to us from other inscriptions, was a son of Lûṇiga. According to No. 261 of my *Northern List* Têjasimha³ was ruling in the [Vikrama] year 1387, corresponding to A.D. 1331; and there is an unpublished Mount Âbû inscription⁴ of his of the [Vikrama] year 1393, corresponding to A.D. 1336. What was the exact relation of Tihunâka (Tihuna) to Têjasimha, does not appear from the Vimala temple inscription; but the matter very probably is cleared up by a statement in an inscription (No. 265 of my *Northern List*⁵) of Têjasimha's son Kânhaḍadêva, who was reigning at Chandrâvati in the Vikrama year 1394, corresponding to A.D. 1338. That inscription in lines 11-14 records four separate grants of villages by the *Châhumânajâtiya-râja-sri-Têjasimha*, the *dêvaḍâ-sri-Tihunâka*, the *râja-sri-Kânhaḍadêva*, and the *Châhumânajâ(!)tiya-râja-sri-Sâmatasimha*. Here Tihunâka is placed between Têjasimha and his son Kânhaḍadêva, who both are distinguished from him by their title of *râjan*. This and the order in which Tihunâka is mentioned in the Vimala temple inscription render it probable that he was Têjasimha's younger brother. And this may possibly be the meaning of the word *dêvaḍâ* prefixed to his name, a word which seems to be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit *dêvri*, *dêvara*, used in the specific sense of 'a husband's younger brother.'⁶

In the Table on page 83 I have placed all the chiefs mentioned in the above in their genealogical order, and have given the dates known from inscriptions either for themselves or for the kings and chiefs with whom they are said to have come in contact. The Table will show that Lakshmana, the founder of the family, must be placed in about A.D. 925-950, and that therefore he very probably was a son of that Vâkpatirâja of Śâkambharî, who was the grandfather of the Vigharâja⁷ of the Harsha inscription who lived in A.D. 973. My genealogical Table of the family is not quite complete. I do not know yet how to place exactly the *Mahârâjakula Sâmvatasimha* or *Sâmyantasimha*, who is mentioned in Nos. 704-707 of my *Northern List* with dates from about A.D. 1282 to A.D. 1289, and— if this should be a different chief—the *Râjâ Sâmatasimha*, mentioned in Kânhaḍadêva's inscription of A.D. 1338.

¹ If it were not for the other inscriptions, this name might of course be taken to stand for *Atvardja*.

² Compare Lûṇigadêva for Lavanprasâja in No. 249 of my *Northern List*.

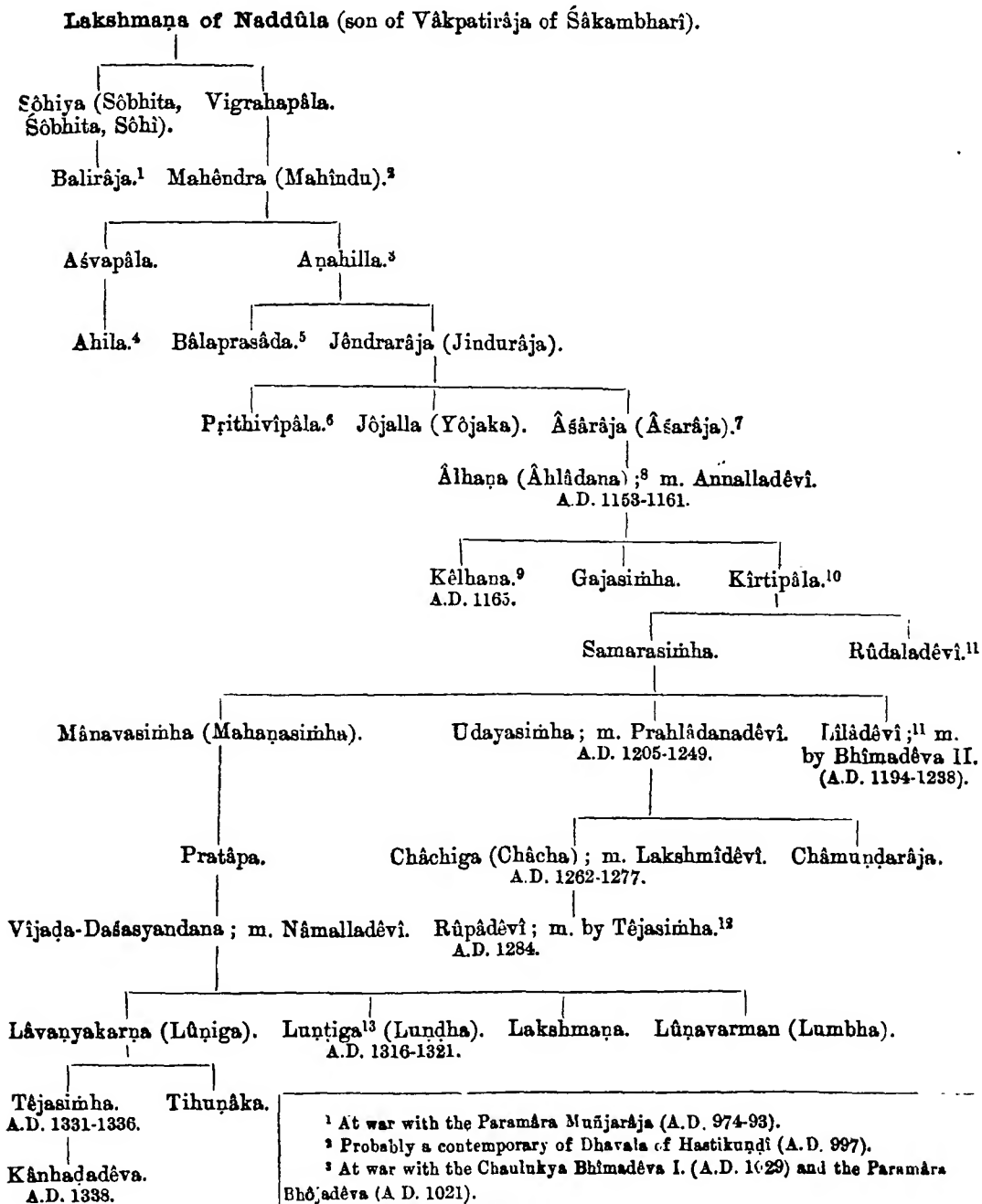
³ In the original of No. 261 (No. 1940 of Mr. Cousens' List) the name is spelt *Têjasimha*.

⁴ No. 1947 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ No. 1919 of Mr. Cousens' List. The inscription has been roughly edited in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 256.

⁶ In No. 1958 of Mr. Cousens' List a *Dêvaḍâ-vâṃsa* is mentioned. According to *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 146, 'the Sirohi chieftains, . . . though Chohâna, are universally known by the name of their subtribe, the Dêvrâ.'

⁷ The foundation of the separate kingdom of Naddûla was perhaps connected with the disturbances which preceded Vigharâja's reign.



¹ At war with the Paramâra Muñjarâja (A.D. 974-93).

² Probably a contemporary of Dhavala of Hastikunḍi (A.D. 997).

³ At war with the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva I. (A.D. 1029) and the Paramâra Bhôjadêva (A.D. 1021).

⁴ At war with Bhîmadêva I.

⁵ Probably a contemporary of the Paramâra Krishṇadêva (A.D. 1060-67).

⁶ At war with the Chaulukya Karna (A.D. 1091).

⁷ Contemporary of the Chaulukya Siddharâja (A.D. 1138, 1'39).

⁸ Contemporary of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla (A.D. 1145-69).

⁹ At war with the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Bhîllama (A.D. 1191).

¹⁰ Transferred the seat of government to Jâḷalipura.

¹¹ It is impossible to say whether these were younger daughters.

¹² This Têjasimha had a son named Kshêtrasimha.

¹³ Took Chandravati with Mount Âbû from the Paramâras.

No. 10.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION
OF VARAGUNA-PANDYA.

By V. VENKAYYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

Ambāsamudram is situated on the northern bank of the Tāmraparnī river and is the headquarters of the tāluka of the same name in the Tinnevely district. The town has a local reputation for the manufacture of cloths largely in demand on the western coast. On the southern bank of the river is the big and flourishing village of **Kallidaikkurichchi**, which gives its name to the cloths manufactured at the sister town on the other bank, because the trade in them is carried on mostly by the Brāhmaṇas of the former place, who temporarily reside in Malabar and are frequently met with on the west coast.

The site of Ambāsamudram seems to have been altered in comparatively recent times. The greater portion of the town is now situated at some distance from the river, while the most important temple, now called **Erichcha-Uḍaiyār**, is quite close to it, and is separated from the town by a pretty large extent of rice fields. The heavy floods in the Tāmraparnī at certain seasons of the year might be one of the causes which led to the removal of the town to a more distant locality. Besides, in ancient times, Ambāsamudram seems to have been a big place, including some of the adjacent villages such as **Tiruvāliśvaram**¹ and **Maṇṇārkōyil**.² In an inscription of [Jaṭavarman Sundara-]Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya³ the temple of Erichcha-Uḍaiyār is said to be situated in the southern hamlet of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam**. During the period of Pāṇḍya supremacy the town was called **ḷaṅgōkkuḍi** or **ḷaṅgōykkuḍi**,⁴ which was altered into Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam after the Chōḷa conquest.⁵ The latter name has probably to be traced to the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I., after whom the Pāṇḍya country was itself called **Rājarāja-maṇḍalam**.⁶

During the field season of 1904-05 I copied eight inscriptions in the temple of Erichcha-Uḍaiyār, of which two belong to the early Pāṇḍyas,⁷ two to the Chōḷas,⁸ one to the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyas⁹ and two to the later Pāṇḍyas,¹⁰ while the eighth does not mention any king.¹¹ One of the early Pāṇḍya records¹² seems to belong to the reign of **Vira-Pāṇḍya**, 'who took the head of the Chōḷa.' The Chōḷa king with whom he fought must be **Āditya (II.) Karikāla**,¹³ who, according to the large Leiden plates, fought in his youth against Vira-Pāṇḍya.¹⁴ The newly discovered¹⁵ Tiruvāḷaṅgaḍu plates of Rājendra-Chōḷa I. do not mention the name of the Pāṇḍya king against whom Āditya II. fought, but report that the latter "killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory in his city."¹⁶ Accordingly, Vira-Pāṇḍya reigned in the

¹ The temple at Tiruvāliśvaram is said to have been situated in Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, which was the name of Ambāsamudram in Chōḷa times; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 43, Nos. 115 and 119 of 1905.

² The Vishṇu temple at this village, called Rājendra-Chōḷa-ṣṇagar in ancient times, was also situated in Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam; No. 112 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

³ No. 102 of the same collection.

⁴ No. 104 of the same, and lines 2, 6 f. and 10 f. of the subjoined inscription.

⁵ The name occurs already in an inscription of the 11th year of Rājarāja I.; No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 149.

⁷ Nos. 101 and 105 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁸ Nos. 98 and 99 of the same collection.

⁹ No. 102 of the same.

¹⁰ Nos. 100 and 103 of the same.

¹¹ No. 104 of the same.

¹² No. 101 of the same.

¹³ He was the elder brother of Rājarāja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013).

¹⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 112.

¹⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part I. paragraph 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Part II. paragraph 16.

period prior to the conquest and occupation of the Pāṇḍya country by the Chōlas at the end of the 10th century A.D.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab built into the floor of the first circuit in the Erichcha-Uḍaiyār temple, which is comparatively dark. The record was found and copied with the help of a lamp. At my request the Collector of Tinnevely has removed the slab to the Government Central Museum at Madras. The plate issued with this paper is based on fresh impressions prepared by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., after the removal of the stone to Madras.¹—The alphabet of the document is Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the language Tamiḻ prose intermixed with a few Sanskrit words in the Grantha alphabet. The preservation is good, though a few syllables are mutilated at the end of lines 3 to 13 and 81. The slab was ruled before the writing, which is crowded into three sides of it, was engraved. The number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha is comparatively few, viz. *svasti* (l. 1), *śrī* (ll. 1 and 3), *anugraha* (l. 1), *bhaṭāra* (ll. 1, 3 and 10), *maharaja* (l. 5), *maharāja* (ll. 12 and 81) and *rājyavasha* (l. 12).

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve to be noted. The horizontal stroke of *ka* is very often small and indistinct. But the letter has not yet assumed the slanting form found in the Tirunelli² and Cochin plates³ of Bhāskara-Ravivarman. The variant of the letter *ya* noticed by Prof. Hultsch in the Kōṭṭayam plates of Sthānu-Ravi and in certain Chōla inscriptions⁴ does not occur here. Two slightly different forms of *t* are used, of which one (the first *t* of *seluttu* in ll. 5 and 14) resembles, to a certain extent, the form in an ancient Vaṭṭeḷuttu record from Tirunādarkuṇṇu in the South Arcot district.⁵ The vowel *ai* occurs thrice in the inscription (ll. 9, 22 and 75). As in other Tamiḻ inscriptions, hardly any distinction is made between the short *i* and the long *ī* when they occur in combination with consonants. Double *kk* is occasionally written as a group, e.g. in *maharājarkku* and *nāṅgāvadukku* in line 12; *poḷudaikkku* in line 15; *kummāyattukku* in line 16; *ḷakkku* and *ḷkaruvāḷai* in line 18. The *i*-symbol is added in some cases over the top of the consonant to which it belongs, instead of by the side as in later Vaṭṭeḷuttu epigraphs; see e.g. *vī* of *virirundu* (l. 6), *li* of *poli* (l. 9), *ḍi* of *kuḍi* (l. 11), *mi* of *vamidu* (l. 14), and *li* of *nā-nāli* (l. 16). The syllable *pō* is written as in the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman⁶ without the addition of the *ā*-symbol (on the right) found in the Chōla Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions⁷ published by Prof. Hultsch. The Tirunelli plates⁸ distinguish by a similar addition the long *pō* from the short *po*, and only a single instance of the former occurs in the Cochin Jews' grant.⁹ Thus the distinction between *po* and *pō* appears to be a later innovation, and evidently belongs to a period subsequent to the Jaṭilavarman plates and to the subjoined inscription. If this conclusion be correct, the Cochin and the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravivarman must be later than Varaguna-Pāṇḍya. And as Prof. Hultsch has remarked that the alphabet employed in both of them agrees with that of the Chōla inscriptions from South Travancore published by him,¹⁰ Bhāskara-Ravivarman may have to be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A.D.

The language of the subjoined record calls for a few remarks. The vulgar form *maharāja* occurs twice instead of the Sanskrit *mahārāja* (ll. 12 and 81), while *maharaja* in line 5 is

¹ The stone has evidently been slightly damaged in transit. Accordingly, portions of the last letters in ll. 4 to 9, which are missing on the Plate, are found on my original impression prepared at Ambāsamudram in 1903 before the stone was removed to Madras.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290.

³ Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

⁵ No. 239 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 and *Annual Report* for 1903-4, paragraph 30.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. Plates facing p. 70, ll. 32 and 43.

⁷ Above, Vol. V. Plate facing p. 46, E., line 1; and H., ll. 5, 8 and 9.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290; compare *po*s in ll. 13, 19 and 34 with *pōm* in l. 21.

⁹ Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72; compare *pōḷaṅ* in line 27 with *pōm* of the preceding note.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

evidently a mistake. *Amidu* (l. 14) and *amirdu*¹ (l. 19 f.), both of which correspond to the modern Tamil *amudu*, are *tadbhavas* of the Sanskrit *amṛita*. The word *poli* (l. 9) is used both here and in the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya² instead of the more common *polisai*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions³ and survives in the Malayālam *palisa*.⁴ The word *nūru* (ll. 27 and 69) is still current in Malayālam, while its modern Tamil equivalent is *nīru*. The root from which they are both derived is *nāru*, which has acquired a figurative sense in Tamil,⁵ while the original meaning seems to be preserved in Telugu.⁶ The measure known as *seviḍu* occurs four times in the form *seviṭṭu* (ll. 25, 27, 54 and 70). The word *nigadi* is used in line 27 as well as in line 13 apparently in the same sense as *niṣadi*, of which *niyadi* (l. 77) is a variant. *Vēna* in line 75 is a vulgar form of the word *vēṇḍiya*. The form *kunī*, which occurs twice (ll. 58 and 73), is perhaps a simple mistake for *kurunī*.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the time of Varaguna-Mahārāja, whose name occurs thrice (ll. 5, 11 f. and 81), and is dated in the 12th opposite to the fourth year of his reign. From his camp at Araiśūr on the bank of the Pennai river in Toṇḍai-nāḍu, the king granted 290 *kāṣu* to the temple of Tiruppōttuḍaiyār⁷ (the ancient name of Erichcha-Uḍaiyār) at Ilaṅgōkkuḍi in Muḷli-nāḍu.⁸ The assembly of the village received the money. The committee of the assembly⁹ and the temple servants had jointly to provide for offerings to the god, according to a fixed scale, out of the interest from those 290 *kāṣu*.

The inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya in the Upper Cave at Trichinopoly is dated on the 2501st day (and) in the 4th year or the 11th year of his reign.¹⁰ No reasonable doubt can at present be entertained as regards the identity of this king with the donor of the subjoined record. On the occasion of making the former donation Varaguna was at Niyamam in the Tanjore district, after having destroyed the fortifications of a town named Vēmbil. At Rāmanāthapuram near Dindigul in the Madura district is a Tamil inscription which refers to the expedition (*yāttirai*) of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ against Idavai in the Chōḷa country.¹¹ The Trichinopoly epigraph implies that Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ¹² was a surname of Varaguna,¹³ and this inference is borne out by a

¹ *Amirdu* occurs also in the Tanjore inscriptions; see e.g. *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 69, text line 3. *Amirdu* is another form of the same word; see above, Vol. VII. p. 194, text line 3.

² See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 275, text line 16.

³ See e.g. *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 69, text line 3. The form *palisai* also occurs in epigraphical records; see *ibid.* p. 122, text line 27.

⁴ According to Dr. Gundert *palisa* means 'interest on money.'

⁵ According to Winslow *nāru* means 'to destroy, to kill.'

⁶ According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *nūruṭa* means 'to grind or sharpen' and 'to reduce to powder.'

⁷ This name means 'the blessed lord of the bull,' i.e. Śiva.

⁸ According to an inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājendra-Chōḷa I. (above, Vol. V. p. 47) Shērmādēvi in the Tinnevely district was included in Muḷli-nāḍu. Muḷli-nāḍu belonged to the Tirvaḍi-rājya, i.e. Travancore, in the 17th century A.D. (*ibid.* Vol. III. p. 240).

⁹ The expression *ṣarai-rāriyar* seems to imply that the system of village administration prevalent in the Chōḷa country in the 10th century A.D. was also in operation in the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the 9th century A.D.; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1898-99, paragraphs 58 to 73.

¹⁰ See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 276.

¹¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part II. paragraph 25. This is the inscription mentioned by Mr. Sewell (*Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 289) as being engraved on the "Pāṇḍiyaṇ Rock" in very old Tamil characters.

¹² Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ seems to have been a formal name of Varaguna, just as Rājakesarivarman and Parakesarivarman were of Chōḷa kings. Kōṇēriṇmaikondāṇ was a similar name assumed originally by Chōḷa kings and subsequently by the Pāṇḍyas too. Among the later Pāṇḍyas, Māraṇvarman and Jaṭilavarman were similar formal names derived, evidently, from the Tamil words *Māraṇ* and *Ṣaḍaiyaṇ*. The former denotes in Sanskrit 'Cupid,' but has been so often applied to the Pāṇḍya king that it has become one of the synonyms of 'the Pāṇḍya king.'

¹³ No. 277 of 1895 in the Trevandrum Museum belongs to the 27th year of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ. It may be a record of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya, though this is not absolutely certain. It mentions a hero named Rapaḱirti, the army of the Chēra king, and Viḷuṇam.

record at Tillasthânam in the Tanjore district, which is dated during the reign of Mārañjadaiyaṇ and records a gift for the merit of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.¹ Accordingly, it may be concluded that Varaguṇa *alias* Mārañjadaiyaṇ led the expedition against Idavai in the Chōla country. Idavai is evidently identical with the village of the same name² in Maṇṇi-nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājēndrasimha-vaṇaṇḍu situated on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri.³ The village of Vēmbarrūr situated in the same subdivision⁴ might be identical with Vēmbil, whose fortifications Varaguṇa destroyed. The destruction of Vēmbil probably followed soon after the expedition against Idavai. In the same locality is Tiruppirambiyam,⁵ where a battle was fought between the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa and the Western Gaṅga Prithivipati I.⁶ The expedition against Idavai in the Chōla country and the attack of Vēmbil were apparently acts of aggression⁷ on the part of the Pāṇḍya king, which eventually led to the battle of Śrīpuṇambiya (in Tamil Tiruppirambiyam). The part which Prithivipati I. played in this battle was hitherto inexplicable. In editing the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya, I remarked :⁸—“How it was that the Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavāḍi in the Mysore State managed to get so far south as Kumbhakōṇam in the Tanjore district, and why the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa had to fight against them, are points on which no information is at present forthcoming.” The verse in the Udayēndiram plates which describes the battle runs as follows, with Prof. Hultzsch's corrections :⁹—

यः श्रीपु००म्बियमहाहवमूर्ध्नि धीरः पाण्ड्येश्वरं वरगुणं सहसा विजित्य [I*]

कृतार्थयुक्तमपराजितशब्दमात्मप्राणव्ययेन सुहृदस्त्रिदिवस्त्रगाम [II*]

With the approval of Prof. Hultzsch, whose translation of the verse is slightly different, I render it as follows :—“Having defeated by force the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa at the head of the great battle of Śrīpuṇambiya, and having made (his) friend's title Aparājita (*i.e.* the unconquered) significant, this hero entered heaven by sacrificing his own life.” Thus we get a king whose name or surname was Aparājita, and who with his ally Prithivipati I. fought against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa. The existence of a king named Aparājita might be concluded already from one of the Ukkal inscriptions, where the other name of that village is Aparājita-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.¹⁰ From the Āmbūr inscriptions of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Nripatuṅga it may be supposed that Prithivipati I. was his feudatory.¹¹ Accordingly, Aparājita, the friend of the latter, was probably also a Gaṅga-Pallava. Indisputable evidence of the existence of a Gaṅga-Pallava king of that name is furnished by an inscription of Vijaya-Aparājita-vikramavarman, discovered by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar at Tiruttani in the North Arcot district.¹² Aparājita-vikramavarman was apparently the successor of Nripatuṅga, and we may at present suppose that during the reign of the latter (or after his

¹ No. 51 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 325 and 336. ³ *Ibid.* p. 53.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 325, paragraph 88, and p. 336, paragraph 77.

⁵ Tiruppirambiyam near Kumbhakōṇam is the modern Tamil name of Śrīpuṇambiya mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivipati II.; see also the following note.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 387. Vaimbalguḷi, where another battle was fought by Prithivipati I. according to the Udayēndiram plates, may have to be looked for in the same locality. It is not impossible that the place is identical with Vēmbil, whose fortifications Varaguṇa destroyed. But the name of Prithivipati's enemy in the battle of Vaimbalguḷi is not mentioned. Consequently this identification remains doubtful.

⁷ That the Pāṇḍyas were strong and powerful about this time, is proved by their invasion of Ceylon recorded in Chapter L. of the Singhalese Chronicle *Mahāvamsa*; see Mr. L. C. Wijesinha's *Translation*. The invasion seems to have been unprovoked and falls into the period A.D. 846-866.

⁸ Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p. 273.

⁹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 384, verse 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 2.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 182.

¹² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II. paragraph 8.

death) there was a Pāṇḍya invasion headed by Varaguna. The invader probably did not meet with any effective resistance at first, and therefore advanced as far north as Araiśūr on the Southern Pennar river, where he was encamped at the time of making the grant registered in the subjoined Ambāsamudram inscription. Subsequently, Aparājita, who was perhaps the heir-apparent at the time,¹ appears to have been sent with the Western Gaṅga Prithivipati I. to repel the invasion. The decisive battle was fought at Śripurāmbiya, and the invader was driven back. But the Gaṅga king lost his life in it.²

The Tiruvālaṅkādu plates of the Chōḷa king Rājendra-Chōḷa I. help us to trace the fortunes of the Gaṅga-Pallavas to the very end. Verse 49 of the Sanskrit portion of this grant, which describes the achievements of the Chōḷa king Āditya I., runs as follows :—

अपराजितमप्यसौ रणे जितवान् पल्लवमुल्लसत्बलम् । [1*]

दयितामपि तस्य मेदिनीं स्ववशीकृत्य [त*] दायिभूत् कृती ॥

“Having conquered in battle the Pallava who had brilliant troops, though (he was) Aparājita (i.e. the unconquered), he (viz. the Chōḷa king Āditya) also took possession of his queen, (viz.) the earth, (and) thus accomplished his object.”⁴ In other words, the Chōḷa king Āditya I. conquered the Pallava Aparājita⁵ and annexed his dominions. The Pallava Aparājita⁶ may now be identified with the Gaṅga-Pallava king Aparājita-vikramavarman of the Tiruttani inscription, and with that Aparājita who defeated Varaguna-Pāṇḍya. And, evidently, Ukkal in the North Arcot district was called Aparājita-chaturvêdimaṅgalam after this Gaṅga-Pallava king. He was apparently the last member of his family. Though successful against the Pāṇḍyas, he could not offer any effective resistance to the rising Chōḷas, who, under Āditya I., not only conquered him in battle, but also annexed his dominions.

In a Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Aivarmalai in the Madura district,⁷ copied during the last field season by my assistant Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, I found a Śaka date for Varaguna. His 8th year is coupled with Śaka-saṁvat 792. Thus his accession took place in A.D. 862-63. If the facts and inferences set forth in the preceding paragraphs be confirmed by future researches, and if there was only one Pāṇḍya king named Varaguna, the invasion of Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country and the destruction of the fortifications of Vēmbil must have taken place in or before A.D. 872-73.⁸ Varaguna was at Araiśūr on the southern Pennar in A.D. 877-8. The battle of Śripurāmbiya might have taken place towards the close of the same year or in the next year. If the surmise made by me, that Aparājita was probably heir-apparent when that battle took place, be true, his accession may be placed about A.D. 880. His defeat by the Chōḷa king Āditya evidently occurred after the Tiruttani inscription of the 18th year of his reign.

¹ Aparājita is called the friend (*suhrid*) of Prithivipati I., who was a Gaṅga-Pallava feudatory. If the former had been the reigning king, it is perhaps not likely that he would be referred to as the ‘friend’ of Prithivipati I.

² Soon after the conquest and occupation of the Pallava dominions by the Chōḷas, the Gaṅgas, who had been feudatories of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, seem to have acknowledged the Chōḷas as their overlords. In an inscription of Rājakesari-varman which has to be attributed to Āditya I., Piridipati, son of Māramaraiyar (i.e. perhaps Prithivipati II., son of Mārasimha), is mentioned, apparently, as a Chōḷa feudatory; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1896-97, paragraph 7.

³ Read “मुल्लसत्बलम्”.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II. paragraph 10.

⁵ The place at which this battle was fought is not mentioned here. According to tradition the battle which crushed the Pallava power was fought near Sholinghur in the North Arcot district; see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I. p. 39.

⁶ That Aparājita is called a Pallava, is no bar to the proposed identification. In the Bāhūr plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 181), the Gaṅga-Pallava Nripatūṅgavikramavarman and his ancestors are called Pallavas, and their legendary ancestors are the same as those of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram.

Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II. paragraph 25.

⁸ The latter event is mentioned in the Trichinopoly inscription, dated in the 11th year of the king’s reign.

Accordingly, the event may be supposed to have taken place at the end of the 9th century A.D.¹

The great Śaiva saint **Māṇikkavāṣagar** mentions the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna twice² in his *Tiruchchirāmbalakkōvaiyār*. The time of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār, who probably flourished in the 8th century A.D., is the upper limit of the date of Māṇikkavāṣagar, who is conspicuous by his omission from the *Tiruttonḍattogai*, i.e. the list of Śaiva saints composed by the former. The lower limit may be taken as the reign of the Chōla king Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva (A.D. 1052 to 1053),³ because in an inscription of the 5th year of his reign (=A.D. 1056-57) reference is made to the poem [*Tiru*]rembāvai composed by Māṇikkavāṣagar.⁴ It may, therefore, be concluded that this Śaiva saint was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna. And if there was only one king of that name, the Śaiva saint must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century A.D.

It is worthy of note that the calculation of the annual requirements of the temple provided for in the subjoined inscription implies that the measure of paddy known as *kalam* consisted of 90 *nāli*, instead of 12 *kuruni* or 96 *nāli*, which we find, for instance, in the Tanjore inscriptions, and which is the prevailing equivalent in the Tamil country. A *kalam* was equal to 15 *kuruni*, and a *kuruni* equal to 6 *nāli*. The rate of interest, according to the subjoined inscription, is 2 *kalam* of paddy for each *kāṣu*, while in the Tanjore inscriptions it is 3 *kuruni* for one *kāṣu*. Thus the rate in the Pāṇḍya country at the time of Varaguna would be nearly eight times higher⁵ than that prevailing in Tanjore during the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013), in case there was no difference in the value of the *kāṣu*. The variations at the same two places and periods in the price of some of the important articles of daily consumption are recorded in the foot-notes. It is interesting to note that common salt and firewood, which are included among the daily requirements in the Tanjore inscriptions, are conspicuous by their omission in the subjoined document. This is a significant fact, though we may not be warranted in concluding from it that these two articles had not to be paid for in the Pāṇḍya country during the reign of Varaguna.

TEXT.

First Side of the Stone.

1 Svasti [||*] Śrī-Bhaṭārar=anugra[ha]tti[ṇā]-

2 ṛ⁶ Muḷli-nāṭṭ-Iḷaṅgōykkuḍi T[i]-

¹ The conquest of the Pallavas is attributed by tradition to Āḍoṇḍai, an illegitimate son of Kulōttuṅga of Tanjore. The first battle, said to have been fought at Puralūr, ended in favour of the Pallavas. Āḍoṇḍai was then forced to retreat to Sholinghur. "Encouraged there by a dream, he renewed the contest and defeated the enemy with great slaughter. The Pallava king was taken prisoner, and the brazen gates of the Puralur fort were carried to the temple (!) of Tanjore;" see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I. p. 39. If there be any truth in this tradition, Kulōttuṅga must have been a surname of Vijayālaya, and Āḍoṇḍai of his son Āditya I. But there is not even the slightest hint in epigraphical records that Āditya was the illegitimate son of Vijayālaya. Another tradition has it that the mythical Chōla king Kōkkiḷi had an illegitimate son named Āḍoṇḍai by a Nāga woman, and that the province conferred on the latter by his father was called Tonḍai-nāḍu or Tonḍai-maṇḍalam. It looks as if this Āḍoṇḍai is mixed up with the conqueror of the Pallavas in the former story.

² Verse 306 in illustration of *Maruvudaluraittal*, and verse 327 in illustration of *Vīṇaimurṇinaittal*.

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 7.

⁴ No. 12 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905 from the Virattānēśvara temple at Kīlūr near Tirukoilūr.

⁵ In ancient times the rate of interest seems to have been more or less arbitrary. It looks as if the ordinary laws of Political Economy were not allowed full play, and it is therefore unsafe to draw any conclusions from the rate of interest. At Conjeevaram the rate of interest during the reign of a Chōla king named Parakēsarivarman was 15 per cent. About a century earlier the rate was 5 per cent. in the same place. Again the interest on 250 *kalaiṇṇu* of gold was 500 *kāḍi* of paddy, and 150 *kāḍi* on 50 *kalaiṇṇu*; G. O. No. 452, Public, dated 10th June 1891, p. 5.

⁶ Read *ṇāli*; the *ha* of *anugraha* is slightly different from *ha* in ll. 5, 12 and 81.

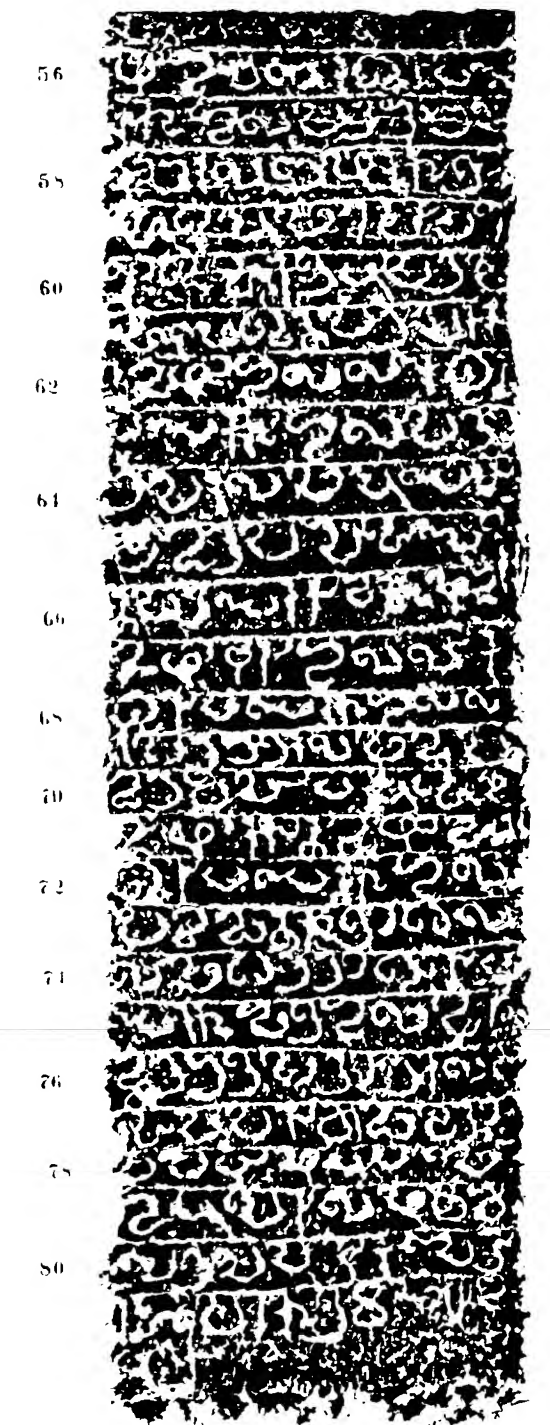
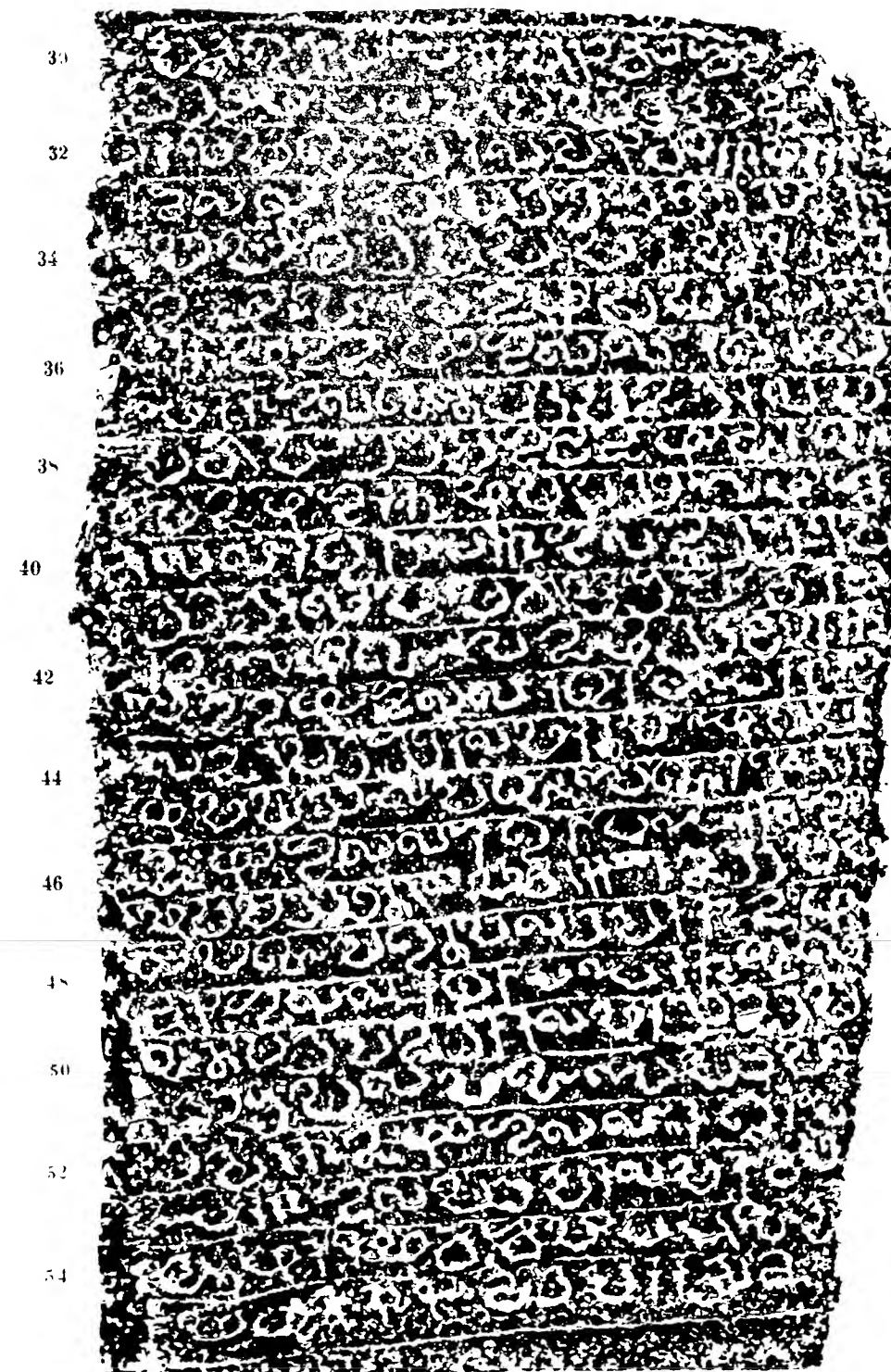
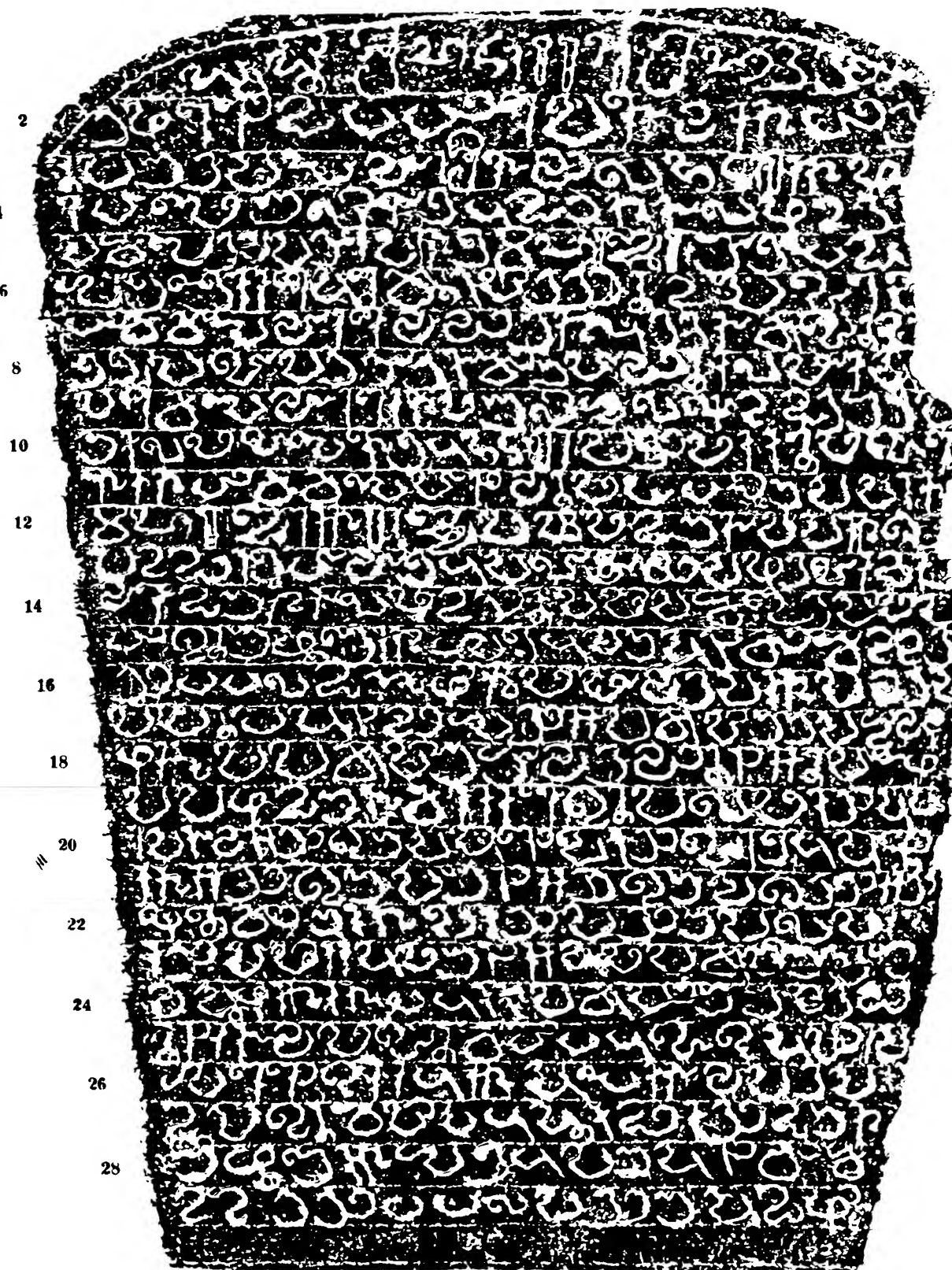
- 3 ruppóttudaiyār śrikōyil-Bhaṭāra[r*]kku mu[dal*]
 4 [ke]dāmai poli koṇḍu¹ nā[ṇ]gu kālamun=di[ruv-amu*]-
 5 du śelu[t]tuvadā[ga] Varaguṇa-Maharajar Toṇḍai-nāṭ[ṭu-P*]-
 6 peṇnai=kkarai Araisūr viṇṇirundu Ilāṇ[gōkku*]-
 7 di=chchavaiyār kaiyyir=kuḍutta kāsū iru-nūṛ[ru-to*]-
 8 ṇṇūṛu [l*] ivarṇār=kāsiṇvāy=iru-galamāga āṇ[du*]-
 9 varai śavaiyār=alakkum poli-nel ai-nnūṛ-r-e[ṇba](di*)-
 10 ṇ kalam [l*] ivai koṇḍu Bhaṭārar paṇi-makkaṇum Ilā[n*]-
 11 gōkkuḍi=chchavai-vāriyarum uḍa=ṇṇṇru Varagu[ṇa*]-
 12 Mahar[ā]jarkku rājya-va[r*]sham nāṅgāvadukku ed[ir*]
 13 pannirāṇḍā[m*] yāṇḍu Tulā-ṇāyirū mndalāga niga[di*]-
 14 yāga nāṅgu kālam[u]n=diruv-amidu śeluttam [pa]-
 15 ḍi [l*] oru-polūdaikkū vēṇḍuvaṇa ariṣi seṇn[e]r=
 16 ṇṇṇtal nā=ṇāli kummāyattukku pa[ya]ṇru=
 17 pparupp-uri nivēdikka paṣuviṇ=ṇaṇu-ney[y]=u-
 18 ṭakku=ppaṣuviṇ=ṇōy-tayir=uri=kkaruvāḷai-
 19 ppaḷa-nāṅgu śarkkarai oru-palam kaṇi-am[i]-
 20 rdu kāyk[ka]ṇi oṇṇu puḷiṇḍaṇi iraṇḍu puḷu-
 21 [k]kukkaṇi oṇṇu porikkaṇi oṇṇu ēṇṇi=kkarai
 22 aiṇṇiṇukkū=gaṇi paḍiṇ-pala[m]
 23 [ka]ṇi tumikkavum porikkavum paṣuvi=ṇaṇu-ne-
 24 y āḷakku=k[kūṭ]ṭukku paṣuviṇ [t]ō[y]-tayi-
 25 r=uri=kkāyam iru-śevittu ilai-amirdu
 26 veḷḷilai ir-aḍukku aḍaikkāy pattu
 27 nūṛu oru-śevittu [l*] āga nigadi nāṅgu
 28 polūdaikkū vēṇḍuvaṇa ariṣi śe-
 29 nneṇ=ṇṇṇtal paḍiṇ-aṇu-nāli

Second Side of the Stone.

- 30 āga ōr=āṭṭai[k]kū ariṣi seṇ[ne]-
 31 [r]=ṇṇṇtal aṇba[t]tu-nāṇ=
 32 [ka]ḷam [l*] ivai [ka]ḷav-ariṣikku mu=[kkala]-
 33 nellāga nūṇru-tton[ṇō]ṇ-iru-gala-
 34 m [l*] payaṇru=pparupp=iru-
 35 nāli ivai nāli=pparupp-
 36 kku mu=nnāli nellāga ōr=[ā]t-
 37 ṭaikkū nel irubattu-nāṇ=kalam [l*]
 38 paṣuviṇ=ṇaṇu-ney nāli-yuri i-
 39 vai nāli[i] ne[y*]kku muppadi=ṇāli ne-
 40 ṇnellāga ōr=ā[t*]ṭaikkū nel nūṇru-eṇba-
 41 diṇ kalam [l*] paṣuviṇ=ṇōy-[tayi]-
 42 r nā=ṇāli ivai nāli-t[ta]yirkkū
 43 mu=nnāli nell[ā]ga ōr=āṭṭaikkū ne-
 44 l nā[ṇ]patt-eṇ-galam [l*] karuvāḷaippa-
 45 ḷam paḍiṇ-aṇu ivai iraṇḍu[kku]
 46 nāli nellāga ōr=āṭṭaikkū ne[l]

¹ The phrase *mudal keḍāmai poli koṇḍu* corresponds to *muda=ṇirka poli koṇḍu* of the Trichinopoly inscription; Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p. 275, text line 15 f.

² At the beginning of this line is a symbol which looks like *ra*, but which is probably a mere crack on the stone.



Scale 21

47 muppatt-iru-galam [i*] sarkkarai 'nârpa[p]f ~
 48 [la]m i[du] oru-palattukku nâli-
 49 y-uri nellâga ôr=âttaikku nel
 50 irubattu-nâr=kkalam [i*] kaṛi nârpa-
 51 diṇ palam ivai paṇ-pa[la]-
 52 ttukku nâli nellâga ôr=â[t]-
 53 taikku nel pa[di*]ṇ-aṇu-kalam [i*] kâyam
 54 âlakkê mu=chcheviṭṭu idu
 55 uḷakku kâyattukk=aṇu-nâ-

Third Side of the Stone.

56 [li] nell[â]ga ôr=ât[ta]-
 57 kku nel patt[o]ṇ[ba]-
 58 [di]ṇ kalaṇê mu=kku[ṇu*]ṇi [i*]
 59 ilai-amirdu veḷ-
 60 [li]lai irandu paṇru
 61 [i]vai oru-paṇruk[k=i]-
 62 [ru]-nâli nellâga ôr=[â]-
 63 ttaikku nel pa[di]-
 64 [ṇ-a]ṇu-galam aḍai[kkâ]-
 65 y nârpadu ivai [i]-
 66 rubad=aḍaikkây[kku] mu=n-
 67 [nâ]liy-uri nellâga
 68 ôr=âttaikku nell=[i]-
 69 r[u]ba[tt]-eṇ-galam [i*] nûṇ[u]
 70 n[â]ṇ=cheviṭṭu idu
 71 nâlikk=iru-nâliy[âga]
 72 ôr=âttaikku nel
 73 pann-iru-ku[ṇu*]ṇi [i*] el-
 74 l[â]m êṇṇi ôr=â[t]-
 75 taikku vēṇa nel [ai=n]-
 76 nûṇ-[e]ṇbadin kala[m] [i*]
 77 i=ppariṣu niyadi-
 78 [p]paḍi mutt[â]mai
 79 n[e]ḍuṇ=gâlamuṇ=je-
 80 lu[t]tuv[adâ]ga vai[t*][t]â-
 81 r śrī-Varaguna-Maharâja[r*] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 8.) Hail ! By the grace of the blessed lord (*bhaṭṭarar*) ! Varaguna-Maharâja, being encamped² at Araisâr on the bank of the (*river*) Pennai in Tonḍai-nâḍu, gave into the hands³ of the members of the assembly of Iḷaṅgokkuḍi two hundred and ninety *kâṣu*, from the interest of which—the capital remaining unspent⁴—offerings had to be provided for four times

¹ Read *nâr=palam*.

² *Vṭṭirundu* means literally 'being seated majestically.'

³ This is the literal translation. The money must have been sent by a messenger to be made over to the village assembly.

⁴ Literally 'taking interest (in such a way) that the capital is not destroyed;' see note 1 on page 90 above.

(a day) to the lord of the glorious temple¹ of Tiruppôttudaiyâr at Iṇṇôṅkkuḍi in Muḷḷi-nāḍu.

(Ll. 8 to 10.) For this (amount) the members of the assembly have to measure out five hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy per year (as) interest, at the rate of two *kalam* for each *kāṣu*.

(Ll. 10 to 14.) Out of this (income) the servants of the lord (*bhaṭṭarar*) and the committee of the assembly of Iṇṇôṅkkuḍi shall jointly pay for offerings four times a day,² commencing from the month of Tulâ in the twelfth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of Varaguṇa-Mahârāja, (according to the following) scale:—

(Ll. 15 to 27.) (The following) are the requirements for a single offering:³— four *nāḷi* of clean superior rice;⁴ (one) *uri* of split green gram for the *kumṁāyam*;⁵ (one) *ulakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality to be offered⁶ (by itself); (one) *uri* of cows' curds; four black plantain fruits; one *palam* of sugar; ten *palam* of vegetables (for) the vegetable offering (*kari-amirdu*), (viz.) one *kāykkari*,⁷ two *pulṇṇari*,⁸ one *pulukkukkari*⁹ (and) one *porikkari*—in all, five (kinds of) curry; (one) *ālakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality for seasoning¹⁰ and frying vegetables; (one) *uri* of cows' curds for the compound curry (*kūṭṭu*);¹¹ two *śevitṭu* of asafoetida; two bundles of betel-leaves,¹² ten areca-nuts (and) one *śevitṭu* of lime (*nūru*) for the leaves offering.

(Ll. 27 to 73.) The aggregate requirements for (the offerings) four times a day¹³ (are):— At the rate of sixteen *nāḷi* of clean superior rice (a day), sixty-four *kalam* of clean superior rice

¹ The word *śrīkôvil* means 'the sanctuary of a temple' according to Dr. Gundert. It is used here in the same sense as the Tamil *tirukkôvil*, 'a temple, a place of worship, a sacred shrine.' In the Tanjore inscriptions *śrīkôvil* is used to designate the orthodox Hindû temple as opposed to the temples of the Drāviḍian village deities and to the Jaina temples (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 48, note 8, and p. 59).

² The word *nigadi* occurs again in line 27.

³ Literally '(the offering) at one time.'

⁴ With *śennel* compare *tiruchchennadai-nel* in a Chôḷa inscription from Conjeeveram; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 117.

⁵ This word occurs in a similar context in an inscription of Râjakêsarivarman found at Tiruvellârai near Trichinopoly (No. 518 of 1903). In an unpublished record of the Chôḷa king Râjakêsarivarman from Gudimallam in the North Arcot district, split green gram (*śiru-payarru-paruppu*) is provided for *kumṁāya-amudu* (No. 222 of 1903). The modern meaning of the word *kumṁāyam*, viz. 'mortar,' will not do here. In Malayâlam and in Kanarese the root *kummu* means 'to beat with a pestle,' and *kumṁāyam* might therefore denote something pounded, if the word is derived from that root.

⁶ The verb *nivādikka* in line 17 may also have to be taken with the words *tayir* (l. 18), *karuṇḍaiippalam* (l. 18 f.) and *śarkkarai* (l. 19), if not with all the items mentioned in ll. 19 to 27.

⁷ According to one of the Tanjore inscriptions of Râjarâja I. (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 26) pepper, mustard, and perhaps also salt were required for this preparation. Some vegetable must also have been added, though the fact is not specifically mentioned. Old rice, pulse, pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar and ghee were required for a similar preparation called *appakkāykkari*.

⁸ Pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar, tamarind, curds, horse-gram and plantain fruits were required for it according to the inscription quoted in the preceding note. *Puṇṇiyittāḍuṇṇari* (consisting of pepper, cumin, tamarind, and perhaps some vegetable) was a similar preparation.

⁹ *Pulukkukkari*, 'boiled curry,' is perhaps so called in order to distinguish it from *porikkari*, 'fried curry.' The former is not mentioned (at any rate under this name) in the Tanjore inscription quoted above, while ghee is provided for the latter. Evidently *porikkari* consisted of a vegetable fried in ghee.

¹⁰ The verb *tumi* means 'to sprinkle.' Condiment powder is even now sprinkled over boiled curry and the whole seasoned with boiling ghee, in which a small quantity of mustard is frying. The preparation is called *poḍitūval*, 'powder sprinkling,' and the same is apparently indicated by the use of the verb *tumi* here. A story is told in connection with the Tamil poet Kamban, which shows that the noun *tumi* was not in common use during his time.

¹¹ *Kūṭṭu* is a liquid preparation still in use and consists of (1) a vegetable cooked either with Bengal gram or beans, (2) two or more vegetables boiled together, or (3) specially made powder dissolved in curds. (1) and (2) do not, generally, require any curds.

¹² The word for betel-leaves both here as well as in the Tanjore inscriptions is *vellilai*, 'white leaf,' while the modern Tamil form is *veṇṇilai*, 'empty leaf.'

¹³ Worship at six periods of the day is the rule at present in big temples. In the case of a minor shrine in the Tanjore temple, provision was made for offerings only three times (morning, midday and night, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 146) and twice in the case of two other shrines (*ibid* pp. 70 and 71).

for a year. At three *kalam* of paddy for one *kalam* of rice,¹ this (comes to) one hundred and ninety-two *kalam* (of paddy). The split green gram (required for a day) is two *nāli*. At the rate of three *nāli* of paddy for (one) *nāli* of split (green gram),² twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (have to be allotted) for this (item). Cows' ghee of the best quality (required for a day) is (one) *nāli* and (one) *uri*. At the rate of thirty *nāli* of paddy for (one) *nāli* of ghee,³ this (comes to) one hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy for a year. (The quantity of) cows' curds (required for a day) is four *nāli*. At the rate of three *nāli* of paddy for (one) *nāli* of curds,⁴ this (amounts to) forty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually. (The number of) black plantain fruits (required for a day) is sixteen. At the rate of (one) *nāli* of paddy for two (fruits),⁵ these (cost) thirty-two *kalam* of paddy annually. The sugar (required for a day is) four *palam*. At the rate of (one) *nāli* and (one) *uri* of paddy for every *palam*,⁶ this (item costs) twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year. (The daily consumption of) vegetables being forty *palam*, sixteen *kalam* of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) every year—at the rate of (one) *nāli* of paddy for ten *palam*.⁷ (One) *ālakku* and three *śevittu* of asafoetida (being required daily), nineteen *kalam* and three *kurunī*⁸ of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) annually—at the rate of six *nāli* of paddy for (one) *ulakku* of asafoetida.⁹ (For) the leaves offering (are required) two bundles¹⁰ of betel-leaves (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāli* of paddy for one bundle, (come to) sixteen *kalam* of paddy for a year; forty areca-nuts (daily), which, at the rate of three *nāli* and (one) *uri* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, (cost) twenty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually;¹¹ (and) four *śevittu* of lime (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāli* (of paddy) for (one) *nāli* (of lime), (cost) twelve *kurunī*¹² of paddy per year.

(Ll. 73 to 81.) Altogether, the (quantity of) paddy required annually is five hundred and eighty *kalam*.¹³ The glorious Varaguna-Mahārāja thus deposited (this money), in order that

¹ In Tanjore 5 *kalam* of paddy were required for 2 *kalam* of rice during the time of Rājārāja I.

² Pulse was exchanged at this rate during the time of Rājārāja I. at Tanjore.

³ In Tanjore ghee and paddy were exchanged in the proportion of 1 to 32 at the time of Rājārāja I.

⁴ The same rate obtained in Tanjore during the reign of Rājārāja I.

⁵ There seem to have been three varieties of plantain fruits available in Tanjore and its vicinity about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Two fruits of the first kind could be had for one *nāli* of paddy (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 75 and 77); five *nāli* of paddy had to be given in exchange for 18 fruits of the second variety (*ibid.* p. 127); the third was sold at the rate of 1200 for each *kāsu* (*ibid.* p. 151).

⁶ Two kinds of sugar were apparently available about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. in the Chōla capital and the country surrounding it. Of the cheaper kind 3½ *palam* could be purchased for 2 *nāli*, 1 *uri*, 1 *ālakku* and 4 *śevittu* of paddy (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 127), while the more costly variety exchanged at the rate of 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for ½ *palam* (*ibid.* pp. 70 and 71).

⁷ In one of the Tanjore inscriptions quoted in the preceding foot-notes, the daily allotment for purchasing vegetables is 6 *nāli* of paddy. The quantity of vegetables is not mentioned.

⁸ If this calculation is correct, a *kalam* must be equal to 15 instead of 12 *kurunī*, and a *kurunī* equal to 6 *nāli*.

⁹ Asafoetida and lime are not mentioned in any of the Tanjore inscriptions, where common salt and firewood are specially provided for (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 75, 77 and 180). The two latter are conspicuous by their omission in the Ambāsamudram record. Perhaps they had no exchange value in the Pāṇḍya country during the time of Varaguna. It may also be that temples could obtain both common salt and firewood without any payment.

¹⁰ From lines 26 and 60 of the text it may be concluded that one bundle (*parṛu*) was equal to 4 *aḍukku* of betel-leaves.

¹¹ Provision is made for the supply of areca-nuts and betel-leaves in three of the Tanjore inscriptions, where only the aggregate cost of both is given (Nos. 6, 26 and 35 of *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II.): 1 *nāli* of paddy for 8 areca-nuts and 32 betel-leaves (No. 6); 4 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts and 60 betel-leaves (No. 26); and 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 12 areca-nuts and 24 betel-leaves (No. 35).

¹² The actual calculation yields 36 *nāli* of lime annually, costing 72 *nāli* of paddy, i.e. 18 *nāli* less than a *kalam* (=90 *nāli* according to this inscription) or 12 *kurunī*. But it has been pointed out that a *kalam* was made up of 15 *kurunī* (note 8 above). Thus the *kurunī* was equal to 6 *nāli* instead of the more common 8 *nāli*. With this equivalent of the *kurunī* the calculation in the text would be correct.

¹³ This calculation would be correct only on the assumption that a *kalam* was equal to 15 *kurunī* and a *kurunī* equal to 6 *nāli*; see the preceding note.

(the members of the village assembly) might provide (the requirements) day by day¹ for a long time² without (any) obstruction.

No. 11.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 984.

By STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

This inscription is found on a set of copper-plates which have been deposited in the Madras Museum. I do not know where they have been originally found. I publish the inscription from excellent ink-impressions³ supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the plates as follows :—

“The plates are five in number. The first bears writing on the inner side only. The last is completely blank; it was evidently put in to protect the single line of writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates have slightly raised rims (though in certain places these are either beaten down or worn away) and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered into the lower part of a round seal. About the middle of the seal is a seated Nandin, whose tail extends to the bottom of the seal. From either side of the hind part of the Nandin proceed what may be taken for lotus buds. On the proper left of the Nandin are two flag-staffs placed one by the side of the other, with a bowl above them; and on the proper right of it are a conch, a lampstand and a dagger. The ring was cut by me. It is not quite circular. The diameter varies between 5" and 4½". The thickness of the ring is ⅝". The seal is roughly 2½" in diameter. The following measurements of the plates show that, as regards breadth, they are slightly bigger in the middle than at the ends, while, as regards height, the reverse is the case :—

Average breadth of plates	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9½"	9½"	9½"
Average height of plates	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4½"	4"	4½"

The fourth plate is comparatively small in height, measuring 4½" at the ends and almost 4" in the middle."

The inscription consists of 54 lines. The greater part is in a good state of preservation. The fourth plate, however, is rather corroded, and some passages of it can only be read with difficulty.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same kind as in the Nāḍagām plates of Vajrahasta of Śaka-Samvat 979.⁴ The class nasal, and not the *Anusvāra*, is used before class mutes. Exceptions from this rule are °नोत्तुंग° in l. 9, and पंच° in l. 48. Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in °निर्जिता°, l. 26. व is written for ब throughout. स has been substituted for श in महीसः, l. 25, and °सत°, l. 49. On the other hand, we find श for स in °यौतंशकः, l. 21, आशीने, l. 39, and °रवस्य, l. 54. A nasal with a following guttural or palatal is written in the same way as in the Nāḍagām plates. Note further such writings as समुत्तल, ll. 7 and 24, प्रत्याखित instead of प्रचालित, l. 3, and प्रशोदन्मद° instead of प्रश्चोतन्मद°, l. 19.

¹ The word *niyadī* is apparently synonymous with *niṣadam* which occurs frequently in the Tanjore inscriptions, and with *niṣadī* in the Trichinopoly cave epigraph of Varaguna (Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 275, text line 19).

² In later inscriptions the phrase *neḍuṅ-gālamum* is replaced by the Sanskrit *chandrādityavat*, 'as long as the moon and the sun (endure).'

³ Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the original plates together with Mr. Venkayya.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 183 ff.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains the same twelve verses as the Naḍagām plates of Śaka-Samvat 979. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The first 41 lines are almost identical with the corresponding portion of the Naḍagām plates. They are, however, more carefully engraved and give several passages in a more correct form.

The inscription is one of king Vajrahasta (III.), the son of Kāmārṇava (II.) of the Gāṅga lineage, and of Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family. His genealogy is given in the same words as in the Naḍagām plates, from Guṇamahārṇava downwards, including the date of Vajrahasta's coronation.¹ The inscription then goes on to state (l. 40 ff.) that 'the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja, the lord of the three Kalingas, the glorious Anantavarman Vajrahastadēva, being in good health, issues the following order from Kalinganagara, having called together all the subjects, headed by the ministers:—“Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother, father, and Ourselves, the village named Tāmaracheru in Varāhavartanī, combined with the Chikhali hamlet (*vāṭaka*), circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, as an *Agrahāra*, to five hundred learned Brāhmaṇas who delight in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, [giving] and accepting, (and) who are well versed in sacred lore, in the Śaka year of the dice (4), the Vasus (8) and the treasures (9), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. Therefore (Our gift) should be preserved by future kings in compliance with the law proclaimed by Manu. Moreover, land with the produce of two hundred *Murakas* of grain has been given, to last as long as the moon and the sun, free from hindrances, to the god Kōṭīśvara² for (the maintenance of the rites of) *Bali*, *Oharu*, *Naiṇēdya*, *Dipapūjā*, and so on. And the repairs of what is broken and torn in this (temple) should without fail be effected by the Brāhmaṇas living there.”

The inscription does not add anything to our knowledge of the history of king Vajrahasta III. We only learn that he also had the name Anantavarman, like his grandson Chōḍagaṅga-dēva.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kalinganagara has been identified by Mr. Ramamurti³ with the villages Mukhalingam and Nagarakaṭakam in the Ganjam district. Varāhavartanī occurs in several Gāṅga grants.⁴ The village of Tāmaracheru is also known from Gāṅga inscriptions. Its boundaries are given in the Chicacole plates of the Mahārāja Dēvendravarman,⁵ in which the village Tāmaracheru is granted to three hundred Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. The Chicacole plates of the Gāṅga Mahārāja Indravarman, issued from Kalinganagara in Gāṅgēya-Samvat 128,⁶ further state that the village of Tāmaracheruva was granted to certain Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīra. The latter inscription mentions *Tāmaracheruva-grāmaṁ bā(vā)ṭakā(ka)-sahita[m]* (l. 8 f.). This *vāṭaka* is perhaps identical with the Chikhali-vāṭaka of our inscription. The village of Tāmaracheru has not as yet been identified. It should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.

The date of the grant is found in a part of the inscription which has not been so well preserved as the rest. The first word is scarcely legible in the ink-impression. After a careful examination of the original, however, Mr. Venkayya and myself find that the reading *krīta* is certain. The date of the inscription is accordingly the Śaka year 984. If we take this to be

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 185; Vol. V. Appendix, p. 50, No. 355.

² This was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaracheru.

³ Above, Vol. IV. p. 187 f.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 127, note 5; Vol. V. p. 185, note 5, etc.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 119 ff.

the current Śaka year, the date would correspond to A.D. 1061-62. Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to inform Professor Hultzsch that the only eclipse of the sun which was (slightly) visible in Ganjam between the Śaka years 980—989 took place on the 20th June A.D. 1061. This would therefore be the date of our inscription.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² स्वस्त³ श्रीमतामखिलभुवनविनुतनय[विनयद]यादान[दा]क्षिण्यसत्य[शो]-
- 2 चश्रीर्यैर्यैर्दिगुणरत्नपवित्रकाणामात्रेयगोत्राणां विमलविचारा-
- 3 चारपुण्यसलिलप्रक्षालितकलिकालिकल्लघमघोषां⁴ [महाम]हेन्द्राचल-
- 4 शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननि-
- 5 र्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य ⁵शशाङ्क[चू]डांमणेरभगवतो गो-
- 6 कर्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात्समासादितैकशङ्खभेरीप-
- 7 ⁶स्रमाहाशब्दधवलच्छत्रहेमच[१*]मरवरत्नषभलाञ्छनसमुज्ज्वल-
- 8 ⁷सत्यस्तसाम्राज्यमाहिस्त्रामनेकसमरसङ्घट्टसमुपलब्धविजयलम्बी-
- 9 समालिङ्गितो[त्तुं]ग[भु]जदण्डम[ण्ड]तानां त्रिकलिङ्गम[हो]भुजां [गा-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 [ङ्गा]नामन्वयमलङ्करी[णोर्विणोरि]व⁸ विक्र[१]माक्रान्तधरामण्डल-
- 11 य गुणमहार्णवमहाराजस्य पुत्रः ॥०॥ पूर्व⁹ भूपतिभर्विभज्य
- 12 वसुधा या पञ्चभि[:*] ¹⁰पञ्चधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो ¹¹भुजवलात्त[१*]मे-
- 13 क एव स्वयं [१*] एकीकृत¹² विजित्य मत्तनिवहान्¹³ श्रीव-
- 14 ¹⁴अहस्तश्चतुचात्वारिंशतमत्युदार[१]स्म[रित्व[:*]] सर्वा-
- 15 मरचीत्समाः ॥ [१*] तस्य तनयो गुण्डमराज¹⁵ [व]पत्रयं-
- 16 मप[१*]लयश्चही ॥ तदनुजः कामार्णवदे[व]: पञ्चत्रिंशतम-
- 17 [व्द]कान¹⁶ ॥ तस्यानुजो विनयादित्य[:*] समाससः¹⁷ ॥ ततः¹⁸ कामार्णवा-
- 18 जातो जगतीक[ल्पभू]रुहः [१*] योराजद्राजितः¹⁹ चयो वज्रह[१]-

¹ From the original plates.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read स्वस्ति.⁴ Read °प्रक्षालितकलिकाल°.⁵ Read °चूडामणेर्भू°. The 4-stroke is not visible in the ink-impression.⁶ Read °महाशब्द°, °च्छत्र°, °समुज्ज्वल°.⁷ Read समस्त°, °महिम्ना°, °समुपलब्ध°, °लक्ष्मी°.⁸ This looks like °ठात्रीष्टीर्विव.⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read भूपतिभि°.¹⁰ Before पञ्चधा the engraver began to write च, but subsequently cancelled it.¹¹ Read °बला°.¹² Read °कृत्य.¹³ Read शत्रुनिवहान्की°.¹⁴ Read °हस्तश्चतुर्वा°, °रचिरतः°.¹⁵ Read °रात्री वर्षवय-.¹⁶ Read °मन्दकान्.¹⁷ Read समाससः°.¹⁸ Metre: Ślōka; read °वाज्यातो.¹⁹ Read °द्राजितच्छायो.

28 शिवं ब्रह्म च भूयति ब्रह्मसु गो विसृज्य तत्तुल्यं जगत्तुल्यं नाना लोके
 क्व भूयसी यमा गाव दातुं शक्नुवतीति ॥ श्री यमवर्चि दुष्प्रियं
 30 यः परमं विदुः प्रमुदवाया रित यः स न जमिति वयमहं ॥ श्री वज्रं
 32 सिद्धं ॥ विद्युदं कृषि लभं ॥ श्रुत्या विदुः का वसुधैवि म
 34 सममा रतिरुं वि वल्लभा माश्रित्य न भूति मदीममहि न युगीव विदुः प
 36 वल्लभा कुला वमसा सुशी सा विदुः क वाल शि यद्वि न वलि न य

38 यद्विदुः क्व वल्लभा कुला वमसा सुशी सा विदुः क वाल शि यद्वि न वलि न य
 40 विना ॥ जगत्तुल्यं नाना लोके क्व भूयसी यमा गाव दातुं शक्नुवतीति ॥ श्री यमवर्चि दुष्प्रियं
 42 यः परमं विदुः प्रमुदवाया रित यः स न जमिति वयमहं ॥ श्री वज्रं
 44 सिद्धं ॥ विद्युदं कृषि लभं ॥ श्रुत्या विदुः का वसुधैवि म

46 मदीयं यद्विदुः क्व वल्लभा कुला वमसा सुशी सा विदुः क वाल शि यद्वि न वलि न य
 48 यद्विदुः क्व वल्लभा कुला वमसा सुशी सा विदुः क वाल शि यद्वि न वलि न य
 50 यद्विदुः क्व वल्लभा कुला वमसा सुशी सा विदुः क वाल शि यद्वि न वलि न य
 52 यद्विदुः क्व वल्लभा कुला वमसा सुशी सा विदुः क वाल शि यद्वि न वलि न य

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 स्तोवनीपतिः ॥ [२*] ¹प्रश्नोदन्मदगन्धलुब्धमधुपव्यालीढगण्डा[न्ग]जात्रार्थि-²
 20 भ्यस्समदात्तहसमतुलो य[स्त्र्य]गिनामग्रणी[: 1*] स(:) [श्रीम]गननिय-
 21 इभीमनृपातिगाङ्गान्वयोतंशकः³ (i) पञ्चत्रिंशतमन्दकान्मम-⁴
 22 भुनक्पृथ्वी⁵ [स्तु]तः पार्थिवैः ॥ [३*] तदग्रस्तुः⁶ सुरराजस्तुना
 23 समस्समस्तां [श*]मितारिमण्डलः [1*] स्म पाति कामार्णवभूपतिर्भुव⁷
 24 समृद्धिमानर्द्धसमा⁸ समुज्ज्वलः ॥ [४*] तदनु⁹ तदनुजन्मो¹⁰ चित्तजन्मो(प)-
 25 पमानो गुणनिधिरनवद्यो गुण्डमाख्यो महीसः¹¹ [1*] [स*]कलमिदमरत्नचीणि¹²
 26 वर्षाणि धात्रीवलयमलघुतेजोनिर्जितारातिचक्रः ॥ [५*] ततो¹³ हेमातुरस्तस्य स-
 27 धुकामार्णवो नृपः । अवति स्मावनीमेताम[ब्द]ामेकर्णविंशति¹⁴ ॥ [६*] ० ॥

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 अथ¹⁵ वज्रहस्तनृपतेरग्रसुतादखिलगुणजनाग्रण्यः [1*] कामा[र्णवा]-
 29 ¹⁶त्कवन्दप्रगीयमानावदातशुभकीर्तिः ॥ [७*] श्रीय¹⁷ इव ¹⁸वैदुस्वान्वय[प]-
 30 यःपयोनिधिसमुद्भवायाश्च [1*] य(ः) समजनि ¹⁹विनयम[हा*]देव्याः श्रीवज्रह-
 31 स्त इति त[न*]यः ॥ [८*] ²⁰वियदृतुनिधिसंख्या²¹ याति ²²शाकाब्दसङ्के दिन[क्त]-
 32 [ति] दृष्टपभस्ते²³ रोहिणीभे सुलग्ने [1*] धनुषि च सितपये²⁴ सूर्य[वारे] तु-
 33 तीयांयुजि²⁵ सकलवरिची रक्षितुं योभिषिक्तः ॥ [९*] न्यायेन²⁶ यत्र
 34 सममाचरितुं त्रिवर्गे²⁷ मार्गेण रक्षति महीम²⁸ महितप्रतापे [1*] नि-
 [व्या]धय-
 35 च निरसाश्च²⁹ निरापदश्च शशत्पजा³⁰ भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिमत्यः ॥ [१०*] व्या-³¹
 36 से ³²गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य स्यशसा³³ दि[क्क]कवाले शशिप्रद्योतामलिनेन य-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 37 स्य भुवन(:)प्र[क्क]ादसम्पादिना [1*] सिन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपङ्क[प*]टलै[1*] [कुम्भ]स्थली-
 38 पट्टके[ष्व]ालिम्पन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणान³⁴ ॥ [११*] ³⁵अनुराग-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read प्रश्नोदन्, °लुब्धः.

² Read °नृपातिगाङ्गान्वयोतंशकः.

³ Metre: Vamśastha.

⁴ Metre: Mālinī.

⁵ Read °रत्नचीणि.

⁶ Metre: Giti.

⁷ Read वैदुस्मा.

⁸ Read °संख्या.

⁹ Read दृष्टपभस्ते. The second दृ seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.

¹⁰ Read सितपये.

¹¹ Read त्रिवर्गे.

¹² Read शशत्पजा.

¹³ Read यशसा.

¹⁴ Read °मन्दकान्मम.

¹⁵ Read °भुव.

¹⁶ Read °जन्म.

¹⁷ Metre: Ślōka; read हेमा.

¹⁸ Read रत्नवीन्द.

¹⁹ Read विनयमहा.

²⁰ Read शाकाब्द.

²¹ Read °गजानर्थि-

²² Read भुनक्पृथ्वी.

²³ Read °समां समुज्ज्वलः.

²⁴ Read महीसः.

²⁵ Read °मन्दनिकात्रविंशति.

²⁶ Metre: Giti; read त्रिय.

²⁷ Metre: Mālinī.

²⁸ Metre: Vamśastha.

²⁹ Read निरसाश्च.

³⁰ Read गङ्ग.

³¹ Metre: Ślōka.

- 39 ख गुणीनो¹ यस्य वक्षोमुखावयोः² [।*] आशीने³ श्रीसरस्वत्यावनुकूले
 40 विराजतः ॥ [१२*] ०॥ 'कलिङ्गनगरातारममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टा-
 41 रक[म*]हाराजाधिराजत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमदनन्तवर्मा व-
 42 ष्वहस्तदेव[*] कुशली 'समस्तामात्यप्रमुखजनपदान्समा[ङ्ग]य [स]-
 43 माभ्रापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां ॥ वराहवर्त्त[न्यां] । तामरचे-
 44 द्यामो नाम (i) चिखलीवाटकेन⁶ सममेकीकृत्य ॥ चतुष्पीमा-
 45 'वच्छिन्नस्रजलस्रजस्रज्वर्षपीडाविहर्जितमाचन्द्रार्कचितिस-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 46 मकालं यावन्मातापित्रोरात्मनः पुण्यशोभि[वृद्धये] कृत[व]-
 47 सुनिधिशकाब्दे⁸ । सूर्यग्रहोपरागे । विहङ्गो य[ज]नया[ज]ना[ध्यय]-
 48 नाध्यापन[दान*]प्रतिग्रहपद्मनिर्दत्तेभ्यो 'वज्रवर्त्त[मङ्ग]ः ॥ पंच-
 49 ¹⁰सत[ब्राह्मणे]भ्य उदकपूर्वकं कृत्वाग्रहारीभ्याभिः
 50 प्रदत्तस्तस्माद्भाविभि[र्भू]मि[पा]लैर्मनुनोधर्मार्गो-¹¹
 51 रवात्परिपालनीयमिति¹² ॥ अपरं च । कोटीश्वर-
 52 देवाय आचन्द्रार्कपर्यन्तं निर्व्विरोधा । ¹³वलिचरुनैवेद्यदीपपू-
 53 जाद्यर्थं धान्यमुरकशतद्वयोत्पत्त्या¹⁴ भूमिर्हता । तच्च च । वक्षस्व-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 54 टितभग्नघटनं ¹⁵तत्रस्थवाङ्मणेरवस्यं कर्त्तव्यमिति ॥

No. 12.—TALAMANCHI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I.; A.D. 660.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was first published by Messrs. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 189 ff. According to p. 192 of the same work, the plates were "discovered about 12 years ago by a servant of Adapalli Venkata Reddi of Párlapalli

¹ Read गुणीनो.

² Read 'वक्षोयोः.

³ Read आशीने.

⁴ Read 'नगरापरम'.

⁵ Read 'माय'.

⁶ The engraver had originally written 'वाटाकिन.

⁷ The engraver originally wrote 'जखलखल', but cancelled the first ख. Read 'विवर्जित'; after the त an १ has been cancelled.

⁸ Read 'शकाब्दे.

⁹ The reading of this word is very uncertain; read perhaps ब्रह्मवर्त्त.

¹⁰ Read शतब्राह्म.

¹¹ Read 'भूमिपालैर्मनुनोधर्मार्गो.

¹² Read 'पालनीय इति.

¹³ Read वलि.

¹⁴ Read 'उत्पत्त्या.

¹⁵ The engraver seems to have begun to write तत्र, but the d-stroke has been left unfinished; read 'तत्रस्थवाङ्मणेरवस्यं,

while ploughing some land known as Talamanchipádu in Talamanchi of Nellore taluk¹ where a flourishing village is said to have once stood." They "have been sent to the Madras Museum at the request of the owner." I re-edit the inscription from three sets of ink-impressions, kindly prepared at my request by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the original as follows:—

"Three copper-plates, of which the first and last are engraved on their inner side only. They measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth. The height of the plates is not uniform. Generally they are higher in the margins than in the middle.

	Height in the margins.	Height in the middle.
1st plate :	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "	$3\frac{1}{8}$ "
2nd plate :	$3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "
3rd plate :	$3\frac{1}{4}$ " & $3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "

Through circular holes bored on the left margin of each plate passes an oval ring measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". It is nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a seal, which is also oval and measures 1" by $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The emblems on the seal, which appear to have been engraved on a countersunk surface, are much worn, but show a lump in the middle—perhaps meant to represent a boar. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 80 tolas."

The writing on the plates is well preserved, excepting a few letters near the margins of plate i. and plate ii. *a*. The alphabet resembles that of two other grants of Vikramāditya I.² The *upadhmāniya* is used once (l. 24), a final form of *m* twice (ll. 24, 27), and one of *n* once (l. 17). The three Dravidian letters *l*, *ḷ* and *r*, the second of which has the same shape as the *upadhmāniya*, occur in the two village names *Eḷasatti* (l. 23) and *Koḷchumko[nra]* (l. 22). The language is Sanskrit. There are four well-known Anuṣṭubh verses : one at the beginning and three near the end; the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

The document was issued in the sixth year of the reign (l. 20) of the (Western) Chalukya (l. 5) Vikramāditya (I.), the son of Satyāśraya (*i.e.* Pulakēśin II.), grandson of Kirtivarman (I.) and great-grandson of Polikeśin (I.). Each of these four kings receives the same laudatory epithets as in other published grants of the same period. The new inscription records the grant of the village of *Eḷasatti*,³ north of *Koḷchumko[nra]*, to Śrimeghachārya (ll. 22 and 31 f.), the preceptor (*guru*) of Vikramāditya I., and was written by Vajravarman of the Vaidya family.

The historical importance of the plates lies chiefly in the date of the grant (l. 20 f.), regarding which Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the Postscript on p. 102 below. On the strength of the latter I have added the date "A.D. 660" to the title of this article and to the heading of the accompanying Plate.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

1 जयत्वा[विष्कृतं विष्णो]र्वाराहं चोभितार्ष[वं] [।*] दक्षि[णी]न्नतदंष्ट्राय-
विश्रान्तमु-

¹ On the map prefixed to the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Talamanchi is marked by the figure '32' on the north of Nellore town.

² *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI. pp. 235 and 238.

³ Messrs Butterworth and Venugopal Chetti are unable to identify this village; see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Preface, p. vi.

⁴ From three sets of ink-impressions.

- 2 वन वपुः [॥ १*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्रा-
 3 णां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षप्रसाक-
 4 स्थापपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेन-
 5 षष्ठ्यवशीकृताशेषमहीश्रुतां चलिक्वानां कुलमलंकरिणोरश्वमे-
 6 धावश्रयस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपोलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराज-
 7 स्य प्रपौत्रः 'पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमच्छलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्ध-
 8 '[वि]शुद्धकीर्तिंश्रीकीर्तिंश्रीकीर्तिवन्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः समर-
 9 [सं]सक्तसकलोत्तराप[थे]श्वरश्री[हर्षवर्धनपरा]ज[योप]ल[व्य]परमेश्वरा-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 [पर]नामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व[र]-
 11 [स्य] प्रियतनयः^१ चित्रकण्ठास्यप्रवरतुरंगमेशैकेनैव प्रतीतानेकस-
 12 मरमुखेषु रिपुनृपतिरुधिरजलास्त्रादनरनायज्वलदमलनिशितनिस्त्रिंश-^४
 13 धारया च धृतधरणीभरभुजगभोगसदृशनिजभुजविजितविजिगीषुः^५
 14 आत्मकवचावमग्नानेकप्रहारस्त्वगु[रोश्चि]त्रय[मवनिपतिचितया-
 15 'न्तरितांमात्रसात्कृत्य 'कृतैकाधिष्ठितागे[धरा]ज्यभरस्तस्मिन्नाज्य-
 16 त्रये विनष्टानि देवस्त्रब्रह्मदेयानि धर्मयशोभिवृद्धये स्वमुखेन स्था-
 17 पितवान् रश्मिरसि रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशि दिशि जित्वा स्ववंशजां लक्ष्मी
 प्राप्य च
 18 परमेश्वरतामनिवारितविक्रमादित्यः^९ विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृ-
 19 [थि]वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्त्व[ाना]प[यति] [॥*] विधित-^९

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 20 [म]स्तु ^{१०}भोस्त्राभिः प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यषट्पद्वत्सरतमे^{११} आव-
 21 शमाससूर्यग्रहणे^{१२} उदकपूर्वं साङ्गोपाङ्गवेदविदुषे वासिष्ठ-
 22 सगोत्राय श्रीमेघाचार्याय स्वकीयगुरवे को०७३कुंको[न००]ग्राम-
 23 स्योत्तरपार्श्वे^{१३} एकसत्तिर्नाम ग्रामः^{१४} मातापित्रोरात्मन-
 24 ×पुण्यश्रीवासये सर्ववोधापरिहारं^{१५} दत्तम् [॥*] आचन्द्रार्क-

^१ Read 'ज्ञान'.

^२ Read 'तनयश्चित्र'.

^३ Read 'पुरातन'.

^४ Read 'कृतैकाधिष्ठिताशेष'.

^५ Read 'को'.

^६ Read 'पार्श्व'.

^७ Cancel the second 'विशुद्ध' and the second 'कीर्तिश्री' ; read 'कीर्तिवन्म'.

^८ Instead of 'रनाय' read 'रसनायमान'.

^९ Cancel the *anuvāsa* of तां and read 'सात्कृतवा'.

^{१०} Read 'दित्य'.

^{११} Read 'षष्ठसंवत्सरे'.

^{१२} Read 'शमी'.

^{१३} Read 'विदित'.

^{१४} Read 'ग्रहण'.

^{१५} Read 'सर्ववोधापरिहारो दत्तः'.

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iii.

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- 25 धरास्त्वस्थितिसमकालं यश्चिचीषुभिस्त्वदन्तिनिर्विशेषं परि-
 26 पालनीयं [॥*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छब्दं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [॥*] दानं
 27 वा पालनं वेति दानाञ्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिमं [॥ २*]

Third Plate.

- 28 उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन³ [॥*] बहुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता
 29 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [॥*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 30 तदा फलं [॥ ३*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरा[म् ॥*] षष्टिं व-
 31 र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिरिति । [॥ ४*] श्रीमेघाचा-
 32 र्यस्यान्यस्य शासनं वेद्यान्यश्रीवत्सवर्माणा लिखितं [॥*]
 33 स्वस्यस्तु गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः [॥*] श्री ॥—

TRANSLATION.

[Verse 1 contains an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu.]

(Line 2.) The great-grandson of the glorious Polikēśi-Vallabha-Mahārāja, whose body was purified by bathing at the end of a horse-sacrifice, (and) who adorned the family of the glorious Chalikyās;⁴

(L. 7.) The grandson of the glorious Kirtivarma-Prithivivallabha-Mahārāja, whose pure fame was established in the territories of hostile kings, such as Vanavāsi, which had been subdued by (his) valour ;

(L. 8.) The dear son of Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,⁵ who acquired the surname of 'supreme lord' (*paramēśvara*) by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the lord of the whole northern country, who had encountered (him) in battle ;

(L. 11.) He who, at the head of many famous battles, (*assisted*) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakaṇṭha and by the edge of (his) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered would-be conquerors by his own arms which resembled the coils of the serpent who carries the burden of the earth ; into whose own armour many blows had plunged ; who, having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the triad of kings,⁶ caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (*himself*) alone ; who, for the increase of (his) merit and fame, by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to Brāhmaṇas which had lapsed in that triad of kingdoms ; the son of whose valour (*became*) irresistible after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter, and after he had acquired the title of 'supreme lord' (*paramēśvara*) ; Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara commands all people (*as follows*) :—

(L. 19.) "Be it known to you (*that*), in the sixth year of (*Our*) reign of growing victory, at an eclipse of the sun in the month of Śrāvaṇa, the village named Eṣasatti on

¹ Read °नमिति.

² The ६ of अय is expressed twice.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The usual epithets of this family (ll. 2-5) are omitted in the translation.

⁵ I.e. Pulakēśin II.

⁶ Viz. the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa. Compare one of the epithets applied to Vikramāditya I. in the grants of his son Vinayāditya, above, Vol. V. p. 202, note 16.

the northern side of the village of **Koḷchumko[nra]** has been given by Us, with libations of water, with exemption from all molestation, to Our own preceptor (*guru*) **Śrīmēghāchārya** of the *Vāsishtā gōtra*, who knows the *Vēdas* with (their) *Añjas* and *Upāñjas*, in order that (Our) mother and father and Ourselves might obtain merit and fame. As long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the oceans shall exist, (*this grant*) should be protected without distinction from their own gifts by those who desire to accumulate fame."

[Verses 2-4 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 31.) (*This*) edict (*in favour*) of the family of **Śrīmēghāchārya** was written by the illustrious **Vajravarman** of the **Vaidya** family. Let there be welfare to cows and *Brāhmaṇas*! *Om*.

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The inscription edited above by Prof. Hultzsch is dated in the 6th year of the reign of the W. Chalukya **Vikramāditya I.**, at the time of a solar eclipse in the month **Śrāvaṇa**. From page 2 of Appendix II. to Vol. VIII. of this Journal it will be seen that this date must necessarily fall between A.D. 635 and 685; and from what we know to be the general rule regarding eclipses that are quoted in dates, we may conclude that the eclipse here referred to most probably was one that was visible at **Bādāmi**, the capital of the W. Chalukyas, situated in about Long. 76° and Lat. 16°.

Now it so happens that during the fifty years from A.D. 635 to 685 there was, in both the *pūrṇimānta* and the *amānta* month **Śrāvaṇa**, only a single solar eclipse that could have been at all visible at **Bādāmi**, viz. the eclipse which took place 3 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660**. That eclipse, an annular one, was fully visible at **Bādāmi**, and the 13th July A.D. 660 was the 15th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* **Śrāvaṇa**. We may compare especially the solar eclipse in the date of the *Paṭṭadakal* duplicate pillar inscription of the reign of the W. Chalukya **Kirtivarman II.** (No. 48 of my *Southern List*), of the 25th June A.D. 754, which likewise took place in the *pūrṇimānta* **Śrāvaṇa**; and to show that in early times the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the months was prevalent in Southern India, we may also cite the solar eclipse in the date of No. 9 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* **Bhādrapada**, and the solar eclipse in the date of No. 551 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* **Phālguna**.

Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660 (in *Śaka-saṃvat* 582) would thus be in every way a suitable equivalent of our date; that it is its true equivalent is rendered more than probable by the date of the *Nerūr* plates of the queen **Vijayabhaṭṭārikā** (No. 23 of my *Southern List*). That date corresponds to the 23rd September A.D. 659, and is of the 5th year of a reign of which hitherto it appeared doubtful whether it was the reign of **Vikramāditya's** eldest brother **Chandrāditya** or of **Vikramāditya** himself. Since we now have a date in A.D. 660 which would be a most proper equivalent for a date of the 6th year of the reign of **Vikramāditya I.**, the date in A.D. 659 must surely be definitely assigned to the 5th year of the same reign, and the two dates in my opinion must be taken to prove that **Vikramāditya I.** commenced to reign between some time in September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 655.¹

¹ Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 363, arrived at the conclusion that "we shall probably be very close to the mark, if we place the formal commencement of his reign somewhere in the autumn of . . . A.D. 655."

No. 13.—MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVAPALA AND JAYAVARMAN II.
OF MALAVA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Paramâra kings, who ruled over Mâlava for more than three hundred years, there have been published hitherto the texts of twelve copper-plate and three stone inscriptions. We have besides short notices of about half a dozen other stone inscriptions, generally of small extent or importance. Of the copper-plate inscriptions, three were first edited by Colebrooke in 1824, two by L. Wilkinson in 1836 and 1838, one by Rajendralal Mitra in 1850, and three by FitzEdward Hall in 1860 and 1861. Of the stone inscriptions, the largest was first edited by Bal Gangadhar Shastri in 1843, and another by FitzEdward Hall in 1859. And from these *éditiones principes* the genealogy of the Paramâras of Mâlava, with most of their dates, might have been drawn up, about fifty years ago, very nearly as I have given it above, Vol. VIII. App. I. pp. 14 and 15. Moreover, of so important a king as Udayâditya we even to-day hardly possess more than that 'wretched scrawl,' made known in 1840, of a person 'who knew nothing of Udayâditya's family.' I mention this to show how little that is really new we have learnt about Mâlava, from its own records, for half a century, and to indicate what chances are open to the officials of the Archaeological Survey of India to enrich our knowledge of the history of that country. For, in my opinion, a systematic search for inscriptions in the ancient Mâlava country will be sure to bring to light numerous documents of importance. Even now such a search has been well inaugurated.

In 1903 there were discovered at Dhâr the inscriptions published above, Vol. VIII. p. 96 ff. and p. 241 ff., highly interesting from a literary point of view. And in 1904 and 1905 were found, at or near Mândhâtâ, the two copper-plate inscriptions now here edited. These plates are of some value inasmuch as they show how Dêvapâla, one of the later kings of Mâlava who was already known to us, was related to preceding rulers, and as they give us the names of two sons of his, Jaitugidêva and Jayavarman [II.], who, one after the other, succeeded him.

A.—MÂNDHÂTÂ PLATES OF DÊVAPÂLA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1292.

These plates were found, in May 1905, near the temple of Siddhêsvara at Mândhâtâ, an island in the Narmadâ (Narbadâ, Nerbudda) river attached to the Nimâr district of the Central Provinces.¹ They were discovered enclosed in a chest made of two stones, 1' 8½" long by 1' 5½" broad. They are now in the Provincial Museum at Nâgpur, to which they have been presented by Rao Jaswant Singh of Mândhâtâ. The first account of them was given by an old pupil of mine, Mr. Lele, Director of Education in the Dhâr State;² and a transcript of the inscription engraved on them, with a translation and notes, was afterwards furnished to the authorities by Mr. Pyari Lal Ganguli, pleader of Nimâr. The text and a translation, with an introduction, have also been sent to the Government Epigraphist by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, Curator of the Nâgpur Museum. At Prof. Hultzsch's request, I edit the inscription which is on these plates from impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Cousens.

The inscription is on three plates, which are stated to measure about 1' 5½" broad by 1' high, and of which the second is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third plates are

¹ See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 257 ff.; *Constable's Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, C d; and above, Vol. III. p. 46. On the temple of Siddhêsvara see also *Archæol. Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-04*, p. 57.

² Mr. Lele at the time most kindly offered to send me impressions of the plates, but was somehow or other prevented from doing so. I take the opportunity of thanking him here also publicly for the generosity with which he has made over to me his valuable impressions of the Dhâr inscriptions published in Vol. VIII. of this Journal.

inscribed on one side only. The writing on the several sides covers a space between 1' 4" and 1' 4½" broad by between 10½" and 11½" high. In the lower proper right corner of the first side of the third plate a space about 2" broad by 3" high is marked off by double lines, which enclose an engraving of the mythical bird Garuḍa, the exact shape of which may be seen from the accompanying photo-lithograph.¹ The plates are held together by two rings for which there are two holes in each plate; these rings, I am informed, are open and were apparently never soldered together.

The three plates contain 80 lines of well-engraved writing, which is in so perfect a state of preservation that, with the exception of not more than three *aksharas*, every letter may be read with absolute certainty. In line 40 a vacant space is left for four *aksharas* which may have been illegible in the original from which the inscription was copied; and there is a similar vacant space for two *aksharas* in line 54. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, and the language is Sanskrit. The forms of individual letters hardly call for any remarks. Attention may be drawn to the initial *i* and *ī* (e.g. in *iva*, l. 4, and *Udai*², l. 50), and to the initial *ē* (in *ēsha*, l. 17) and *au* (e.g. in *Audalya*-, l. 27, and *Aurva*-, l. 40); perhaps also to the forms of *th* (e.g. in *purushārtha*-, l. 1,) and *ksh* (e.g. in *sāśhāt*-, l. 1). It may also be stated that the signs for *t* and *bh*, and those for *ddh* and *dv*, often are so much alike that it is very difficult to distinguish between them. As the 22 verses in lines 1-17 are all numbered, the inscription offers specimens of all numeral figures; and in lines 28, 34, 49 and 50, it gives the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$, denoted by two vertical lines, placed, as the case may be, after a numeral or the sign for nought.² In line 79, before the word *rachitam*-, the text contains a peculiar symbol (perhaps a monogram), the meaning of which I am unable to explain.—As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal about 30 times, and the palatal instead of the dental about 25 times (even in such ordinary words as *śutah* for *sutah*, l. 9, *Śānavēda*- for *Sānavēda*-, l. 29, etc.); *ri* is used for *ṛi* in *Rishi*-, l. 60, and *ṛi* for *ri* in *tri*³ for *tri*³ (i.e. *trivēda*-), l. 29 and elsewhere, and in *Śakti*- for *Śakti*-, ll. 23 and 71; *j* is employed instead of *y* in *jasō*- for *yaśō*-, l. 73, and in the names *Jasōdhara*-, l. 29, and *Jasādeva*- (for *Yaśōdeva*-), l. 64; and *ksh* for *khy* in *Sāmkshāyana*-, l. 46. The occasional employment of *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* for *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhv* need perhaps hardly be mentioned; but I may add that the word *tāmratām* is written *tāmvratām* in line 2, and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed three times, in *sōśabhuta*⁴, l. 15, *dāyōśyam*-, l. 75, and *vudhvōśmad*⁵, l. 75. There are a few clerical errors not referred to in the above, that can all be easily corrected.—The inscription, in lines 1-17, has 22 verses which chiefly contain genealogical matter, and of which verses 1-19 were already known to us from the three grants of king Arjunavarman.³ In addition to them, we have in lines 20-22 the well-known verse commencing with *Vātābhra-vibhramam-idam vasudh-īdhipatyam* which, with a single exception,⁴ occurs in all Paramāra plates; and in lines 75-79 four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which, commencing with *Iti kamaladalāmbuvindu-lālām*, is common to all Paramāra plates. The rest of the text is in prose. In the poetical portion we find in line 6 the (as far as I can see, perfectly correct) adjective *uḍḍāman*,⁵ instead of *uḍḍāma* which alone is given by the dictionaries. And in the prose part there occurs, in lines 72 and

¹ Similar representations of Garuḍa are found on all complete plates of the Paramāras of Mālava, of which facsimiles have been published; compare e.g. above, Vol. III. Plate opposite p. 50.

² Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 85.

³ Nos. 195, 197 and 198 of my *Northern List*.

⁴ Viz. the Ujjain plates of Vākpatirāja, published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 160.

⁵ I knew of no grammatical rule by which a compound formed of *ud* and *dāman* (in the sense of *dāma* *udgata*) would become *uḍḍāma*, and most of the passages, which in the dictionaries are quoted under *uḍḍāma*, might just as well be placed under *uḍḍāman*. In his commentary on *Raghuvamśa* I. 78, Mallinātha actually explains *uḍḍāma-diggaḃ* by *uḍḍāmanō dāman udgatā diggaḃ yasmīn*.

73, the strange revenue term *shamhalûtama[ka]-samanvita*, which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain.

The inscription records a grant of land by the Paramâra (or Pramâra) king — *Mahârâja*, as he is styled in line 80— *Dêvapâla* of *Mâlava*. A full translation of the introductory verses will be given below. As has been already stated, up to the end of verse 19 (in line 15) the text is identical with the introductory part of the three published grants of the Paramâra Arjunavarman, and so far contains little more than a list of kings who were ruling over *Mâlava*: *Bhôjadêva*, *Udayâditya*, his son *Naravarman*, his son *Yasôvarman*, his son *Ajayavarman*, his son *Vindhyavarman*, his son *Subhatavarman*, and his son *Arjuna* (*Arjunavarman*). *Vindhyavarman* and *Subhatavarman* were at war with the *Gûrjaras*, and the first of them recovered *Dhârâ*, which must have been taken possession of by the enemy.¹ *Arjuna* in his youth put to flight *Jayasimha*, of whom it is elsewhere said that he was a king of *Gûrjara* and belonged to the *Chaulukya* family (of *Anahilapâtaka*).² To the nineteen verses of *Arjunavarman's* grants only three new verses (vv. 20-22) are added here, which tell us that on *Arjuna's* death he was succeeded in the government of *Mâlava* by *Dêvapâla* and record the name of this king's father. When I published the *Harsaudâ* inscription of *Dêvapâla*, I had to point out³ that by certain epithets in that inscription *Dêvapâla* was clearly connected with the *Mahâkumâras* *Lakshmivarmadêva*, his son *Hariśchandrâdêva*, and his son *Udayavarmadêva* of *Dhârâ*. Verse 21 of our inscription now informs us that *Dêvapâla* actually was a son of *Hariśchandra* (and therefore a brother of the *Mahâkumâra* *Udayavarman*, whose plates are dated in A.D. 1200). In the *Harsaudâ* inscription, which is dated in A.D. 1218, only three years after the date of the latest known grant of *Arjunavarman*, *Dêvapâla*, unlike his brother and his father and grandfather, is styled *Mahârâjadhîrâja*. This, together with the fact that he succeeded *Arjunavarman*, would indicate that in him the two branches of the *Paramâra* family which till then had separately held sway over *Mâlava* became reunited, or that one of them ceased to exist.⁴ Besides the *Harsaudâ* stone and the present plates, the date of which will be considered below, we know of two inscriptions of *Dêvapâla's* reign, dated in about A.D. 1229 and probably 1232.⁵

In lines 17 ff. *Dêvapâla* informs all king's officers, *Brâhmanas* and others, and the *Paṭṭakila* and other people dwelling at the village of *Satâjunâ* in the *Mahuaḍa pratiḍāgarāṇaka*, that, while staying at *Mâhishmati*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon⁶ on the full-moon *tithi* in the month *Bhâdrapada* in the year 1282 (given in words), after bathing in the *Rêvâ* (i.e. *Narmadâ*) and worshipping *Śiva* (at the temple) in the neighbourhood of (the temple of *Vishṇu*) *Daityasûdana*, he granted the village of *Satâjunâ*, (as stated in lines 72 and 73) well defined as to its four boundaries (*kaṇkaṭa*), etc., to certain *Brâhmanas* enumerated in lines 22-71; and (in line 74) he orders the resident *Paṭṭakila* and others to give to these *Brâhmanas* the customary share of the produce and money-rent, etc., excepting what was already enjoyed

¹ The context would indicate that *Dhârâ* had been taken by the *Gûrjaras*.

² See now above, Vol. VIII. p. 99; compare also below, p. 118, note 2.— In *Mêrutunga's Prabandhachintâmanî*, p. 249 f., we are told that the *Mâlava* king *Sôhaḍa* (i.e. *Subhatavarman*), when about to invade the *Gûrjara* country, turned back from its frontier on hearing the verse: *Pratâpô râjamârtanda pârvasyâm=eva râjâtê | sa eva vilayam yâti pashchimâdvâlambinam*; but that afterwards the *Gûrjara* country was 'broken' by his son *Arjunadêva*.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 311.

⁴ Nos. 207 and 214 of my *Northern List*.

⁵ The text has *sôma-parvati* instead of the fuller and ordinary *sômagrahaṇa-parvati*; similarly *sôrya-parvati* is used instead of *sôryagrahaṇa-parvati*, e.g. in the dates of No. 356 of my *Northern List* and of Nos. 339 and 380 of my *Southern List*.— I may add that, excepting the *Mandhatâ* plates of *Jayasimha*, published above, Vol. III. p. 48, the word *parvati* occurs in the dates of all fully preserved *Paramâra* plates that have been hitherto published. We have *paritraka-parvati* in No. 46 of my *Northern List*, *sômagrahaṇa-parvati* in Nos. 49 and 121, *udayayana-parvati* in No. 57, *samjâta-sûryaparvati* in No. 172, *Mahâ-Vaidikhyam parvati* in No. 189, *abhisêka-parvati* in No. 195, *sôryagrahaṇa-parvati* in No. 197, and *chandrobhârâ-parvati* in No. 198.

by gods (i.e. temples) and Brāhmanas. After the usual appeal to future kings to preserve this grant and the imprecatory verses, the date (in line 79) is repeated in figures, with the additional remark that the day was a Thursday.

I may state here at once that, so far as the week-day is concerned, the date is incorrect. The full-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada ended—

in the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1282: 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 30th August A.D. 1224;

in the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1282: on Tuesday, the 19th August A.D. 1225; and

in the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1282: on Monday, the 7th September A.D. 1226.

None of the possible equivalents of the date therefore was a Thursday. On the other hand, there was an eclipse of the moon—a partial one—from 17 h. 45 m. to 20 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India, on the second of the three possible days, and I have no doubt that that day, Tuesday, the 19th August A.D. 1225, is really the day on which the grant was made, and that in line 79 'Thursday' has been erroneously put down instead of 'Tuesday.'

Of the localities mentioned above, Māhishmati, from where the grant was made, is Maheswar, a town in the Indore State, Central India Agency, situated in Long. 75° 37' and Lat. 22° 11', on the northern bank of the Narmadā (Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, B d). The village of Satājūṇā exists still under the same name—the *Indian Atlas* has 'Satajana'—about 13 miles south-west of Māndhātā in Long. 76° 3' and Lat. 22° 8' (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 54). Mahuaḍa, after which the *pratijāgarāṇaka* or district was called, probably is the village of 'Mohod,' about 25 miles south of 'Satajana,' in Long. 76° and Lat. 21° 48'. Below, in line 23 of the inscription B., we have *Mahuaḍa-pathakē*, clearly equivalent to *Mahuaḍa-pratijāgarāṇakē*. Among other Paramāra grants, the word for 'district' is *pathaka* also in No. 57 of my *Northern List*, and *pratijāgarāṇaka* in Nos. 172, 189, 195 and 198. The latter term long ago has been identified with the modern *parganā*, 'a district or tract of country including a number of villages.'

An abstract list of the donees will be given below, p. 115 f. From that list it will be seen that their number was 32, and that the proceeds of the village granted to them were divided into 32½ shares (*vaṇṣaka*),¹ in such a manner that 26 donees received one share each, 3 half a share each, 2 one share and a half each, and 1 (the *mahārāja-panḍita* or 'king's Panḍit' Gōṣā²) two shares. The original in each case gives the *gōtra* and *pravara*s of the donee, the names of his father and grandfather, and his place (or country) of origin; also, with two exceptions, the Vêdic *śākhā* or Vêda studied by him. The *gōtras*, *śākhās* and localities so mentioned may be seen from the list; the names of the donees' fathers and grandfathers are given in a separate, alphabetical list, below, p. 116 f. The two lists will show that, with a single exception, the people referred to in the preceding are distinguished by certain epithets which are prefixed to their names, and which generally refer to their religious occupation and are mostly given in abbreviated forms. In alphabetical order, these epithets are: *agni*°, i.e. *agnihōtrin*; *āva*° or *āvasathika*; *upā*°, i.e. *upādhyāya*; *cha*° or *chaturvêda*; *ṭha*°, i.e. *ṭhakkura*; *tri*° (for *tri*°), i.e. *trivêda*; *dī*°, i.e. *dīkshita*; *div*°, i.e. *divêda*; *paṁ*° or *paṁḍi*°, i.e. *panḍita*; *pāṭha*°, i.e. *pāṭhaka*; *yājñi*°, i.e. *yājñika*; *śu*° or *śukla*; *śrōtri*°, i.e. *śrōtriya*. In addition to these, we have *paṣṭha*° in line 71, *rājan* in line 37, and *mahārājapanḍita* in line 39. About the meaning of *paṣṭha*° I am somewhat doubtful. The meaning that first suggested itself to me was *paṣṭhakula*; but as most of the other epithets refer to religious occupations, I would rather

¹ The inscription B. (in lines 32, 34, 36 and 37) shows that the word *vaṇṣaka* is synonymous with *pada*, 'a share.'

² He probably is the Gōṣaka, mentioned in line 51 of the inscription B.

take *pañcha*^o to be equivalent to *pañchakalpin* (*pañchólī*) which occurs as an epithet of two persons (father and son) in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., Vol. II. p. 96. In the case of 20 donees the same epithet is borne by grandfather, father and son; in 7 cases the grandfather and father have the same epithet, and the son has a different one; and in one case the epithet of father and son is the same, while that of the grandfather differs. In the four remaining cases we have the sequences: *dīkshita*, *āvasathika*, *śukla*; *upādhyāya*, *agnihōtrin*, *dīkshita*; *agnihōtrin*, *dīkshita*, *āvasathika*; and *agnihōtrin*, *upādhyāya*, *āvasathika*. Speaking from personal experience, I remember that many of my Indian pupils had one or the other of the above mentioned terms as surnames—Dikshit, Padhye, Pathak, Pandit, Shukle, etc.—which they probably have handed down unchanged to their children and children's children.

Of the places with which the donees are connected, I take **Mahāvāna-sthāna** to be Mahāban, a town in the Muttra district of the United Provinces (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, C b); **Tripuri-sthāna** is Tewar, a village in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, about six miles west of Jabalpur; **Akōlā-sthāna** probably is Akola in Berar (*ibid.* Plate 31, D a), and **Mathurā-sthāna** is Muttra in the United Provinces (*ibid.* Plate 27, C b). **Ḍiṇḍvānaka-sthāna** apparently is the *Ḍiṇḍvānaka*, mentioned above, Vol. V. p. 210, now the town of Didwāna¹ in Jōdhpur, Rājputāna (*ibid.* Plate 27, B b). Regarding the remaining places I cannot offer any definite suggestions. **Mutāvathū-sthāna** is the same place which is mentioned as **Muktāvasthū-sthāna** in the three grants of Arjunavarman;² and **Hastināpura** may be the village of Hathināvara (on the northern bank of the Narmadā in the *Pagārā pratijāgarānaka*), which was granted by Arjunavarman's grant published in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 27. With **Takāri-sthāna** compare 'Takāri,' above, Vol. III. p. 350, and note 13. The names **Āsrama-sthāna** and **Sarasvati-sthāna** I have not found elsewhere. On the other hand, **Madhyadēsa** is too well known to call for any remark here.

After the date in line 79, the text of our inscription has the three *aksharas dū° śrī mu*, followed by the numeral 3 and a peculiar mark the exact shape of which may be seen from the photolithograph. The first *akshara* of course stands for *dūtakaḥ* or *dūtaḥ*, and should be followed by a name to which the word *śrī* would have been prefixed; but I do not know whether any or what name may be intended to be denoted by *mu 3* and the following symbol. We find the same *mu 3* (probably followed by the same mark which we have here) also in the two grants of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 29 and 33.

The inscription then has the statement that 'this was composed by the king's preceptor (*rāja-guru*) Madana, with the approbation of the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (or great minister of peace and war), the learned Bilhaṇa'—a statement which occurs also in Arjunavarman's grant in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 33, and (with *mahāpaṇḍita* instead of *mahāsāndhivigrahika-paṇḍita*) in the same king's grant in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379. On Madana, who may reasonably be taken to have composed merely the introductory verses of the inscription, see now above, Vol. VIII. p. 99. As regards Bilhaṇa, in verse 7 of the *prastāvi* at the end of Āśādharma's *Dharmāmṛita*³ 'the learned Bilhaṇa, the lord of poets,' is described as 'the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* of the glorious king Vindhya (*Vindhya-bhūpati*).' Since this king Vindhya can be no other than Arjunavarman's grandfather Vindhavarman,⁴ it might seem as if his *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Bilhaṇa could not be the Bilhaṇa of Arjunavarman's grant and of the present inscription. But in my opinion there are not for the present any valid reasons why the

¹ In Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, App. I. p. 335, the town is called *Ḍiṇḍvānanagara*.

² See *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 27 and 32, and *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379 (where the published text has *Muktāvasu-sthāna*).

³ See Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.* during 1883-84, p. 891.

⁴ *Vindhya-bhūpati* has been taken to mean 'king of the Vindhyas or Mālava'; but as *Arjuna-bhūpati* in the same *prastāvi* denotes Arjunavarman, the former can only denote Vindhavarman.

two should not be considered to be identical. Of the length of the reign of Arjunavarman's father we know nothing; and all we know in this respect about Arjunavarman is, that he reigned during the five years from A.D. 1211 to A.D. 1215. Besides, it should be borne in mind that Āśādharma himself, from whose work the above statement is taken, was a contemporary of no less than five successive kings of Mālava, from Vinḍhyavarman to Dēvapāla's son Jitugidēva.¹

The inscription ends with the words: 'this is the own hand (i.e. the sign-manual) of the Mahārāja, the glorious Dēvapāladēva,' followed by the usual *mahārājā mahā-srih*.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ || Ōm namah parameṣṭha-śrīdāmanyaō dharm⁴ tya || ⁵Prativimva⁶-nibhād= bhūmēḥ kṛtvā sākṣat-pratigrahaṇ | jagad=āhlādayan=diśyā⁷[d*]=dvijēn-
- 2 drō mar galāni vaḥ |(II) 1 |(II) Jyāt=Paraśaramō=sau k-hatraih kshupam rau-ābhacaiḥ | saṁdhyārka-vimvam=⁸ēv=orvvi-dātur-yasy=ē(ai)ti tāmratām⁹ |(II) 2 ||
- 3 Yēna Maṁdōdarivāshpa-vā¹⁰ḥiḥ sa(śa)mitō mridhē | praṇēsva(śva)ri-vijēgāgnih sa Rāmaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ |(II) 3 |(II) Bhūmē=āpi dhṛitā mū[r*]ddhni yat-pālāḥ
- 4 sa Yūdhishṭhiraḥ | vaṁs(ś)-ādyēn=ēmdunā jyāt=su-tulya¹¹ iva nirmitaḥ |(II) 4 |(I) Paramārakul-ōttamaḥ Kamsajin-mahimā nripaḥ | śri-Bhōjadēva ity=ā-
- 5 sin=nāsirakrānta-bhūtalaḥ |(II) 5 |(II) Yad-yasācchamārik-ōdyōtē¹² digutsamga-taramitē | dvishannripa-yaśaḥpunja-mādarikai[r*]=nimilitam |(II) 6 |(II) Tatō= bhū-
- 6 d=Udayādityō nityōtsāh-aikakautukī | asādhārana-vīraśrīr=āśrī-hētur=virōdhinām |(II) 7 |(II) Mahākalaha-kalpāntē yasy=ōddāmabhīr=āśrī(śn)-
- 7 gaiḥ | kati n=ōnmūlitās=turṅgā bhūbhṛitaḥ kaṭa-olvaṇāḥ |(II) 8 |(II) Tasmāch=chhinna-dvishanmarmā Naravarmā narādhipaḥ | dharmō(rm-ā)-bhyuddharapē dhīmān=abhūt=simā
- 8 mahābhujām |(II) 9 |(II) Prati-prabhātām viprēbhyō dattai[r]=grāma-padaih svayam | anēkapadatām ninyē dharmō yōn=aika-pād=api |(II) 10 |(II) Taty(sy)=ājani Yaśōvarmmā
- 9 putraḥ kshatriya-sēkharah | tasmān=Ajayavarm=ābhūj-jayaśrī-viśrutaḥ śu(su)taḥ |(II) 11 |(II) Tat-sūnur=vvira-mūrdhanyō dhany-ōtpati(tti)r=ajāyata | Gūrjarō-chchhēda-
- 10 nirvvaṁdhī¹⁰ Viṁdhyavarmā mahā-bhujah |(II) 12 |(II) Dharay=ōddhṛitayā sārddham dadhāti sma tridharatām | sāmnyuginasya yasy=āsis=trātum lōka-trayim=iva |(II) 13 |(II)
- 11 Tasy=āmunshyāyanaḥ putraḥ Sutrāma-śrīr=ath=āśishat | bhūpaḥ Subhāṭavarm=ēti dharmē tishṭhan=mahī-talam |(II) 14 |(II) Yasya jvalati dig-jētuh pratāpas=tapana-dyu-
- 12 tēḥ | dāvāgni-chchhadman=ādy=āpi ¹¹garjjad-Gūrjjara-pattanē |(II) 15 |(II) Dēva-bhūyam gatē tasmin=namdanō=rjjuna-bhūpatti(ti)ḥ | dōshṇā dātē=d' unā dhātrī-valayam valayam

¹ See the inscription B., below.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ Read *pratibimba*.

⁴ Read *tāmratām*.

⁵ Read *ōddyōtē*.

⁶ The editions of the plates of Arjunavarman have *garjana*; but *garjjad* is the reading also of R., below, p. 121, line 14.

⁷ From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens.

⁸ Metre of verse 1-22 *Ślōka* (Anuhtubh).

Read *bimbam*.

⁹ Read *sva-tu-ya*.

¹⁰ Read *m. bū mādāt*.

- 13 yathâ | (II) 16 | (II) Vâ(bâ)lalil-âhavê yasya Jayasimbhê palâyitâ | dikpâlahâsa-
vyâjêna yasô dikshu vijrîmbhitam | (II) 17 | (II) Kâvyagâmdharvva-sarvvasva-
nidhinâ
14 yêna¹ sâmpratam | bhâr-âvataranam² dëvyâs=chakrê pustaka-vîpayôh | (II) 18
| (II) Yêna trividha-virêpa tridhâ pallavitam yasah | dhavalatvam dadhus-
tripi ja-
15 gamti katham=amya(nya)thâ | (II) 19 | (II) Ath=ârthinâm=apunyêna puṇyêna
svargga-subhruvâm | sô sdbhutatyâgâsîlâs=cha śrîmgârî cha divam gatah | (II)
20 | (II) Ta-
16 taḥ Pramâra=chamdrasya Hariśchamdrasya namdanah | raraksha Mâlava-
kshônîm Dëvapâlah pratâpavân | (II) 21 | (II) Pavitra-karapadmaśya(sya)
dânavâri-vijrîm-
17 bhitaiḥ | na vidmô Dëvapâlasya dëvapâlasya ch=âmtaram | (II) 22 | (II) Sa
êsha nara-nâyakah sarvv-âbhyudayî ||³ Mahuḍa-pratijâgarapakê Satâ-
18 juṇâ-grâmê samasta-râjapurushân=vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôttarân=pratinivâsî(si)-paṭṭakila-jana-
pad-âdimś=cha vô(bô)dhayaty=astu vaḥ samvidi-
19 tam yathâ |³ śrî-Mâhishmati-sthitair=asmâbhiḥ=⁴dvyasityadhika-dvâdaśasata-
samvatsarê Bhâdrapadê māsê paurṇamâsyâm sô-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 20 ma-parvvanî Rêvâyâm snâtvâ śrî-Daityasûdana-sannidhau bhagavantam
Bhavânî-patim samabhyarchchya samsârasy=âsaratâm drishṭvâ | tathâ hi ||
Vâ.⁵
21 tâbhra-vibhramam=idam vaśu(su)dh-âdhipatyam=⁶âpâtamâtra-madhurô vishay-
ôpabhôgah | prâṇâs=trîṇâgrajalavindu-samâ narâṇam dha-
22 rmmaḥ sakhâ param=ahô paralôka-yânê || iti sarvvam vimṛśy=âdrishṭa-
phalam=aṁgikṛitya ||⁷ Âśramasthâna-vinirggatâya Vâjîmâdhyamdinâsâ-
23 kh-âdhyâyînê Parâśa[ra*]-gôtrâya Parâśa-Śaktri-Vasishṭh-êti⁸ tri-pravarâya śrôtri⁹
Dâmôdara-pautrâya śrôtri⁹ Vra(bra)hma-putrâya śrôtri⁹ Gamgâdha-
24 rasa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vamṭakam=êkam l Mahâvanasthâna-
vinirggatâya Pavitra-gôtrâya Gârggya-Gaurivî-Âṁgiras-êti tri-pravarâya Âśva-
25 lâyanasâkh-âdhyâyînê di¹⁰ Gamgâdhara-pautrâya âvaśa(sa)thika-Mahâditya-putrâya
śukla-Bhadrêsva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vamṭakam=ê-
26 kam l Mahâvanasthâna-vinirggatâya Pavitra-gôtrâya Gârggya-Gaurivî-Âṁgiras-êti
tri-pravarâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyînê di¹⁰ Sim(sim)ha-
27 kamṭha-pautrâya śu¹¹ Madhukamṭha-putrâya śu¹⁰ Chamdrakamṭhasa(śa)rmmaṇê
vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vamṭakam=êkam l Mahâvanasthâ[na*]-vinirggatâya Audalya-
gôtrâya¹² Mâ-
28 dhyamdinâsâkh-âdhyâyînê di¹⁰ Padmasvâmi-pautrâya di¹⁰ Trilôchana-putrâya di¹⁰
Nârâyanaśa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya sardham vamṭakam=êkam l¹² Ma-

¹ Originally *yama* was engraved.² The edition of the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 26, has *bhârâvatâranaṁ*.³ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.⁴ Read =*asmâbhiḥ*.⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.⁶ Instead of the *akshara dhâ* originally *dhanu* seems to have been engraved.⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous. Here and in other places below the rules of *samâkṣi* have not been observed.⁸ Originally *Parâśa-Śa* was engraved. Read *Parâśara-Śaktri-Vasishṭh-êti*, where the name *Śaktri*, as elsewhere, would stand for the more correct *Śakti*. See below, line 71.⁹ I.e., here and below, *śrôtriya*.¹⁰ I.e., here and below, *dikshita*.¹¹ I.e., here and below, *śukla*.¹² Here the *pravaras* are omitted.

- 29 hāvanasthāna-vinirggatāya Kātyāyana-gōtrāya¹ Śā(sā)mavēd-ādhyāyinē tri²
Rāmēsva(śva)ra-pautrāya tri³ Jasōdhara-³putrāya tri⁴ Sūrasarmmaṇē⁴
vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=ē-
- 30 kaṁ 1 Takārīsthāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-⁵gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āṁgirasa-
Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-pravarāya Kauthumaśākh-ādhyāyi-
- 31 nē tri⁶ Dālana-pautrāya tri⁶ Āśādharma-putrāya tri⁶ Visvēsvaraśarmmaṇē⁶
vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1 Takārīsthāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvā-
- 32 ja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āṁgirasa-Vā(bā)rhasya(spa)ty-ēti tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdina-
śākh-ādhyāyinē di⁷ Kēlhaṇa-pautrāya di⁷ Madhu-putrāya di⁷ Rā-
- 33 masa(śa)rmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇā[y]a vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1 Tripurīsthāna-
vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āṁgirasa-Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-
prava-
- 34 rāya paṁ⁷ Haridhara-pautrāya paṁ⁷ Mahīdhara-putrāya paṁ⁸ Bhṛigu-
śarmmaṇē⁸ vrā(brā)hmaṇāya sārddham vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1½ Mutavathūsthāna-⁹
vinirggatāya
- 35 Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyapa(p-Ā)vatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-
ādhyāyinē cha¹⁰ Prithvidhara-pautrāya cha¹⁰ Āśā(sā)dhara-pu-
- 36 trāya agni¹¹ Nārāyaṇaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1
Akōlāsthāna-vinirggatāya Parāvaśu(su)-gōtrāya Parāvaśu(su)-Kāmkāya-
- 37 na-Kaikaśēya¹² tri-pravarāya tha¹³ Bharatapāla-pautrāya tha¹³ Dālana-pautrāya
rāja-Gōśa(sa)laśarmmaṇē¹⁴ vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthā-
- 38 na-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyinē Vāsī(si)shṭha-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-
Vāsī(si)shṭh-ēti tri-pravarāya chaturvēda-Janārdhana-pautrā-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 39 ya chaturvēda-Dharaṇīdhara-putrāya mahārājapamḍita-srī-Gōśeśarmmaṇē
vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭaka-dvayaṁ 2 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Ā-
- 40 śvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyinē Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnavān¹⁵
Aurvva-Jāmadagny-ēti pañcha-pravarāya cha¹⁶¹⁶-pautrāya cha¹⁶
- 41 Vishṇu-putrāya cha¹⁶ Rāmēsva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=
ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalā[ya*]naśākh-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-
gōtrā-
- 42 ya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya cha¹⁶ Samuddhara-pautrāya cha¹⁶
Dēvadhara-putrāya cha¹⁶ Gadādharaśa(śa)rmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṁṭakam=
ēkaṁ 1 Ma-
- 43 thurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyinē Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-
Vaitahavya-Sāvētas-ēti tri-pravarāya cha¹⁶ Pavitra-pautrā-
- 44 ya cha¹⁶ Dharaṇīdhara-putrāya cha¹⁶ Garbhēsva(śva)raśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya
vaṁṭakam=ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyi-

¹ Kātyāyana-gōtrāya was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line. Here, again, the *pravaras* are omitted.

² Here and below for tri², i.e. *trivēda*.

³ For *Yasōdhara*.

⁴ For *Sūrasarmmaṇē*.

⁵ In the place of the *akshara ra* originally *dva* was engraved.

⁶ Read *Visvēsvara*.

⁷ This, or *paṁ*, here and below, = *pamḍita*.

⁸ The *śākhā* of this man is omitted.

⁹ Below, in lines 47 and 49, the name is *Mutavathū*.

¹⁰ I.e., here and below, *chaturvēda*.

¹¹ I.e., here and below, *agnishōtri*.

¹² Read *Kaikaśēti*.

¹³ I.e., here and below, *thakkura*.

¹⁴ The *śākhā* of this man is omitted.

¹⁵ Read *Āpnavāna*; see below, lines 52 and 66.

¹⁶ Here an open space is left for a name of four syllables which has been omitted.

[illegible][illegible]

40
 42
 44
 46
 48
 50
 52
 54
 56
 58

[illegible]

- 45 nê Kâśyapa-gôtrâya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-Naidhruv-êti tri-pravarâya cha° Samuddhara-
pautrâya cha° Dêvadhara-putrâya cha° Lôhaśasarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâ-
46 ya vaṁṭakam=êkam l Dîmḍvânakasthâna-vinirggatâya ¹Śâmkshâyanaśâkh-
âdhyâyinê Gautama-gôtrâya Gautam-Âṁgirasa-Autatthy-êti² tri-prava-
47 râya cha° Dharapîdhara-pautrâya cha° Vra(bra)hma-putrâya cha° Purushôttama-
śarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkam l Mutâvathûsthâna-vinirggatâya
Mâdhyam-
48 dinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Kâśyapa-gôtrâya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-Naidhruv-êti tri-pravarâya
dvi°³ Gôvîmda-pautrâya dvi° Vâsadhara-putrâya dvi° Gadâ-
49 dharaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭaka(k-â)rdham ¹/₂ Mutâvathûsthâna-
vinirggatâya Mâdhyamîdinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Kâśyapa-gôtrâya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-
Naidhru-
50 v-êti tri-pravarâya di° ⁴Gaṁgâdhara-pautrâya di° Kêśava-putrâya Udaîsar-
mmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭaka(k-â)rdham ¹/₂ Mahâvanasthâ[na*]-
vinirggatâya Kau-
51 thumaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Gautama-gôtrâya Gautam-Âṁgirasa-Autatthy-êti tri-
pravarâya paṁ° Madana-pautrâya paṁ° Kâhna(nha)ḍa-putrâya paṁ°
Kuladharasa(śa)rmmāṇê
52 vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkam l Takârîsthâna-vinirggatâya⁵ Kauthumaśâkh-
âdhyâyinê Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhâṅgava-Chyavana-Âpnuvân⁶ Aurvra-Jâmadagny-ê-
3 ti paṁcha-pravarâya tṛi° Janârddana-pautrâya tṛi° Naraśim(sim)ha-putrâya âva⁷
Abhinamdaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkam l Madhyadêśa-
vinirggatâ-
54 ya Mâdhyamî[na*]śâkh-âdhyâyinê Mudgala-gôtrâya Âṁgiraśa(sa)-Bhara . . sa-⁸
Mudgal-êti tri-pravarâya agni° Chchhitû-pautrâya agni° Dharapîdhara-putrâ-
55 ya agni° Anantaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkam l Madhyadêśa-
vinirggatâya Mâdhyamîdinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Sâmḍilya-gôtrâya Sâmḍilya-Âśi(si)ta-
56 Dêval-êti tri-pravarâya yâjñi°⁹ Nâgadêva-pautrâya yâjñi° Kṛishṇa-putrâya agni°
Sthânêśva(śva)raśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkam l Mathurâsthâna-
vini-
57 rggatâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Dhaumya-gôtrâya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-[Nai*]dhruv-
êti¹⁰ tri-pravarâya cha° Vishṇu-pautrâya cha° Sâdhâraṇa-putrâ-
58 ya cha° Ūdha[ra]śarmmaṇê¹¹ vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkam l Mathurâsthâna-
vinirggatâya ¹²Râṇâyiniśâkh-âdhyâyinê Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya Âṁgi-
59 rasa-Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya-Bhâradvâj-êti tri-pravarâya tṛi° Mâdhava-pautrâya¹³ tṛi°
Sômêśva(śva)ra-putrâya tṛi° Kuladharasarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=
êkam l

Third Plate.

- 60 Mathurâsthâna-vinirggatâya Râṇâyiniśâkh-âdhyâyinê Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya Âṁgirasa-
Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya-Bhâradvâj-êti tri-pravarâya tṛi° Rî(ṛi)shi-pautrâya tṛi°

¹ Read *Śâmkshâyana*° or, more correctly, *Śâmkhâyana*°.

² *Autatthy* = *Auchatthy*; see below, B., line 33.

³ *I.e.*, here and below, *dviśda*.

⁴ Originally *Gâṁgâ*° was engraved, but the first *g* has been struck out.

⁵ Originally *sthânâṁ* vi° was engraved.

⁶ Read *Apnarâna*.

⁷ *I.e.*, here and below, *âvasathika*.

⁸ In this name an open space is left for two syllables. The name which one would have expected is

Bharmyatra.

⁹ *I.e.*, here and below, *yâjñika*.

¹⁰ The *akshara* *ed* is engraved above the line.

¹¹ Originally *Ūdhapa*° was engraved.

¹² Read, here and below, *Râṇayaniśâkh*.

¹³ The *akshara* *dha* is engraved above the line.

- 61 Mārkaṇḍa-putrāya tri° Madhusūdanaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṃṭakam=ēkaṃ 1
Sarasvatisthāna-vinirggatāya Kāṭhasākh-ādhyāyinē [Har]ita-Kutsa-
- 62 gōtrāya Āṃgiraśa(sa)-¹ Amva(ba)rīsha-Yauvanāsv(sv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Vijayī-
pautrāya cha° Ajayī-putrāya cha° Allīśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṃṭakam=
ēkaṃ 1
- 63 Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamīdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-
Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya upā² Nārāyaṇa-pautrāya agni³
- 64 ⁴Jasadēva-putrāya di° Lāhaḍaśarmmaṇē⁵ vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṃṭakam=ēkaṃ 1
Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamīdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Śāṃḍilya-gōtrāya A-
- 65 śi(si)ta-Dēvala-Sām(śām)ḍily-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Kaṭuka-pautrāya di° Puru-
shōttama-putrāya āva° Narasimhaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṃṭakam=ēkaṃ 1
Ma-
- 66 dhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamīdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē Mārkaṇḍēya-gōtrāya
Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvān⁶ Aurvva-Jāmadagny-ēti pañcha-pravarāya agni°
Chchhītū-pau-
- 67 trāya upā° - Dāmōdara-putrāya āva° Mārkaṇḍēyaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya
vaṃṭakam=ēkaṃ 1 Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamīdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē
Bhāradvāja-gō-
- 68 trāya Āṃgiraśa(sa)-⁷ Vā(bā)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya dvi° Nārāyaṇa-
pautrāya dvi° Padmaubha-putrāya pāṭha⁸ Vāyudēvaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya
vaṃṭaka-
- 69 m=ēkaṃ 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyinē Kautsa-gōtrāya
Āṃgiraśa(sa)-Amva(ba)rīsha-Yauvanāsv(sv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Hari-pau-
- 70 trāya cha° Janārdana-putrāya cha° Rājēśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṃṭakam=
arddham ½ Hastināpura-vinirggatāya Kauthumaśākh-ādhyāyinē Pārāsa(śa)ra-gōtrā-
- 71 ya Pārāsa(śa)ra-Śakti-⁹ Vasi(si)shṭh-ēti tri-pravarāya pañcha¹⁰ Kāhna(nha)ḍa-
pautrāya pañcha° Kumara-putrāya paṃḍi¹¹ Kusumapālaśarmmaṇē
vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaṃṭakam=ēkaṃ 1
- 72 samastō=pi grāmaś=chatuṣkamaḥkaṭa-¹² visu(su)ddhaḥ sa-vṛikshamālākulaḥ sa-
hiraṇyabhāgabhogah s-ōparikarah sarvvādāya-samētaḥ sa-nidhīnikshēpaḥ sha-
- 73 mhalātama[ka]-¹³ samanvitō mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇyajasō-¹⁴ bhivṛiddhayē
chamdrārkaṇṇavakshiti-samakālam yāvat=paraya(yā) bhaktyā śāsā(sa)nēn=ōdaka-
pūrvvam pradattaḥ [I*] tan=ma-
- 74 tvā tannivāsi(si)-pa[ttā]kilajanapadair=yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhogakarahirapūyādikaṃ
dēvavrā(brā)hmaṇabhukti-varjjam=ājñā-vidhēyair=bhūtvā sarvvam=ēbhyaō vrā(brā)-
hmaṇēbhyaō dātavyam [I*]
- 75 sāmānyam ch=aitat=punya-phalam vudhvā¹⁵ smadvamśajair=anyair=api bhāvi-
bhōktrībhīr=asmatpradatta-dharmmadāyō¹⁶ syam=anumantavyaḥ pālāniyaś=cha¹⁷ ||
Uktaṃ cha || ¹⁸Va(ba)hubhīr=vaśu(su)dhā

¹ Originally *Āṃgiriśa-* was engraved.

² This sign of abbreviation is engraved at the commencement of the next line.

³ For *Yatōdēva-*.

⁴ Read *-Āpnavāna-*.

⁵ I.e. *pāṭhaka-*.

⁶ I.e., here and below, *pañchakalpi*-(?).

⁷ The *akṣhara* in brackets might possibly be read *chha*. As will be seen from the facsimile, the space between *lā* and *ta* at the commencement of line 73 is larger than it generally is between two *akṣharas*.

⁸ Read *puṇyajasō-*.

⁹ One would have expected *dharmaḥ*; but *dharmaḥ* is the reading of most of the *Paramāra* copper-plates.

¹⁰ Originally *'ś=chaṃ* was engraved.

¹¹ I.e., here and below, *upādhyāya-*.

¹² Originally *Lōhaḍa°* was engraved.

¹³ Originally *Āṃgiriśa-* was engraved.

¹⁴ Read *Śakti-*, and see above, p. 109, note 8.

¹⁵ I.e. *paṃḍita-*.

¹⁶ Read *chatuṣkamaḥkaṭa-*.

¹⁷ Read *buddhā-*.

¹⁸ Metre of this verse and the next: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

- 76 bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalam || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasurindharām | sa
vishṭhāyām kṛimīr=bhūtā pitṛibhiḥ saha
- 77 majjati || ¹Sarvvān=ēvām bhāvinō bhūmipālān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō
Rāmabhadrah [*] sāmānyō=yam dharmā-sētur=nṛpānām kālō kālō pālani-
- 78 yō bhavadbhiḥ || Iti² kamaladalānvu(bu)vindu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya
manushya-jivitaṁ cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ cha vudhvā³ na hi pu-
- 79 rushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti || Samvat 1282 varshē Bhādra-sudi 15 Gurau ||
Dū⁴ śrīmu 3||⁵ Rachitam=idam[*] mahāsāndhi-
- 80 vighraḥ-paṇḍita-śrī-Vi(bi)lhaṇa-saṁmatēna ⁶rāja-guruṇā Madanēna | Sva-bastō-
yam mahārāja-śrī-Dēvapālādēvasya || Maṁgalam mahā-śrīḥ [||*]

TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-22.

Om ! Om ! Obeisance to *dharma*,⁷ the crest-jewel of the aims of man !

(Verse 1.) May (the Moon), the Lord of the twice-born, gladdener of the world, after having openly accepted the earth in the guise of its reflection,⁸ bestow blessings on you !

(V. 2.) May that Paraśurāma be victorious, for whom, when he granted the earth (*to the Brāhmaṇs*), the very orb of the twilight-sun, pierced by the Kshatriyas slain (*by him*) in fight, became the copper-plate !⁹

(V. 3.) May Rāma minister to your welfare, he who in battle quenched the fire of separation from his life's mistress by the water of Mandōdārī's¹⁰ tears !

(V. 4.) May Yudhisṭhira be victorious, whose feet even Bhīma placed on his head, (*and*) whom the Moon, the progenitor of his race, framed as it were equal unto himself !

(V. 5.) There was a king, great like Kāṁsa's conqueror,¹¹ an ornament of the Paramāra family, the glorious Bhōjadēva, who occupied the surface of the earth by the van of his army.¹²

¹ Metre: Śālinī.

² Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

³ Read *buddhvā*.

⁴ I.e. *dūtakaḥ* or *dūtaḥ* (as in the inscription B.).

⁵ For the exact shape of this mark, which is not a sign of punctuation, see the accompanying photo-lithograph!.

⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁷ I find no English word by which I could fully express all the meanings of the Sanskrit *dharma*; in the present case 'religious merit' would perhaps best convey some idea of what is intended. The four aims of man are *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mōksha*.

⁸ The spot (*kalanka*) in the moon is by poets taken to be the reflected image of the earth. Prof. Jacobi, who first drew my attention to this notion, quotes *Raghuvamśa* XIV. 40, and especially *Haraviṣaya* XLI. 64; and I find that the idea is clearly expressed in verse 1982 of the *Subhāshitāvalī*, according to which 'others have said' that the spot in the moon is 'the reflected image of the earth' (*bhūmēs=cha bimbam parē*); compare also *ibid.* v. 2534, *śaśalakṣhmaṇaḥ pariṇatā prithvī kalankāyatē*. With *pratibimba-nibhāt* compare *pratibimba-mishāt* in the *Pārijātamañjarī*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 110, line 50; and with *jagad=āhlādayan*, as applied to the moon, *āhlādayan=viśvam* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 208, line 1.—The Moon being a *devīja* (or Brāhman), one of his privileges is to receive gifts (*pratigraha*), just as it is his duty to make them (*dāna*).

⁹ The verse has been called awkward, because it has not been understood. Since warriors slain in battle enter heaven through the sun, this luminary, covered with their blood, assumes the reddish hue of copper. In this state it appears in the twilight sky, and is thus represented to be the very copper-plate charter (*tāmra*) by which Paraśurāma granted the earth to the Brāhmaṇs. For the idea of warriors who are slain in battle splitting the sun compare, e.g., *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 192, v. 33; *Subhāshitāvalī*, v. 2274; and the pretty verse, given to illustrate the figure of *sūkṣma*, in *Ēkāvatī*, Bombay ed., p. 325: *Navēshu kāntēshu kṛitābhilāshdḥ svargānganāḥ prēkṣhya martchimālī | Nṛsimha bhūpāla tav=dhavēshu kampākulaṁ darsayati svatimbam ||*; afraid of being split, the sun trembles.

¹⁰ Mandōdārī was Rāvaṇa's favourite wife.

¹¹ I.e. the god Kṛishṇa.

¹² The word *nāstra* (i.e. *śēdā-mukha*) occurs in the *Pārijātamañjarī*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 116, l. 78; also, e.g., in the *Naiṣadhītyācharita*, XII. 73 and XIII. 23.

(V. 6.) When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day-lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile kings.

(V. 7.) Then came **Udayāditya**, whose one desire was constant enterprise; who, of unequalled glory as a hero, made inglorious his adversaries.

(V. 8.) As lofty mountains, abounding in ridges, at the end of a mundane period are uprooted by impetuous winds, so in fierce contest how many rulers of the earth, abounding in armies, were not uprooted by his irresistible arrows!

(V. 9.) From him sprang king **Naravarman**, who cleft the vital parts of adversaries; the acme of kings, wise in upholding religion.

(V. 10.) At every dawn freely granting shares of villages to Brāhmanas, he made religion, one-footed though it is (*in this Kali age*), possessed of several feet.¹

(V. 11.) His son was **Yaśovarman**, the chaplet of Kshatriyas; (*and*) from him sprang his son **Ajayavarman**, renowned for the glory of victory.

(V. 12.) His son, of auspicious birth, the foremost of heroes, was **Vindhyavarman**, long of arm, eager to extirpate the **Gūrijaras**.

(V. 13.) The sword of this (*king*) skilled in war, with **Dhārā** rescued by it, assumed three edges,² to protect as it were the three worlds.

(V. 14.) Then the son of that illustrious one, king **Subhaṭavarman**, abiding by religion, ruled the surface of the earth, glorious like Indra.

(V. 15.) The fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters, whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest-fire even to-day blazes in the town³ of the blustering **Gūrijara**.⁴

(V. 16.) Now⁵ that he has attained unto godhead, his son king **Arjuna** supports with his arm the circle of the earth like a bracelet.

(V. 17.) When in the battle which was his childhood's frolic **Jayasinha** took to flight, his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the quarters' guardians.

(V. 18.) A treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (*Sarasvatī*) of the burden of her books and lyre.

(V. 19.) This triple hero⁶ made his fame triply sprout. How otherwise did the three worlds acquire their whiteness?

¹ I. the golden age *dharma* had four feet, of which it lost one in each subsequent age (*Parāśarasmṛiti*, ed. by Vāman Śāstri Islāmpurkar, Vol. I. P. I. p. 82). The word for 'share' in the original being *pada*, i.e. 'foot,' the loss by granting shares of villages increased the number of *dharma*'s feet and so brought back as it were the golden age. Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 218, l. 19: *mahādānādy-atūṅyāni kurvaṇ=parivāṅy=anēkaśaḥ | dharmasū=atūṛidhad=yō-mhṛin*; see also *ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 159, l. 7.

² By it self the sword had two edges (*dhārā*); the town of Dhārā, retaken by it, became its third edge (*dhārā*). The author suggests that the sword became like the *tridhārā*, i.e. the 'three-streamed' Gaṅgā, which flows through, and purifies, heaven, earth, and the lower regions.

³ The word *pattana* may also be taken as a proper name of the well-known Pattana (see e.g. above, Vol. VIII. p. 224, No. XII., and p. 229, No. XXXII.).

⁴ *Gūrijara*-*Gūrijara* occurs also above, p. 35, l. 27; compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 217, l. 11: *m= aivam Gūrijara garjā*.

⁵ This 'now' is really inappropriate in inscriptions of Arjunavarman's successors, but the verses 16-19 have been taken over unchanged from that king's own grants.

⁶ I.e. a hero in fight, in compassion (like Jimūtavāhana), and in bounty (like Bali)—*yuddha-rtra*, *dayā-rtra*, and *dāna-rtra*; compare Vāmanaclārya in his edition of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, p. 113; *Śrīgārātilaka*, III. 14 (*trivīdhō dayakah*); and similar works. In the *Pārijātamañjarī*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 102, l. 7, and p. 103, l. 13, Arjunavarman is styled *trivīdhavīra-chūdāmani*. The same epithet I find applied to a person named Udaya, in three Mount Abū inscriptions of the Vikrama years 1245 and 1291 (Mr. Cousens' List, Nos. 1725, 1726 and 1840). With the whole verse one may compare *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, p. 258: *Narasimha mahāpāla kṛtis-tripathagā tava | na kasya bhavitā slāghyā punānā bhuvanatrāyam* &c.

(V. 20.) Then, through the want of merit of suppliants and through the merit of the lovely-browed damsels of paradise, he who was both marvellously bountiful and amorous went to heaven.

(V. 21.) Then Dēvapāla, full of prowess—the son of Hariśchandra, the moon of the Pramāras—came to rule the Mālava country.

(V. 22.) Because of the pouring out of the water of donations by him who holds *kuśa* grass in his lotus-hand, we know no difference between Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods [whom the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas caused to take the *argha* in his lotus-hand (to make a respectful offering)].¹

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71.

Number.	Name of donee.	Description.	Gōtra.	Śākhā or Vēda.	Place of origin.	Shares.
1	Gaṅgādhara ²	śrōtriya	Parāśa[ra]	Vājīmādhyaṁdina	Āśrama ³	1
2	Bhadrēśvara	śukla	Pavitra	Āśvalāyana	Mahāvana	1
3	Chandrakaṇṭha	"	"	"	"	1
4	Nārāyaṇa	dikshita	Audalya	Mādhyaṁdina	"	1½
5	Śūra	trivēda	Kātyāyana	Sāmavēda	"	1
6	Viśvēśvara	"	Bhāradvāja	Kauthuma	Takāri	1
7	Rāma	dikshita	"	Mādhyaṁdina	"	1
8	Bhṛigu	pañḍita	"	omitted.	Tripuri	1½
9	Nārāyaṇa	agnihōtrin	Kāśyapa	Āśvalāyana	Mutāvathū	1
					Carried over	10

¹ The king Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods (*dēvapāla*, i.e. the god Indra) are alike because either of them is *dānavāri-vijṛimbhitaiḥ pavitrakarapadmāḥ*. About the exact meanings of the first of these two words there can be no doubt; it means both 'the pouring forth of the water of donations' (*dāna-vāri*), and 'the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas' (*Dānava-ari*, i.e. the god Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa). I am not so sure about the two meanings of the second word. Referred to the king, it means 'holding *pavitra* (i.e. *kuśa* or *darbha* grass, which is taken up by the person who is about to make a donation) in his lotus-hand.' Applied to Indra, I take it to mean that Indra, pleased with the exploits of the conqueror of the Dānavas, took up the *pavitra* (i.e. the *argha* vessel) to make a respectful offering to Viṣṇu. In support of this explanation I would quote *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 124, v. 2, where Brahman offers to Viṣṇu the *argha-salila*, when he sees how the latter has cheated Bali. But I am myself not quite satisfied with this explanation, because I suspect the word *padma* to have been used in two different senses in the compound.—From inscriptions we may compare with our verse especially the verse in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 218, ll. 19 and 20: *Śriyaṁ babbhāra vidhivad=dānavārātītōshitāḥ Mahēndravād=advijairēshṭha-varggas=tat-saṁgam-āgataḥ* ||, where *dānavārātītōshitāḥ* means both 'excessively pleased by the water of donations' and 'pleased by the enemy of the Dānavas.' *Dānavāri* also has a third meaning, 'the rutting-juice of elephants' (*mada-jala*), and in that sense as well as in the sense of 'the enemy of the Dānavas' the word is used in the *Naishadhtyacharita*, XIII. vv. 3 and 23, the first of which, in so far as it is applicable to Indra, seems to have suggested the *śriyaṁ babbhāra . . . dānavārātītōshitāḥ Mahēndra[h]* of the verse quoted above from an inscription. (Incidentally I may mention that *Pañchanalīya* is not 'the title of a work,' but a name of the 13th *sarga* of the *Naishadhtyacharita*). In *Ākāvalī*, p. 200, the hand of a king is compared with the ocean, because both hold the *dānavāri*.

² All these names have the word *śarman* attached to them.

³ With the exception of *Madhyadēśa* and *Rastināpura*, these names have the word *śhāna* attached to them.

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71—*contd.*

Number.	Name of donee.	Description.	Gôtra.	Śākhā or Vēda.	Place or origin.	Shares.
					Brought forward	10
10	Gôsala	rājan	Parāvasu	<i>omitted.</i>	Akôlā	1
11	Gôsē	mahārājapaṇḍita	Vasishṭha	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	2
12	Rāmēśvara	chaturvēda	Bhārgava	"	"	1
13	Gadādihara	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
14	Garbhēśvara	"	Bhārgava	"	"	1
15	Lôhaṭa	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
16	Purushôttama	"	Gautama	Śāṅkhāyana	Ḍiṇḍvānaka	1
17	Gadādihara	dvivēda	Kāśyapa	Mādhyam̐dina	Mutāvathū	½
18	Udai (Udayi)	<i>omitted.</i>	"	"	"	½
19	Kuladhara	paṇḍita	Gautama	Kauthuma	Mahāvana	1
20	Abhinanda	āvasathika	Vatsa	"	Takāri	1
21	Ananta	agnihōtrin	Mudgala	Mādhyam̐dina	Madhyadēsa	1
22	Sthāncēśvara	"	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
23	Ūlha[ra]	chaturvēda	Dhaumya	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	1
24	Kuladhara	trivēda	Bhāradvāja	Rānāyini	"	1
25	Madhusūdana	"	"	"	"	1
26	Alli	chaturvēda	Harita-Kutsa	Katha	Sarasvatī	1
27	Lāhaḍa	dikshita	Kāśyapa	Mādhyam̐dina	Madhyadēsa	1
28	Narasimha	āvasathika	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
29	Mārkaṇḍēya	"	Mārkaṇḍēya	"	"	1
30	Vāyudēva	pāthaka	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
31	Rājē	chaturvēda	Kautsa	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	½
32	Kusumapāla	paṇḍita	Pārāsara	Kauthuma	Hastināpura	1
					TOTAL	32½

NAMES OF THE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES.

Ajayi, chaturvēda, l. 62.

Āśādihara, trivēda, l. 31; chaturvēda, l. 35.

Bharatapāla, ṭhakkura, l. 37.

Brahman, śrōtriya, l. 23; chaturvēda, l. 47.

Chhitū, agnihōtrin, ll. 54, 66.

Dālaṇa, trivēda, l. 31.

Dāllaṇa, ṭhakkura, l. 37.

Dāmōlara, śrōtriya, l. 23; upādhyāya, l. 67.

Dēvadhara, chaturvēda, ll. 42, 45.

Dharaṇīdhara, chaturvēda, ll. 39, 44, 47; agnihōtrin, l. 54.

Gaṅgādhara, dikshita, ll. 25, 50.
 Gōvinda, dvivēda, l. 48.
 Hari, chaturvēda, l. 69.
 Haridhara, paṇḍita, l. 34.
 Janārdana, chaturvēda, ll. 38, 70 ; trivēda, l. 53.
 Jasādēva, agnihōtrin, l. 64.
 Jasōdhara, trivēda, l. 29.
 Kānhaḍa, paṇḍita, l. 51 ; pañchakalpin(?), l. 71.
 Kaṭuka, agnihōtrin, l. 65.
 Kēlhaṇa, dikshita, l. 32.
 Kēśava, dikshita, l. 50.
 Kṛishṇa, yājñika, l. 56.
 Kumara, pañchakalpin(?), l. 71.
 Madana, paṇḍita, l. 51.
 Mādhaṇa, trivēda, l. 59.
 Madhu, dikshita, l. 32.
 Madhukaṇṭha, śukla, l. 27.
 Mabāditya, āvasathika, l. 25.

Mabādhara, paṇḍita, l. 34.
 Mārkaṇḍa, trivēda, l. 61.
 Nāgadēva, yājñika, l. 56.
 Narasimha, trivēda, l. 53.
 Nārāyaṇa, upādhyāya, l. 63 ; dvivēda, l. 68.
 Padmanābha, dvivēda, l. 63.
 Padmāsvāmin, dikshita, l. 28.
 Pavitra, chaturvēda, l. 43.
 Prithvidhara, chaturvēda, l. 35.
 Purushōttama, dikshita, l. 65.
 Rāmēśvara, trivēda, l. 29.
 Rishi, trivēda, l. 60.
 Sādhāraṇa, chaturvēda, l. 57,
 Samuddhara, chaturvēda, ll. 42, 45.
 Sīmhaṇṭha, dikshita, l. 26.
 Sōmēśvara, trivēda, l. 59.
 Trilōchana, dikshita, l. 28.
 Vāsadhara, dvivēda, l. 48.
 Vijayī, chaturvēda, l. 62.
 Vishṇu, chaturvēda, ll. 41, 57.

B.—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN II. ; [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1317.]

These are **two plates** which were found by Mr. Lele,¹ some time in 1904, at the village of Godarpura opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces. They were sent by the Deputy Commissioner of Nimār to the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, where they are now deposited. They measure about 1' 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ " broad by 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high, and are held together by two rings, now cut, for which there are two holes in either plate. I edit the inscription which they contain from impressions sent to me by the Government Epigraphist.

The first plate is inscribed on one side, and the second on both sides. The writing both on the first plate and on the first side of the second plate covers a space about 1' 4" broad by between 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 10" high, that on the second side of the second plate 1' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 8" high. The three sides together contain 53 lines of well-engraved writing which throughout is in a perfect state of preservation. On the proper right of the second side of the second plate, between lines 42 and 50, a vertical line marks off a space 3" broad by 4" high, which contains an engraving of Garuḍa, with, below it, the words *sva-hastō-yaṁ mahārājasya* ||, in smaller characters than those in the body of the inscription. The bird is represented in human form, kneeling towards the left, but with the head turned towards the right, and with four hands, the two inner ones of which are joined over the breast, while the two others are lifted up on either side, the one on the left holding a snake, the head of which looks like a bird's head. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, closely resembling those of the inscription A., and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is so carefully written that in respect of **orthography** only few remarks are necessary. The sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v* ; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal only in *sata*-, l. 25 ; as is often the case elsewhere, *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* are employed instead of *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhv* ; *Janārdana*- is written *Janārjjana*- in line 34, and *śaḍbhīr*= as *śaṭbhīr*= in line 37. The sign of *avagraha* is employed seven times ; and, excepting in *sāṁprataṁ*, l. 16, *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse

¹ The plates were first mentioned by Mr. Lele in a Report of his on the progress of Archæological work in the Dhār State, dated the 24th August 1904.

is denoted by the sign for *m*, not by that of *anusvāra*.—In lines 1-23 the inscription has 23 verses, chiefly containing genealogical matter, 21 of which are already known to us from the inscription A.; and in lines 25-27 we again find the verse commencing with *Vātābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-ādhipatyam*, and in lines 42-48 five benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which here too is the verse commencing with *Iti kamaladalāmbuvindu-lōlām*. There are besides two verses in lines 50-52, which record the names of persons who had to do with the writing of the grant. In the prose part of the text, attention may be drawn to the peculiar construction in lines 25-28, *asmābhiḥ . . . Gāṅgadēva-pārsvāt . . . grāmō=yam tribhṃyō brāhmaṇābhyō dāpitāḥ*, 'we have caused Gāṅgadēva to give this village to three Brāhmaṇas.'¹

The inscription records an order by the Paramāra *Mahārājādhirāja Jayavarman [II.]* of *Mālava*, dated, as will be shown below, in A.D. 1260 and 1261. Of the 23 verses with which it opens, verses 1-21 are identical (except for two various readings²) with the same verses of the inscription A., and contain therefore the same list of kings from *Bhōjadēva* to *Dēvapāla*. The two new verses, 22 and 23, may be rendered thus:—

"When³ that king, the glorious *Dēvapāla*, had joyfully resorted to Indra's abode, his son, a death-dealing god to enemies (*while*) ever pleasing the people by his good qualities, the wise king *Jaitugidēva*, the glorious *Mālava* chief, ruled this land, by his noble exploits a young *Nārāyaṇa*."⁴

"Now that he, after enjoying the delights of royalty, has gone to the habitation of the gods, his younger brother, king *Jayavarman*, rules the land."

Dēvapāla, therefore, was succeeded by his son *Jaitugidēva*, and he by his younger brother *Jayavarman [II.]*.—*Jaitugidēva* was known already from the *prasasti* in *Āśādharma's Dharmāmṛita*, referred to above,⁵ according to which the commentary on that work was completed during the reign of the Paramāra *Dēvapāla's* son *Jaitugidēva*, on a date which corresponds to Monday, the 19th October A.D. 1243. In my *Northern List*, No. 223, I have assumed that *Jaitugidēva* is identical with a king who is mentioned in a *Rāhatgaḍh* inscription of the 28th August A.D. 1256, noticed by me in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 84, where I have given the king's name as *Jaya[simha]dēva*. But with what we now know from the present inscription, I am not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham⁶ was not right in reading the same name as *Jaya[varma]dēva*, and would therefore suspend my judgment on the matter till we possess proper impressions of an inscription at *Udaypur* in *Gwālior*,⁷ which seems to be of the reign of a king *Jayasinghadēva* and to be dated in the [*Vikrama*] year 1311 (in Jan-

¹ Exactly the same construction occurs in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1851, p. 11: *tēna . . . lēkhaka-Sōhada-pārsvāt=likhāpitā*, 'he caused the writer *Sōhada* to write (a certain MS.)'. With the use of *pārsvāt* we may compare that of *hastāt* in Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 29: *Udayachandraganinā Jinabhadralēkhaka-hastāt=Vimalachandraganī-hastāch=cha Ōghaniryuktisūtram lēkhitam*.

² In verse 17 this inscription has *Jaitrasimhē* instead of *Jayasimhē*, and in verse 21 *prasasti* instead of *raraksha*.—For the reading *Jaitrasimhē* see above, Vol. VIII. p. 203, where a certain person is called both *Jayantasimha* and *Jaitrasimha*. If any importance could be attached to the new reading, it would in my opinion show that the *Jayasimha*, who was defeated by *Arjunavarman*, undoubtedly was the *Chaulukya Jayantasimha* (*Jayasimha*) *Abhinavasiddharāja*.

³ The text actually has: "Now that *Dēvapāla* has resorted to Indra's abode, his son *Jaitugidēva* rules this land." The verse undoubtedly was taken over unchanged from an inscription of *Jaitugidēva* himself.

⁴ '*Bāla-Nārāyaṇa*' most probably was an epithet of the king. Compare *Kumdra-Nārāyaṇa*, as an epithet of the Paramāra *Sindhurāja*, in the *Navasahasāṅkacharita*, I. 59.

⁵ See above, p. 107.

⁶ See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. p. 31. Judging from Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription which I have again examined, the two *aksharas* between *Jaya* and *dēva* are almost completely broken away.

⁷ I am writing this with Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription before me.

nary 1255). For the present, what is certain is, that Jaitugidēva¹ was reigning in A.D. 1243 and his younger brother Jayavarman in A.D. 1260-61.

In lines 23 ff. of our inscription Jayavarman informs all king's officers, Brāhman and others, and the *Paṭṭakila* and other people dwelling at the village of *Vaḍaūda* in the *Mahuaḍa pathaka*, that, while staying at *Maṇḍapadurga*, in the year 1317 (given in words), he caused the *Pratīhāra*² *Gāṅgadēva* to give the village of *Vaḍaūda* to three Brāhman.

And, according to lines 28 ff., the *Pratīhāra* *Gāṅgadēva*, on Sunday, the third *tithi* of the bright half of *Āgrahāyana* (*Mārgaśīrsha*) of the year 1317, while the *nakshatra* was *Pūrvāshāḍha* and the *yōga* *Śūla*, at *Amarēśvara-kṣhētra* on the southern bank of the *Rēvā* (*Narmadā*), after bathing at the confluence of the *Rēvā* and *Kapilā* and worshipping the holy *Amarēśvaradēva* (*Śiva*) with the five offerings,³ gave the village of *Vaḍaūda*, divided into six shares (*vaṇṭaka*) so that—

four shares (*pada*) were assigned to the *agnihōtrin*⁴ *Mādhaḥvaśarman*— a son of the *pāṭhaka* *Harīśarman* and grandson of the *divēda* *Vēda*— a Brāhman of the *Bhārgava gōtra*⁵ and student of the *Mādhyamīna śākhā*, who had come from *Navagāmva*;⁶

one share (*pada*) to the *chaturvēda* *Janārdana*— a son of the *divēda* *Līmadēva* and grandson of the *divēda* *Lāshū*— a Brāhman of the *Gautama gōtra* and student of the *Āśvalāyana śākhā*, who had come from *Takāri*; and

one share (*pada*) to the *divēda* *Dhāmadēvaśarman*— a son of the *dikṣhita* *Divākara* and grandson of the *dikṣhita* *Kēkū*— a Brāhman of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra* and student of the *Mādhyamīna śākhā*, who had come from *Ghaṭṭaushari*.

From line 37 to line 48 the text contains so well-known phrases that it may be passed over here. The remaining part of the inscription yields the following information:—

On Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of *Jyēsthā* of the year 1317, this king's order (*rāja sāsana*) was written 'here, at *Maṇḍapadurga*,' by *Harshadēva*, a son of the learned *Gavīśa*, with the approbation of the *sāndhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war), the *paṇḍita* *Māladhara*, an official of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Jayavarmadēva*; and the king's document was corrected by the grammarian (*śābdika*) *Āmadēva*, a disciple of the learned *Gōṣēka* (*Gōṣe*),⁷ who knew the boundless essence of legal science.' The grant was engraved by the *rūpākāra* *Kānhaḍa*. The *dāta* was the great minister (*mahāpradhāna*), *Rājā Ajayadēva*.

The words 'this is the own hand (i.e. the sign-manual) of the *Mahārāja*' are engraved, as has been already stated, under the engraving of *Garuḍa* on the second side of the second plate.

The dates contained in this inscription are both correct. The first date, in lines 28 and 29, for the expired (*Chaitrādī* or *Kārttikādī*) *Vikrama* year 1317 corresponds to Sunday, the 7th November A.D. 1260. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 18 m.; the *nakshatra* was *Pūrvāshāḍhā*, by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 17 h. 4 m., according

¹ In the first half of the 13th century A.D. we find the name *Jaitugi* twice in the family of the *Vādava* of *Dēvagiri*; and there was a [Śīlāra] *Koṅkaṇachakravartin Jaitugidēva*, an unpublished inscription (Telugu, in the Bombay As. Soc.) of whom apparently is dated in A.D. 1207.

² Given in the abbreviated form *pratī*. The word *pratīhāra* means 'a door-keeper', but denotes a royal official.

³ Compare *pañchōpachāra-pāḍā*, e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 347, l. 10, and above, Vol. III. p. 215, l. 5, and p. 300, l. 42. The five articles presented are *gandha*, *pushpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa* and *naivedya*; compare *Sūdra-kamādikāra*, p. 140 f., where *pañchōpachāra*, *dasōpachāra* and similar terms are explained.

⁴ These epithets here too are given in the abbreviated forms *agni*, *pā*, *devi*, *cha*, and *dā*.

⁵ In the original the *pravaras* also are given.

⁶ The names of the places of origin here also have the word *śākhā* attached to them.

⁷ See above, p. 106.

to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the equal space system from 10 h. 30 m.; and the *yôga* was *Śûla* for 20 h. 46 m., after mean sunrise. And the second date, in lines 48 and 49, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to **Thursday, the 12th May A.D. 1261**, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise. The dates show that the year 1317 of the inscription was a *Kārttikādi* year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, **Maṇḍapadurga**, from where the king's order was issued, is Mandogarh (Māṇḍû), a deserted town in the Dhār State, in Long. 75° 26' and Lat. 22° 21' (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, B d). From the same place was issued the order in the Pipliānagar plates of king Arjunavarman.¹ On **Mahuaḍa**, see above, p. 106. **Vaḍaūda** perhaps is the village of 'Burud' which according to the *Indian Atlas* is about three miles north-east of 'Satajana,' the village granted by the inscription A. I have already pointed out that *Mahuaḍa-pathuké* of this inscription is equivalent to *Mahuaḍa-pratijūgaranaké* of the inscription A.; and I may state that a (or the ?) village of Vaḍaūda is mentioned also in the plate of the Paramāras Yaśovarman and Lakshmi-varman, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 352, ll. 5 and 13. **Amarēśvara-kshētra** is the Amarēśvara-tirtha from which the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 27 was issued, and the Amarēśvara mentioned in the plates of Jayasinha, above, Vol. III. p. 47; it is near the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the river Narmadā. The grant in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* quoted just now also mentions the confluence of the *Rēvā* and *Kapilā*, which is now called 'Kapila Sangam, where a small stream joins the Narmadā.'² Of the places of origin of the donees, **Takāri-sthāna** is one of the places mentioned in A.; **Navagāmva-sthāna** may be the town of Nawegāon in the Chāndā district, mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 370, but there is at least one other place of the same name in the Central Provinces; **Ghaṭāushari-sthāna** I am unable to identify.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 || Ōm namah purushārtha-chūdāmaṇyē dharmmāya || 'Prativimva-⁵nibhād=bhūmēḥ
kṛtvā sākshāt-pratigrahaṃ | jagad-ā-
2 hlādayan=diśyā[d*]=dvijēmdrō⁶ maṃgalāni vaḥ || 1 [||*] Jīyāt=Paraśurāmō=sau
kshatraiḥ kṣuṇṇaṃ raṇ-āhataiḥ⁷ saṃdhyārka-vimvam=⁸ē-
3 v=ōrvvī-dātur=yasy=aiti tāmratām || 2 [||*] Yēna Maṃdōdarivashpa-vāribhiḥ
śamitō mṛidhē [||*] prāṇēśvarī-viyōgāgniḥ sa
4 Rāmaḥ śrēyasē sstu vaḥ || 3 [||*] Bhīmēn=āpi dhṛitā mūrdhni
yat-pādāḥ sa Yudhishtīraḥ | vāmś-ādyēn=ēmdunā jīyāt=sva-tulya i-
5 va nirmmitaḥ || 4 [||*] **Paramārakul-ōttamsaḥ** Kāmsajin-mahimā nṛipaḥ |
śrī-Bhōjadēva ity=āśin=nāśirakrānta-bhūtalāḥ⁹
6 || 5 [||*] Yad-yaśāśchāmdrik-ōdyōtē¹⁰ digutsaṃga-taraṃgitō | dvishannṛipa-
yaśāḥpūṃjapūṃḍarikair=nnimīlitam || 6 [||*] Tatō sbbhūd=U-
7 dayādityō nityōtsāh-aikakautukī | asādharma-vīrāśrīr=śrī-hētur=vvirōdhinām ||
7 [||*] Mahākalaha-kalpā-

¹ See *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379.—The town is called *Maṇḍapapura* in line 16 of the *Dēḍgaḥ* inscription published *ibid.* Vol. LII. P. I. p. 70.

² See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 258.

³ Metre of verses 1-21 : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁴ After *drō* another vertical stroke was engraved, but has been struck out.

⁵ This sign of punctuation was originally omitted.

⁶ In the place of *ta* originally *la* was engraved.

⁷ Read *-ūddyōtē*.—Between the *aksharas śa* and *ścham* a vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

⁸ From an impression supplied by Dr. Sten Konow.

⁹ Read *pratilimba*.

¹⁰ Read *-bimbam*.

- 8 ntê yasy=ôddâmabhir=âsugaiḥ | kati n=ônmulitâs=tungâ bhûbhritah kâṭak-ôlvaṇāḥ
 1(1) 8 [||*] Tasmâch=chhinna-dvishanmarmmâ Narava-
 9 rmmâ narâdhipaḥ | dharmm-âbhyuddharapê dhimân=abhût=simâ mahîbhujām ||
 9 [||*] Prati-prabhâtām viprêbhyô dattair=grâma-padaḥ svaya-
 10 m | anêkapadatām ninyê dharmmô yên=aika-pâd=api || 10 [||*] Tasy=âjani
 Yaśôvarmmâ putraḥ kshatriya-sêkharah | tasmâd=Ajayava-
 11 rmm-âbbhûj=jayaśrî-viśrutah sutaḥ || 11 [||*] Tat-sûnur=vvîra-mûrddhanyô
 dhany-ôtpattir=ajâyata | Gûrjjarôchchhêda-nirvvaṁdhî¹ Vimdhyavarmmâ
 mah[â]-
 12 bhujah || 12 [||*] Dhâray-ôddhritayâ sârdham dadhâti sma tridhâratām |
 sâmyugînasya yasy=âsis=trâtum loka-trayîm=iva || 13 [||*] Tasy=â-
 13 mushyâyapaḥ putraḥ Sutrâma-srîr=ath=âśishat | bhûpaḥ Subhaṭavarmm-êti
 dharmmê tishṭhan=mahî-talam || 14 [||*] Yasya jvalati da(di)g-jê-
 14 tuḥ pratâpas=tapana-dyutêḥ | dâvâgni-chchhadmâ(dma)n=âdy=âpi | garjjad-
 Gûrjjara-pattanê || 15 [||*] Dêva-bhûyam gatê tasmin=namdanô=rjuna-
 bhûpati[h*]
 15 | dôshnâ dhattê ṣḍhunâ dhâtrî²-valayam valayam yathâ || 16 [||*]
 Vâ(bâ)lalil-âhavê yasya Jaitrasimhê³ palâyitê | dikpâlahâ-
 16 sa-vyâjênâ yaśô dikshu vijrîmbhitam || 17 [||*] Kâvyagâmdharvva-sarvvasva-
 nidhinâ yêna sâmpratam | bhâr-âvataranam dēvyâś=chakrê
 17 pustaka-vîṇayôḥ⁴ || 18 [||*] Yêna trividha-vîrêṇa tridhâ pallavitam yaśah |
 dhavalatvam dadhus=trîṇi jagamti katham=anyathâ ||
 18 19 [||*] Ath=ârthinâm=apunyêna punyêna svargga-subhruvâm | sô ṣḍbhuta-
 tyâgâśilâś=cha śrîmgârî cha divam gataḥ
 19 || 20 [||*] Tataḥ Pramâra-chamdrasya Harîschamdrasya namdanah ||(1)
 prasâsti⁵ Mâlava-kshôṇim Dēvapâlah prâtâpavâ-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 20 n || 21 [||*] ⁶Tasminn=Aindra-padam mud=âśritavati śrî-Dēvapâlê⁷ nripê
 tat-sûnur=dvishad-amtakô nija-guṇair=lôkâ-
 21 n=sadâ ramjayan | dhimân(n)=Jaitugidêva êsha nripatih śrî-Mâlav-âkhamḍalah
 sâsti kshôṇim=imâm=udâra-cha-
 22 ritaiḥ svair=Vrâ(bbâ)lanârâyanah || 22 [||*] Bhuktva⁸ râjya-sukham tasmin=
 prâptê tridâsa-mamdiram | sâsti tasy=ânujah kshôṇim Jaya-
 23 varmmâ janâdhipah || 23 [||*] Sa êsha nara-nâyakah sarvv-âbhuydayi ||⁹
 Mahuaḍa-pathakê Vadaûda-grâmê samasta-râjapurushân=vrâ(brâ)-
 24 hman-ôttarân=pratinivâsi-paṭṭakila-janapad-âdimś=cha vô(bô)dbayaty=astu vah
 samviditam yathâ ||⁹ śrîman-Mamḍapadurgga-sthitair=a-
 25 smâbbih saptadaśâdhika-trayôdaśasa(śa)ta-samvatsarê ||⁹ sainsârasy=âsaratâm
 drishṭvâ || tathâ hi || ¹⁰Vâtâbhra-vibhramam=idam vasu-
 26 dh-âdhipatyam=âpâtamâtra-madhurô vishay-ôpabhôgaḥ | prâṇâs=trîṇâgrajalavimdu-samâ
 narâṇâm dharmmah sakhâ param=ahô

¹ Read -nirbbaṁdhî.² Originally dhâtrî. was engraved.³ In A. and in the three grants of Arjunavarman the name is Jayasimhâ.⁴ In the place of *et* originally *et* was engraved.⁵ Instead of this word A has *araksha*.⁶ Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.⁷ The *akshara* *pa* of this word seems to be corrected out of *le* which was originally engraved.⁸ Metre: Ślôka (Anushubh).⁹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.¹⁰ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

- 27 paralôka-yânê [||*] iti sarvvaṁ vimpiśya dāpan-ādrisṭaphalam=aṁgikṛitya |
prati² śrī-Gāṁgadēva-pārsvāt³ Vadaūda-grāmō=yam
28 tribhyō vrā(brā)hmanēbhyō dāpitaḥ | Tēna cha prati³ śrī-Gāṁgadēvēna
saṁmat⁴ 1317 Āgrahana⁵śukla-tṛitīyāyām tithau
29 Ravi-vāsarē Pūrvvāshāḍhā-nakshatrē Śūla-nāmni yōgē śrīmad-Amarēśvara-
kshētrē Rēvāyā dakṣiṇē kūlā Rēvā-Kapilā-
30 saṁgamē snātva bhagavaṁtām chañchāra-gurum śrīmad-Amarēśvara-⁶
dēvaṁ pañch-ōpachāraiḥ samabhyarchya ||¹ jīvitam vidyuch-chañchalam
jñātvā
31 Navagāmvasthāna-vinirgatāya Bhārgava-sagōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyāvana-⁷Āpnavāna-
Aurva-Jāmadagny-ēti pañcha-pravarāya Mādhyam-
32 dinaśākh-ādhyāyinē dvi⁸ Veda-pautṛāya⁹ pā¹⁰ Hariśarma-putrāya agni¹¹
Mādhavaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmanāya padāni chatvāri
33 4 Takāristhāna-vinirgatāya Gautama-sagōtrāya Gautam-Āṁgīrasa-Auchatthy-ēti
tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyā-
34 yinē dvi¹⁰ Lāshū-pautṛāya dvi¹⁰ Līmadēva-putrāya cha¹² Janārjjanaśarmmaṇē¹³
vrā(brā)hmanāya padam=ēkam 1 Ghaṭāusharisthā-
35 na-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya Āṁgīrasa-Vā(bā)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti
tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdinaśākh-ādhyāyinē
36 di¹⁴ Kēkū-pautṛāya di¹⁰ Divākara-putrāya dvi¹⁰ Dhāmadēvaśarmmaṇē
vrā(brā)hmanāya padam=ēkam 1 ēvam=ēbhyas=¹⁵tribhyō
37 vrā(bra)hmanēbhyasḥ shatbhīr=¹⁶vamtakair=Vadaūda-grāmō=yam samastō=pi
chatuḥkāmkaṭa-¹⁷viśuddhaḥ sa-vṛikshamālākulaḥ sa-hiraṇyabhā-
38 grbhogaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sarvvādāya-samētaḥ sa-nidhē(dhi)nikshēpō mātāpitṛōr=
ātmanaś=cha puṇyayaśōsbhivṛiddhayē
39 chaṁdrārkkārṇava[ksh]iti-samakālam yāvat=parayā bhaktyā dēvavrā(brā)hmana-
bhukti-varjjaṁ śāsanēn=ōdaka-pū-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 40 rvva[m] pradattaḥ || tan=matvā tannivāsi-paṭṭakilajanapadair=yathādityamāna-
bhāgabhogakarahiranyādīkam=ājñā-vidhē-
41 yair=bhūtvā sarvvam=ētebhyasḥ samupanētavyam¹⁸ | sāmānyam ch=aitad=dlarṇam
phalam vu(bu)ddhv=āsmadvamsajair=anyair=api bhāva-bhā ibhi-
42 smatpradāpita-dharmmadāyō¹⁹ syam=anunantavyasḥ pālanīyas=cha || Uktam a
²⁰Va(ba)hubhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ā-
43 bhīḥ | yas m yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Sva-dattām
para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdharām

¹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

² Read -pārsvāt-.

³ Originally *saṁmatē* seems to have been engraved. Read *saṁvat*.

⁴ Read *Āgrahāyana*.

⁵ The *akṣhara* *rē* of this word in the engraving is really *rara*.

⁶ Read *Chyāvana*; this correction may have been made already in the original.— Here and in some places below the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

⁷ I.e., here and below, *dvivēda*.

⁸ I.e. *pāthaka*.

⁹ I.e. *chaturvēda*.

¹⁰ I.e., here and below, *dikṣhita*.

¹¹ Read *śadbhīr*.

¹² Originally *antavyam* was engraved.

¹³ Metre of this and the next two verses : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁴ I.e., here and below, *prathāra*.

¹⁵ Originally *śantrāya* was engraved.

¹⁶ I.e. *agnihōtri*.

¹⁷ Read *Jandradana*.

¹⁸ Read *abhyasa*.

¹⁹ Read *chatuḥkāmkaṭa*.

²⁰ Compare above, p. 112, note 16.

- 44 | viśhṭhāyām sa kṛimīr=bhūtā pīṭṛibhiḥ saha majjati | (||) Shashtīm varaha-
sahasrāpi svargē tishṭhati bhūmidah |
- 45 āchchhētā ch=ānumattā(ntā) cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt | (||) ¹Sarvvān=ēva
bhāvinō bhūmipālān=bhūyō bhū-
- 46 yō yāchatē Rāmabhadrah | sāmānyō syam dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇām kālē kālē
pālaniyō
- 47 bhavadbhiḥ || Iti² kamaladalām(vu)vimdu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya manushya-
jīvitam cha | saka-
- 48 lam=idam=udāhṛitam cha vudhvā³ na hi puruṣhaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti
||⁴|| Sāmvat
- 49 1917 Jyēṣṭha-śudi 11 Gurāv=ady=ēna śrī-Mamḍapadurgē mähārājādhirāja-
śrimaj-Jayavarman-
- 50 dēva-ni-⁵ sāmādhivirga(gra)hika-paṁ⁶ śrī-Mālādhara-sammatēna ||⁵
⁷ aṁjīdētendra-Gaviśasya sūnūnā viduṣhā spu(sphu)ṭam |
- 51 Haṣṭadēv-ābhidhēn=ēdam lēkhitam⁷ rāja-sāsanam⁸ | (||) Yō⁹ vēṭṭy=apāram
smṛtisāstra-sāram Gōśēka-nāmnō vu(bu)dha-puṁgava-
- 52 aya | śishyaḥ sudhiḥ sāvdi(bdi)ka Āmadēvō bhūpasya lēkhyam samasōdhi
tēna | (||) Utkirṇam=idam ru(rū)pakāra-Kānhaḍēna |
- 53 Dūtō mahāpradhāna-rāja-śrī-Ajayadēvaḥ | (||)
¹⁰Sva-hastō=yam mahārājasya ||

No. 14.—KANKER INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHANUDEVA ;
THE [SAKA] YEAR 1242.

By HIRA LAL, B.A. ; NAGPUR.

This inscription or *prasasti*, as it is called in line 19, is lying in the veranda of the school house at Kanker, the capital of the Feudatory State of that name in the Central Provinces, and was brought away from the ruins between the Diwān and Śitalā tanks in that town. It was first brought to my notice by Mr. Baijnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State, who kindly furnished me with an inked estampage, and further estampages were supplied to me by the Diwān of the Kanker State and the Agency Inspector of Schools, Chhattisgarh Feudatories.

The stone is a cubit square and half a cubit thick, and the writing covers a space of 18" by 17" in 19 lines. The letters are bold and well formed, the average size being $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Devanāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the commencement (*ōm siddhiḥ*) in line 1, and the concluding portion (ll. 18 and 19) containing the date and the names of the erector and the writer of the inscription. There are altogether eight verses, of which six are in the Śārdūlavikṛīḍita metre, and the first and the last in Sragdharā and Anushtubh respectively. The principal orthographical peculiarities are the indifferent use of *ś* for *s* and *vice versa* (ll. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 15, 17, 19) and the use of *b* for *v* (ll. 2, 12, 14). Some of the letters with a superscribed *repha* have been doubled (especially *m* and *t*), others not. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all. Final forms of *t* occur in ll. 12 and 18.

¹ Metre: Śālinī.

⁴ I.e. *paṇḍita*.

⁷ Read *likhitam*.

¹⁰ These words are engraved in small letters under the figure of Garuḍa which is on the proper right of the plate between lines 42 and 50.

² Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Originally *-śāsanam* was engraved.

⁵ Read *buddhad*.

⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁹ Metre: Indravajrā.

The inscription is an eulogy of the *Náyaka Vāsudēva*, the minister of king *Bhānudēva* of *Kākaira*.¹ It states that he constructed two temples of *Mahādēva*, and another in honour of the local deity of the fields, besides a building with a gateway, and excavated two tanks. It is dated in the [Śaka] year 1242 bearing the name *Raudra*, on the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Jyaishṭha*, corresponding to (Tuesday), the 27th May A.D. 1320. Unfortunately the week-day is not mentioned, and hence the date does not admit of verification. It is also possible that it may have been Wednesday, the 28th May, as there was a repetition of the Hindû date *pañchami* in that fortnight and month. The record gives the genealogy of the minister for four generations, and that of his sovereign for seven generations. It is stated that *Vāsudēva*'s ancestors were elephant-catchers (?). Though in the Kanker State wild elephants are not now found, they are still to be met with in the division in which it is included.² The most important part of the inscription is that which gives the genealogy of the *Kākaira* chiefs, mentioning in order the following:—*Simharāj*, *Vyāghra*, *Vōpadēva*, *Kṛishṇa*, *Jaitarāja*, *Sōmachandra* and *Bhānudēva*. The dynasty is stated to be lunar, and the want of any epithet indicating paramount sovereignty postulates a subordination to another power. The epithets applied to them:—*avanīśa* (l. 1), *nṛipa* (ll. 2 and 5), *dharanīdhara* (l. 6), *bhūpāla* (l. 7) and *nṛipati* (ll. 10 and 13), are all synonyms of the word 'king.' In two copper-plate grants of *Pamparājadēva* found in the Kanker State³ the king is styled *Sōmavamsānvaya-prasūta-mahāmaṇḍalika* (feudatory chief of the lunar race), which supports the above statement. The present *Rāj* family of Kanker is doubtless connected with these kings. It belongs to the lunar race and has always claimed to be a very ancient family.⁴ According to its own traditions it claims to have come from Orissa. Its original ancestor was ruling at *Jagannāthapurī*, but, on suddenly becoming a leper, in which state he could no longer occupy the throne, left the place and went out in search of a cure. At *Sihāwā*, close to Kanker and now in the *Dhamtarī* tahsil of the Raipur district, a spring was found, by bathing in which he got rid of the loathsome disease. The local people⁵ persuaded him to stay on at *Sihāwā* and installed him king, and he and his descendants continued to rule there. There can be little doubt that *Sihāwā* was once the capital of this dynasty, as its ruins and temples testify. There is still an inscription there, which is dated in the Śaka year 1114. The capital was finally removed to Kanker. This must have been done prior to *Bhānudēva*'s times. For in line 12 we read: *Kākairē nṛipa-Bhānudēva-nagarē* (in *Kākaira*, the town or capital of king *Bhānudēva*), and in lines 3 to 5: *Kākairē . . . śrī-Jaitarājō=bhavat* (there was the illustrious *Jaitarāja* in *Kākaira*). This *Jaitarāja* was the grandfather of *Bhānudēva*. Thus *Kākaira* has been the capital of the State for over 600 years. Kanker once included the rich *Dhamtarī* tahsil of the Raipur

¹ This is really the correct name of the town and State, but it is now officially written as Kanker. In General Cunningham's *Report* for 1873-74 it is spelt as *Kākēr*, showing that the nasal had not been till then inserted. The local people at present still call it *Kaīkar*.

² The Central Provinces, called *Gondwānā* by the Mussalmāns, were so infested by these animals that even revenue was levied in elephants. Even places like *Jabalpur*, which were and are far less jungly than Kanker, had their quota of wild elephants. See *Jarrett's Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. p. 198, where the following occurs:—"Garha (2 miles from *Jabalpur*) is a separate State abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in mohurs and elephants." About a dozen years ago 40 elephants were captured in *Rairākhōl*, a State now transferred to Bengal, and I had once an occasion of riding one of them.

³ These have not yet been published and are at present in my possession.

⁴ *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 236.

⁵ It is said that the installation of the Kanker chief is up to this day confirmed by the *Halbās* by anointing the *Rājā* before the shrine of *Maulidēvi*. The *Halbās* are an aboriginal tribe mostly living in that State and the adjoining tracts. These *Halbās* claim to have come from Orissa along with the leper king and are still the chief domestics of the Kanker chief. They speak a dialect which is a curious mixture of *Oriyā*, *Chhattisgarhī* (a form of Eastern Hindi) and *Marāṭhī*; see Dr. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 331.

district, but is now limited to an area of 1,429 square miles lying between 20° 6' and 20° 34' N. and 80° 41' and 81° 40' E.

As regards the buildings and tanks mentioned in the inscription, there can be no doubt that the two tanks are identical with the present Diwān and Śitalā talāos, between which the ruins of the temples may still be seen. It is very probable that the Śitalā talāo—a name which gained currency since a hut dedicated to the goddess Śitalā was constructed on its bank—is the Kaudika-bandha of the inscription, the unnamed tank being called Diwān talāo or 'minister's tank,' thus keeping up the memory of its original constructor, who by calling it a *taḍāga* apparently distinguished it from the *bandha*, i.e. the tank formed by merely damming up a stream. The very name Kaudika-bandha indicates its secondary importance. In the first place it was merely a *bandha* (dam), and secondly it was probably constructed by the payment of *kaudikas*,¹ a Sanskritised form of *kaudis* (cowries) or shells, a currency of the lowest value.

The temples and buildings have all fallen or been pulled down, and from the materials a fresh temple was constructed by the predecessor of the present chief. The old temples were seen by Mr. Fisher, who was Deputy Commissioner of the Raipur district (to which Kanker was formerly attached) about 1873 A.D., and he alludes to them in his private Journal² thus:—“Saw some very curious old temples to the west of the village; one has a *bījak* giving, as I was told, some particulars of its history. They are very old and utterly neglected now.” This *bījak* was seen on the gate of the Mahādēva temple about the year 1825 as recorded in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 505, where its date is also stated, which is the same as that of our inscription in all details. A noteworthy point in our inscription is the mention of the construction of a *puratōbbhadra* with a *pratōli*, about which latter Dr. Vogel has written an article in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July 1906, p. 539. He has proved that *pratōli* really meant a gate-way, evidently strongly built and of considerable height. It was sometimes provided with a flight of steps.³ I have not been able to find *puratōbbhadra* in the *Kōśas* to which I have access, but *sarvatōbbhadra* is described as a kind of house with 4 doors facing the 4 quarters.⁴ From this I infer that a *puratōbbhadra* was a building with only one door in front. And the Kākaira *puratōbbhadra* was actually furnished with a gate-way (*pratōli*).

¹ In this part of the country a good deal of transactions were done in cowries (shells, Sanskrit *kapardikā*), which are still used as currency by the poor people. It must not however be supposed that there were no coins here. In the copper-plates of Pamparājādēva alluded to before, the coin *ṭanka* of local mint finds a mention. It is still a practice in some places to get work done, chiefly digging and throwing of earth, by what is called *kaudikas*, a mode of piecework payment, 2 or 4 cowries or more according to the labour involved being paid for each basket of earth thrown out. A man with cowries stands at a place where the earth is to be thrown, and as each labourer turns up and throws down the earth, he receives immediately the fixed number of cowries each time. This mode of labour automatically punishes the idlers and saves a good deal of supervision and account-keeping where a large number of labourers are engaged simultaneously on such a work.

² Quoted in Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. VII. p. 147.

³ Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 43.

⁴ The idea seems to have been taken from a *sarvatōbbhadra* village, which is described in the *Mānasāra*, a book of the highest authority on Hindū architecture, as “a town or village of quadrangular form, containing in the middle a temple dedicated to one of the triad, Brahṃā, Viṣṇu or Mahēśvara. It has 4 streets of equal length on the 4 sides at right angles, and 2 more crossing each other in the middle. Between these may be formed 3, 4, 5, or as many more streets as the extent of the village will admit, on each side, parallel to the middlemost street. Without the walls should be placed the shrines of the deities who preside over and defend the several quarters of the village; at the angular points should be erected halls, porticoes, colleges and other public edifices, and towards the quarter of Agni (south-east) a watershed for the accommodation of travellers and passengers. The whole village should be secured by a quadrangular wall and a ditch around it, with 4 large and as many small gates in the middle of the sides and at the angular points. Without the northern gate should be erected a temple for the worship of Mahākālī, and the huts of Chandālas or outcasts should be a *krōśa* distant from the village. A tank or reservoir should be constructed either on the south or north side or near either of these 2 points for ablutionary and culinary purposes.”—See Ram Raz's *Architecture of the Hindus*, 1834, p. 43.

TEXT.

- 1 श्रीं सिद्धिः ॥ आशीदंशे¹ हिमांसीर्भहितगुणगणसिंहराडेरिसिंहस्तस्माद्गाम्राव-
नीशोभव-
- 2 दत्तुल्यया तेजसापास्तशूर्यः² ॥ जज्ञे सोपि स्वयोर्योचितनृपतिलक³ बोपदेवं
स चैवं कृष्या-⁴
- 3 ख्यं वैरिराजव्रजदलनपरं विक्रमाक्रांतविस्⁵ ॥१॥ काकीरेवनिपालमौलिमुकुट-
प्रोद्धा-
- 4 'सिहीरांकुरज्योतिद्योतितपादपंकजनख्योतिस्त्रकाया' भुवि ॥ संग्रामांगणवीर-
विक्र-
- 5 मगुणः श्रीजैतराजोभवत्तस्मादद्भुतसम्यतापमहसः श्रीसोमचन्द्री नृपः ॥२॥
तस्मात्प्री-⁶
- 6 गुणसागरादभिनवस्सर्वांगवेधोज्ज्वलः⁷ श्रीभानुर्हरणीधरः क्षितितले⁸ लब्धप्रतिष्ठो-
दयः [॥*]
- 7 जागेर्त्ति¹¹ प्रतिपक्षपक्षदलनो भूपालचूडामणिर्यस्मिन्शाशति¹² लोक एव सुकृती
जागेर्त्ति श-¹³
- 8 हासनः ॥३॥ देशः¹⁴ पुण्यनिरीतिशास्त्रतथनस्यत्कर्मनिष्ठा द्विजाः खेष्टापूर्त-
पराः प्रजाष्कि-¹⁵
- 9 मपरं पौराः परं धार्मिकाः [॥*] सभ्याः¹⁶ शास्त्रविचारधौतमनसो धर्माव-
तारे कलौ राज्यं शास-
- 10 ति भानुदेवनृपतौ किं किं न लोकोत्तरं ॥४॥ वंशे नागदलीपजीवन-
जनस्कीर्तेभयना-
- 11 यकः श्रीदामोदरसूनुश्चल्यश¹⁷ पो[लू]प्रजानायकः ॥ ख्यातस्तत्तनयः
स्वभावसर-
- 12 लो भीमाभिधस्तक्षुतो काकीरे नृपभानुदेवनगरे¹⁸ श्रीवासुदेवोभवत् ॥५॥
स्तंभोयं [न]-
- 13 गरस्व जातिजनतानध्यप्रभानायको¹⁹ विख्यातष्कि²⁰ भानुदेवनृपतेः²¹ पादांशुजा-
राधकः [॥*]

¹ Read आसीदंशे हिमांसी°.² Read कृष्याख्यं.³ Read °ज्योतिःप्रकाशी.⁴ Read लब्ध°.⁵ Read सहासनः.⁶ The original has *śāstra*°.⁷ Read °मज्ज°.⁸ Read °शूर्य°.⁹ Read °कालविश्व°.¹⁰ Read तस्मात्प्री°.¹¹ Read जानर्त्ति°.¹² Read °शाशति°.¹³ Read °चल्यश°.¹⁴ Read विख्यातः किञ्च भानुदेव°.¹⁵ Read बीप°.¹⁶ Read °ज्योतिर्द्योतित°.¹⁷ Read °बीज्जल°.¹⁸ Read °विष्णुसति°.¹⁹ Read प्रजाः कि°.²⁰ Read श्रीवासु°.²¹ Read पादांशुजा°.

- 14 स्रगामांगलसादिवर्गपुरतः ख्यातप्रभावो 'महान्जागर्त्यद्भुतविक्रमो 'धृतिधरः
श्रीवा-^१
- 15 सुदेवो भुवि ॥६॥ देवश्रीशसिभूषणस्य^२ कृतिना देवालयं कारितं युग्मं
मंडपशोभितं च
- 16 पुरतोभद्रं प्रतोल्या सह । चैत्रेशस्य तथा सुरालवचरं स्कीतं [त*]-
डागं तथा बंधं कौडिकसंज्ञकं
- 17 बहुजलं दीर्घं तथा खानितं ॥७॥ 'हृष्टापूर्त्तपरस्याशीसत्कीर्त्तिशसि-
चंद्रिका^३ [I*] वासुदे-
- 18 वस्य विस्फारा स्थिताचन्द्रार्कतारकं ॥८॥ संवत् १२४२ रौद्रसंवत्सरे ।
ज्येष्ठ^४ वदि
- 19 पंचम्यां । 'प्रसस्तिस्ममारोपिता नायकवासुदेवेन ॥ लिखिता 'सत्तिकुमा-
रेण ॥ शिवं [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Om. Success! (Verse 1.) In the race of the Moon there was (*born*) Simharāj, a (*very*) lion to enemies, (*and*) praised as possessing numerous virtues. From him was born king Vyāghra, of unequalled fame, who outshone the sun by his splendour. He also begot an ornament of kings befitting his own manliness: Vōpadēva; and the latter, likewise, (*had a son*) named Kri[shna], who was given to destroying crowds of hostile kings, (*and*) who dominated the universe by (*his*) valour.

(V. 2.) (*Then*) there was in Kākaira the illustrious Jaitarāja, the lustre of the nails of whose lotus-feet was rendered (*still more*) brilliant by the light emanating from the shining diamonds in the diadems on the heads of kings (*prostrating themselves before him*) to the ground, (*and*) who had the merit of conquering heroes on the battle-field. From him who owned the glory of wonderful great valour (*was born*) the illustrious king Sōmachandra.

(V. 3.) From him, the glorious ocean of virtues, (*was born*) a young king: the illustrious Bhānu, who was brilliant by (*his*) whole body and apparel, who acquired honour and prosperity, the destroyer of the party of opponents, a crest-jewel of kings. (*He*) is (*now*) protecting the earth. While he is ruling, the people are (*all*) virtuous (*and*) well-intentioned.

(V. 4.) The country is replete with permanent wealth and virtue and is devoid of (*all*) calamities; the twice-born are devoted to good actions; the subjects are intent on performing sacrifices and doing charitable acts. What more? The citizens are very virtuous (*and*) refined, (*and*) their minds are purified by the study of the Śāstras. What wonder does not (*happen*) in (*this*) iron age, while king Bhānudēva, the incarnation of virtue, is ruling the kingdom?

(V. 5.) In a family which abounded in men subsisting on (*catching*?) groups of elephants there was the Nāyaka Pô[lû], of brilliant fame, a leader of men, the son of the illustrious Dāmōdara. His famous, straightforward son was called Bhīma. His son was the illustrious Vāsudēva, (*who resided*) in Kākaira, the town of king Bhānudēva.

^१ Read महात्माग°.^२ Read श्रीवा°.^३ Read °शशि°.^४ Read इष्टा°.^५ °स्यासीत् and °शशि°.^६ Read ज्येष्ठ.^७ Read प्रशस्ति°.^८ Read शक्ति°.

(V. 6.) This illustrious **Vāsudēva**, the pillar of the city, the chief gem (*shining*) with priceless splendour amongst (*his*) caste fellows, famous, devoted to the lotus-feet of king **Bhānudēva**, known to be very valorous before the array of knights on the battle-field, great, of wonderful power (*and*) patience, is (*now*) administering the country.

(V. 7.) (*This*) clever (*minister*) caused to be built two temples of the god whose ornament is the moon (*viz.* **Mahādēva**), together with halls, a *puratōbhadrā* with a gate-way, and an excellent temple (*dedicated*) to the guardian deity of the fields. Moreover (*he*) caused to be dug a large pond (*taḍāga*) and a long tank (*bandha*) called **Kauḍika**, which contained a great quantity of water.

(V. 8.) The moon-light of the true fame of **Vāsudēva**, devoted to sacrifices and charitable works, has expanded (*and*) become established so long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.

(Line 18.) **Samvat 1242**, in the **Raudra** year, on the 5th (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of **Jyaishṭha**, (*this*) *prastā* was erected by the *Nāyaka* **Vāsudēva**. Written by Śaktikumāra. Hail!

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Prof. Hultsch has asked me to express an opinion on the date of the stone inscription published above, of which he has sent me an impression. He also, at the instance of Mr. Hira Lal, has requested me to give my readings of, and, if possible, to verify, the dates of two copper-plate inscriptions of the **Kākaira (Kanker)** chief **Pamparājadēva**, which are about to be published by Mr. Hira Lal, and of which impressions have been forwarded by him.

The date of the stone inscription clearly is, as given by Mr. Hira Lal: *Samvat 1242 Raudra-samvatsarē | Jyēṣṭha-vadī pañchamīyām |*. It does not admit of exact verification, and the only question concerning it is, to which era the year 1242 should be referred so that the date may fall in a *Raudra-samvatsara*. *A priori* the expression *samvat 1242* would be taken here to denote the **Vikrama year 1242**; but there is no **Vikrama year 1242** that could be called a **Raudra year**. Nearest to V. 1242, **Raudra**, by the southern system, would be the expired *Chaitrādī* **Vikrama year 1257**; and by the northern mean-sign system it would indicate the time from the 13th November A.D. 1195 to the 8th November A.D. 1196, in the expired *Chaitrādī* or *Kārttikādī* **Vikrama years 1252 and 1253**. If the year of the date were 1252 instead of 1242, it might be taken to be the expired *Kārttikādī* **Vikrama year 1252**, in which case the 5th of the dark half of **Jyaishṭha** would undoubtedly fall in a **Raudra year**; but there is nothing to prove that the writer erroneously put 1242 instead of 1252.

Assuming, then, the figures for the year and the Jupiter's year to have been correctly given, it would only remain to take the expression *samvat 1242*, as has been done by Mr. Hira Lal, to denote the expired **Śaka year 1242**, which by the southern system was a **Raudra year**. But here we are at once met by a difficulty. In my paper on the dates of the **Śaka era** in inscriptions I have shown¹ that among 400 **Śaka** dates of inscriptions only five do not contain the word **Śaka** or **Śāka**, and that of even these five dates three are spurious or suspicious, while the two others are in verse. There is therefore every reason to assume that the writer of the inscription would have denoted the **Śaka year 1242** by some such expression as *Śakē 1242*, not by *samvat 1242*. And there might be the further objection that in the Central Provinces, where the date comes from, the system of Jupiter's years ordinarily followed seems to have been the northern system, not the southern system by which alone the **Śaka year 1242** can be described as a **Raudra year**.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 149.

As the date cannot be verified, it would be useless to indulge in further speculations.¹ To me the wording of it seems certainly to be suspicious. And I can only say that, assuming the figures for the year to be correct and the date to be really a Śaka date, it would correspond to the *pūrṇimānta* Jyāishṭha, to Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1320, and for the *amānta* Jyāishṭha as stated by Mr. Hira Lal, to Tuesday, the 27th, or Wednesday, the 28th May,² A.D. 1320.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of Pamparāja, one is clearly dated as follows :—

[L. 7] Īśvara-

[L. 8] saṁvatsarē Kārtika-māsē Chitrā-rikshē Ravi-dinē suryôparâgē

[L. 10] saṁvat 966

i.e. "in the Īśvara year, at an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month Kārttika, in the year 966."

I have no doubt that the year 966 of this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era.

In *Festgruss an Roth*, p. 53 ff., I have tried to prove from the 12 dates between the years 793 and 958, which hitherto have been available, that the Kalachuri (Chêdi) era commenced on the 5th September A.D. 248, that the years were *Āśvinādi* years and the months *pūrṇimānta* months, and that therefore, to convert an expired Kalachuri year into an expired year of the Kaliyuga, we must add 3349 when the date falls in the bright half of *Āśvina* or in any month from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 3350 in all other cases. Applying this here, we find that our date, for the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika of the expired Kalachuri year 966 = Kaliyuga expired 966 + 3349 = 4315, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, when the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 33 m., and when the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise. On the same day there was a total eclipse of the sun, the greatest phase of which at Kanker (in about Long. 82° and Lat. 20°) was four digits.³

It will, I think, be generally admitted that Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of our date; but, in connection with this date, the writer apparently has wrongly quoted the year Īśvara instead of the immediately following year Bahudhānya. By the northern mean-sign system Īśvara lasted from the 2nd September A.D. 1212 to the 29th August A.D. 1213. By the northern luni-solar system therefore Īśvara was the proper name of Kaliyuga 4314 expired, and not of the year of our date, viz. Kaliyuga 4315 expired, which according to the northern luni-solar system, as already intimated, would have received the name Bahudhānya. For the present, I can ascribe the error only to the writer's carelessness, but the error is of such a nature that it confirms rather than invalidates our general result.⁴

The date of the other copper-plate of Pamparāja I read thus :—

[L. 9] | saṁvata | 965 Bhādrapadē vadi 1[0]

[L. 10] Mṛiga-rikshē Sô[ma]-dinē |

Here everything is perfectly clear and certain in the impression excepting the number of the *tithi* and the second *akshara* of the name of the weekday. As regards the latter, it appears to

¹ If the year were 1241 (instead of 1242), it might be taken to be a Kalachuri year, in which case the date would have fallen in a Raudra year. I do not mean to suggest hereby that the inscription could be assigned to so late a period (A.D. 1492-93).

² The 5th *tithi* commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of the Tuesday and ended 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the Wednesday.

³ Between A.D. 1201 and 1250 this is the only solar eclipse in the month Kārttika that could have been visible at Kanker.

⁴ Mr. Hira Lal quite lately has sent me for calculation a date from the Central Provinces, which undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065. According to the original date, this day should fall in the year Parābhava; but by the northern luni-solar system it would fall in the year Plavaṅga which follows immediately upon Parābhava, and by the southern system in the year Viśvāvasu which immediately precedes Parābhava.

me evident that the engraver after the *akshara sô* in the first instance by mistake engraved the letter *d* (of *dinê*), and that he then altered this *d* to *ma*. Under any circumstances there could be no doubt that the intended weekday is *Sôma-dina* or 'Monday.' Nor can there be any real doubt about the number of the *tithi*. The date clearly gives us the dark half of the month Bhâdrapada and during it the *nakshatra* Mriga (Mrigaśirsha). Now in the dark half the *nakshatra* will ordinarily be Mriga about the 8th *tithi* of the *amānta* and the 10th *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhâdrapada; and a careful examination of the impression shows that the word *vadi* is actually followed by 10, the 0 of which is engraved quite on the margin of the plate. I therefore take it that the date gives us for calculation "the year 965, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of (the *pūrṇimānta*) Bhâdrapada, with the *nakshatra* Mriga and a Monday." And treating the year again as a Kalachuri year, I find the following equivalents:—

For the expired Kalachuri year 965 = Kaliyuga expired 965 + 3350 = 4315: Saturday, the 21d August A.D. 1214, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhâdrapada ended 18 h. 25 m., and the *nakshatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

For the current Kalachuri year 965 = Kaliyuga 4315 current: Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhâdrapada commenced 7 h., and when the *nakshatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

Of the two, I do not hesitate to accept Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, as the true equivalent of our date. That the *tithi* of the date was a current *tithi* can cause no difficulty. And the fact that Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years is proved by another date, in an inscription of which Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar some time ago has been good enough to send me a photograph. The inscription referred to is one at Seorinārāyan which the late Sir A. Cunningham had stated to be dated—

Kalachuri-samvatsarē || 898 || *Āsvina-sudi* 2 *Sôma-dinē*.

According to the photograph the date really is—

Kalachuri-samvatsarē || 898 || *Āsvina-sudi* 7¹ *Sôma-dinē*, and with this reading the date regularly corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A.D. 1145, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Āsvina ended 20 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

NO. 15.—NOTE ON THE TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÜTINGEN.

While I was reading the final proof of my paper on the two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahēndrapāla of Kanauj, published above, p. 1 ff., I received from Prof. Hultzsch excellent ink-impressions of the two inscriptions which had been supplied to him by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. The impressions enabled me to make one or two slight corrections in my texts, but it was impossible to insert in my article Mr. Venkayya's description of the original plates, and to get ready in time the collotype facsimile of the second of the two inscriptions, the plates of Avanivarman II. Yoga, which Prof. Hultzsch had at once ordered to be prepared and which is now published herewith.

On the plates A., those of Balavarman, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows:—

"The two plates are about 13' broad and about 9½" high, somewhat less in the middle. They are strung on an almost circular ring, 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured below

¹ So the *tithi* was already given, correctly, in *As. Res.* Vol. XV, p. 505.

i.



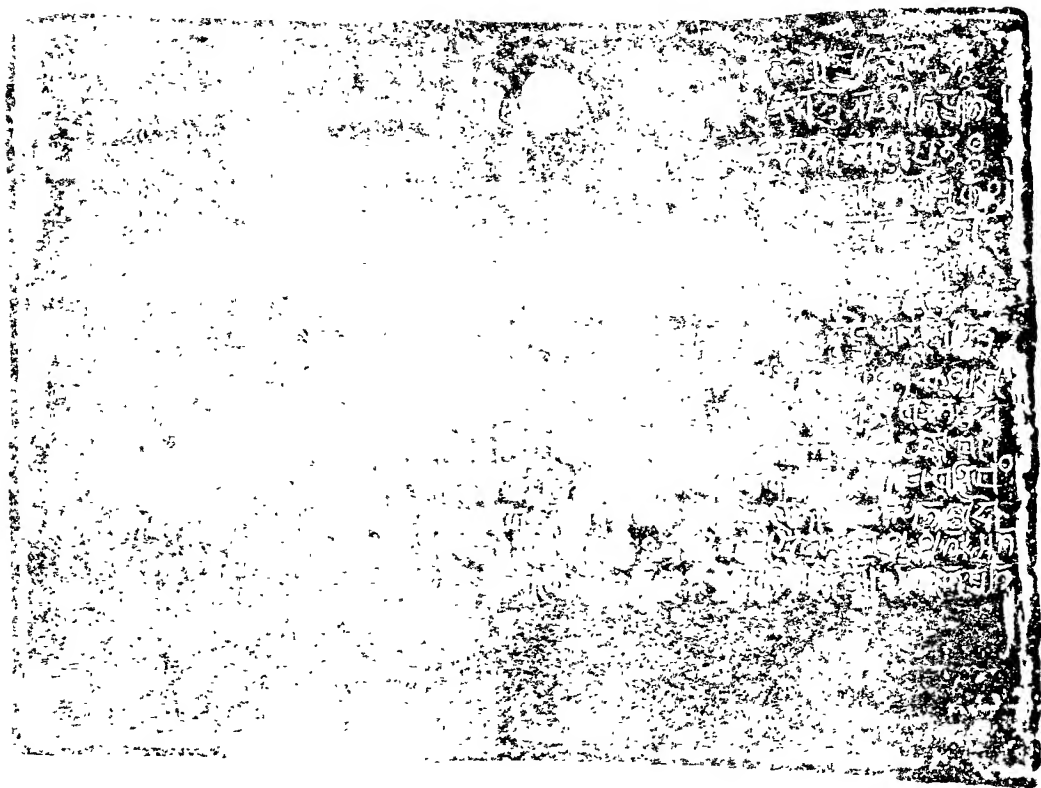
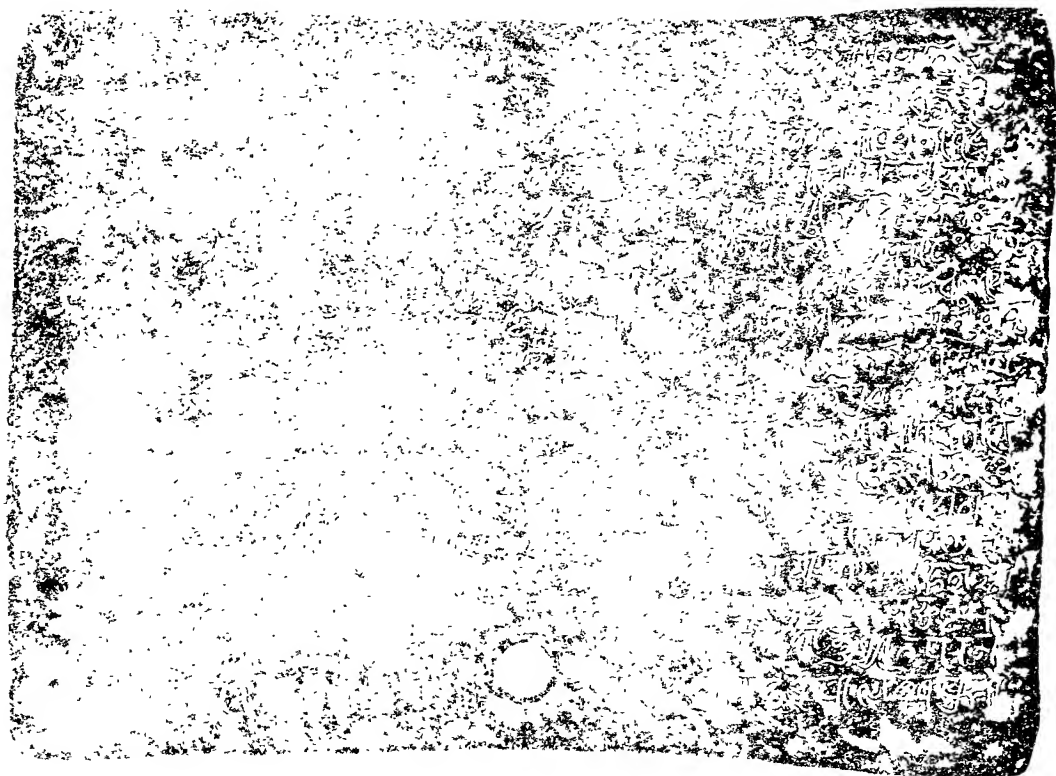
ii.



Scale .45

E. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.



a circular seal, which is slightly damaged and measures nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. It is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick, and bears in relief a squatting figure, perhaps representing a god, the right hand of which seems to be raised, as if to indicate the *abhaya-hasta*. Either plate near the top has a ring-hole which is about $\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the plates B., those of Avanivarman II. Yôga, Mr. Venkayya writes :—

"The three plates are between $12\frac{1}{2}$ " and $12\frac{1}{4}$ " broad and between $8\frac{3}{8}$ " and 9" high. They are strung on an oval ring which measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of the ring are secured below a circular seal, which is slightly mutilated and measures nearly 2" in diameter. The seal bears in relief a squatting figure, similar to the one on the seal of the other plates. Each plate contains a ring-hole which is about $\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the excellent facsimile published herewith I have to say only a few words. It will show that the inscription in some places is not very easy to read. As regards individual signs. I would merely draw attention to the forms of the initial *i* and *e*, e.g. in *ihā*, l. 33, and *ēcam*, l. 45; to the sign for *ry*, e.g. in *sa-ryaśya*, l. 11; to the final *t*, e.g. in *=bhāt*, l. 32; and to the numeral figures, especially that for '9', in line 63.

In my text of the inscription the word *śrī-* has by an oversight been omitted before *Ta[ru]ṇā-*, above, p. 10, l. 57.

No. 16.—VANDRAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These plates were found in the backyard of Buddharaju Venkataraju of Vandram, a village in the Bhīmavaram taluka of the Kistna district, and were forwarded by the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur through the Collector of Kistna to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who sent me two sets of ink-impressions of them, with the following remarks :—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and $3\frac{3}{8}$ " in height. They have high rims more than $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ring on which the plates are strung was cut by me for the first time and soldered subsequently. It is oval, measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ", and is nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in an expanded eight-petalled lotus at the bottom of a circular seal, which measures $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The seal is much damaged, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvānīkṣa*, with a boar facing the proper left over it and a floral device below. The other symbols cut in the seal are not quite distinct. Traces of the sun over the boar, of the crescent of the moon behind his tail, and of an elephant goad in front of him are visible."

The first and last plates bear writing only on one side, and the three remaining plates on both sides. The plates are in a bad state of preservation. Of plate i. a small portion is missing. Plate ii.b is a palimpsest, and part of its writing is effaced. The two first lines of plate iii.b and some letters of the two last lines of plate iv.a are damaged by corrosion. Of plate iv.b the two first lines and part of the third are in a still worse condition. On the last plate (v.) some letters are more or less doubtful.

After the MS. of this article had gone to the press, I received from Mr. Venkayya the original copper-plates, with the help of which I was able to improve my readings of several indistinct words.

The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the usual type. I would only draw attention to the peculiar form of the secondary *ū* in *-mūrttēr*, l. 18, and *samūhūya*, l. 36 f. The language is Sanskrit; but the four first lines of the last plate contain some Telugu words. The Sanskrit portion consists of both prose and verses.

The inscription opens with the genealogy of Ammarāja (II.) of the (Eastern) Chālukya (I. 5) dynasty. Ll. 1-17 are practically identical with ll. 1-23 of the Elavaṅṅu grant of the same king.¹ But Vikramāditya (I.) receives the title *Yuvarāja* (I. 13), and the name *Kollabigaṇḍa* is twice (ll. 14 and 17) spelt with *b*, not with *bh*.

Ammarāja II. is then praised in seven verses, all of which occur in his Paḍaṅkalūru grant,² where they are however differently arranged.³ The two verses (5 and 6) recording the date of his coronation are also found in the Maliyapūṇḍi grant.⁴ It is a curious fact that the major portion of plate ii.b (consisting of verses 3-5 and nearly the whole of verse 6) of the Vandram plates is engraved over another grant of Ammarāja II., which seems to have been partially effaced by the writer, but of which distinct traces are still visible.⁵ I subjoin a transcript of those lines of the original inscription on plate ii.b which can still be made out.

- 20 स समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविजयादित्यम-
 21 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुध्या-
 22 यो वेंगीसहसराष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबिनस्समाह्वयेत्यमात्रा-
 23 पयति [I*] विदितम स वंशे वशिष्ठगोत्रो विद्वान् आ-

The poetical description of Amma's reign is followed by a prose passage (ll. 30-37) which is worded in nearly the same manner as ll. 30-36 of the Elavaṅṅu grant.⁶ Ammarāja II., who is here styled '*Samastabhuvanāśraya*, the glorious *Vijayāditya* (VI.) *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Paramabhṭāṭṭāraka*, the very pious one, who meditates at the feet of (his) mother and father, thus commands, having called (them) together, the ryots, headed by the *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, inhabiting the twelve villages (the chief one of which is) *Prāṇḍoru* in the *Pāvunavāra* district (*vishaya*).'

So far the text can be easily transcribed and understood. But the remainder of the inscription cannot be deciphered in full, as a number of words in the damaged portions are doubtful or quite illegible. Besides, the author of the long metrical passage describing the donee (ll. 37-61) knew so little Sanskrit, or got his draft copied in such an imperfect way, that I am unable to propose satisfactory corrections even of some of the well-preserved portions of it. The whole of this passage seems to be in verse. Making allowance for the damaged and lost lines I number the verses as 8-23. Verse 8 praises the family (*gōtra*) named *Mitrāyu*. A descendant of it was *Tūrkkaya-Peddiya*⁷ (v. 9), who lived in the large village *Rāviparṅṅu* (v. 10), his son *Vijayāditya* (v. 11) and his grandson *Tūrkkīya-Yajvan* (v. 12). The last had by *Kandamāmbā* a son named *Kuppanayya* (v. 14), who seems to have enjoyed the titles of minister (*amātya*, v. 15) and vassal (*sāmanta*, v. 16). He had the surname *Vipranārā[yapa]* (v. 21) and founded a shrine of Śiva at *Drākshārāma*.⁸

"To this *Kuppan[ā]mātya*, who is devoted to Me, the village named *Tāṇḍoru* has been given by Us, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*; to whom (the village) named [*Beṭi*]pūṇḍi (in the neighbourhood) of *Prāṇḍoru*⁹ in your district¹⁰ (*vishaya*), together with the share of gold,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 91 ff.

² *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 15 ff.

³ The verses of the Paḍaṅkalūru grant (ll. 23-37) correspond to the following verses of the Vandram plates : 1, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7, 2 ; and an additional verse is inserted between 1 and 4.

⁴ Above, p. 47 ff.

⁵ Both sides of plate v. also exhibit traces of obliterated writing. A grant of Bhīma I. is a similar palimpsest ; see Prof. Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol. V. p. 127.

⁶ In the latter the epithet *mātāpitṛpādānudhyātāḥ* (l. 35) is however missing.

⁷ With *Tūrkkaya* compare the names *Tūrkaśarman* (above, Vol. V. p. 120, note 14) and *Tūrkkama* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 214, text l. 49).

⁸ *Drākshārāma kṛta-Śiva-nīlayō* ; v. 22 (l. 58).

⁹ *Prāṇḍoru* is the Telugu genitive of *Prāṇḍoru* (l. 35).

¹⁰ *I.e.* in the *Pāvunavāra-vishaya* of l. 35.

was given with exemption from all taxes, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*." I subjoin my reading of this passage, which is so peculiarly worded, that it remains doubtful whether the present grant refers to Tāṇḍeru or to Beṭipūṇḍi or to both, and whether only the second or both of them belonged to the Pāvunavāra-vishaya.

- 61 तस्मै कुप्यन[१*]म[१]त्या[य]
 62 मङ्गलाय^१ ताण्डे००नामग्रामग्रहारिकृत्योक्ताभिदत्त^२ । य[स्य भव]द्वि-
 63 षये ग्रान्दो००ति [विटि]पूण्डिनाम सह[१*]टकभागमग्रहा[री*]कृत्य सर्व[कर]-
 64 पर^३ दत्त इति विदितमस्तु वः[.] ॥ अस्य (स) ग्रामस्यावधय[ः*] ॥

Of the subsequent description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 64-67) I am unable to furnish a satisfactory transcript. The remainder of the inscription (ll. 67-72) is nearly identical with ll. 57-60 of the Elavarṅṅu grant.⁴ The last line (72) seems to read:—

य(१) ते कृमिः ॥ [२५*] आक्षतिः^५ कटकराजः [१*] महा[का]भट्टक[१*]व्यं [१*]
 जोन्ताचार्येण लिखितं ॥

Accordingly the *Ajñapti* was the *Kaṭakarāja*,⁶ the poet⁷ Mahā[kā?]bhṭṭa, and the writer Jōntāchārya.⁸

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Drākshārāma is well-known,⁹ and the Pāvunavāra-vishaya is probably the same as Pāgunavara-vishaya in a grant of Bhīma II.¹⁰ The villages Prāṇḍoru, Beṭipūṇḍi, Tāṇḍeru and Rāviparṅṅu I am unable to identify.

FIRST HALF OF THE TEXT.¹¹

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगीत्राणां हा-
 2 रीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालीतानां¹² स्वा-
 3 मिमहासेनपादानुध्यायीनां¹³ भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादित-
 4 वरवरारहलाच्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानाम-
 5 ¹⁴श्रमेधावभृतस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कुलम-
 6 लंकरिणीः सत्य[१*]श्रयवक्त्रभेन्द्र[स्य*] भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्धनोष्टाद-
 7 श वर्ष[१]णि वेगिदेशमपालयत् ॥ तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतं । त-
 8 दनुजेन्द्ररा[जनन्दनो] विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्पुत्रो गियुवराजः पंचविं-¹⁵
 9 शतिं । तत्पुत्रो जय[सिंहस्त्रयोदश] । तदवरजः कोकिलिः षण्मासान् ॥

¹ Read मङ्गलाय.

² Read °हारीकृत्योक्ताभिदत्तः.

³ Read परिहारिण.

⁴ Instead of *tath-ōktaṁ Vyāsna*, l. 69 reads *tathā ch-ōktaṁ Vyāsa-bhṭṭi[ā*]rakṣa(na)*.

⁵ Read कटक°.

⁶ See above, p. 49 f.

⁷ I.e. the author of the verses describing the donee. In other grants of Ammarāja II. Pōtanabhṭṭa and Mādhavabhṭṭa are mentioned as 'poets.'

⁸ The same person was the writer of the Elavarṅṅu and Paṇḍākalūru grants

⁹ See e.g. above, Vol. IV. p. 37, note 3.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 213.

¹¹ From two sets of ink-impressions and the original copper-plates.

¹² Read °पालितानां.

°ध्यायिनां.

¹⁴ Read °मृत्°.

¹⁵ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्चाय सप्तत्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्री विजया-
दित्यभट्टार-
- 11 कोष्टादश । तत्पुतो विष्णुवर्द्धनः षट्त्रिंशतं । तत्पुतो विजयादित्यनरेन्द्र-
मृगराज-
- 12 अष्टाचत्वारिंशतं । तत्पुतः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोद्धारवर्ष । तत्पुतो गुणगां-
कविजया-
- 13 दित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशतं । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यभूपतेः सूनुश्चालु-
- 14 'क्यभिममूपालस्त्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्रः कोल्लविगण्डविजयादित्यः षण्मासान् ।
तत्पुनुर-
- 15 म्मराजः सप्त वर्षाणि² । तत्पुतविजयादित्यं बालमुच्चाय तालपो मासमेकं [1*]
- 16 तं जित्वा चालुक्यभीमतनयो विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासान् । ततस्ता-
लपराजस्य सुतो युद्ध-
- 17 मल्लः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कोल्लविगण्डविजयादित्यसुतो भीमराजो
द्वादश वर्षाणि । तस्य म-
- 18 हे[श्व]रमूर्त्तैरुमासमानाकृतेः कुमारभः [1*] लोकमहादेव्याः खलु यस्मिन्-
भवदम्भराजा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 19 स्थः ॥ [१*] यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन महेन्द्रमहिमकरमुखमहसा
[1*] हरमरिपुरद-
- 20 हनेन न्यकुर्व्व(1)न्नाति विदितदिगवनिर्कृतिः³ ॥ [२*] कविगायककल्पतरु-
द्विजमुनि-⁴
- 21 दीनाम्बबन्धुजनसु(न)रभिः । याचकजनचिन्तामणिरवनिशम-⁵
- 22 निर्महोद्यममहसा द्युमणि[1*] ॥ [३*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो वि-
- 23 विधायुधकोविदो [विलीनारिकुल]ः । करितुरगागमकुश-
- 24 लो हरचर मधुपः⁶ श्रीमान् ॥ [४*] गिरिर-
- 25 सवसुसंख्याव्ये⁷ सक[स] [शो]र्धमासेस्मिन् [1*] कृष्ण-
त्रयो-
- 26 दशदिने भृगुवारे मैत्रनक्ष[त्रे] ॥ [५*] धनुषि रवी घटलग्ने द्वाद-
- 27 [श]वर्षे तु [जन्मनः] पटं । योधादुदयगिरिन्द्रो⁸ रवि[रि]व लोका-

¹ Read °क्यभीम°.² Read वर्षाणि.³ Read °कौत्तिः. From here to the end (l. 27) this side of the plate is a palimpsest.⁴ Read °तर्द्धिज°.⁵ Read °रवनीशमणि°.⁶ Read हरचरणाभीजयुगलमधुपः.⁷ Read °ख्याव्ये शकसमये मार्गशीर्ष°.⁸ Read °गिरिन्द्रो रविर्धिव.

I.



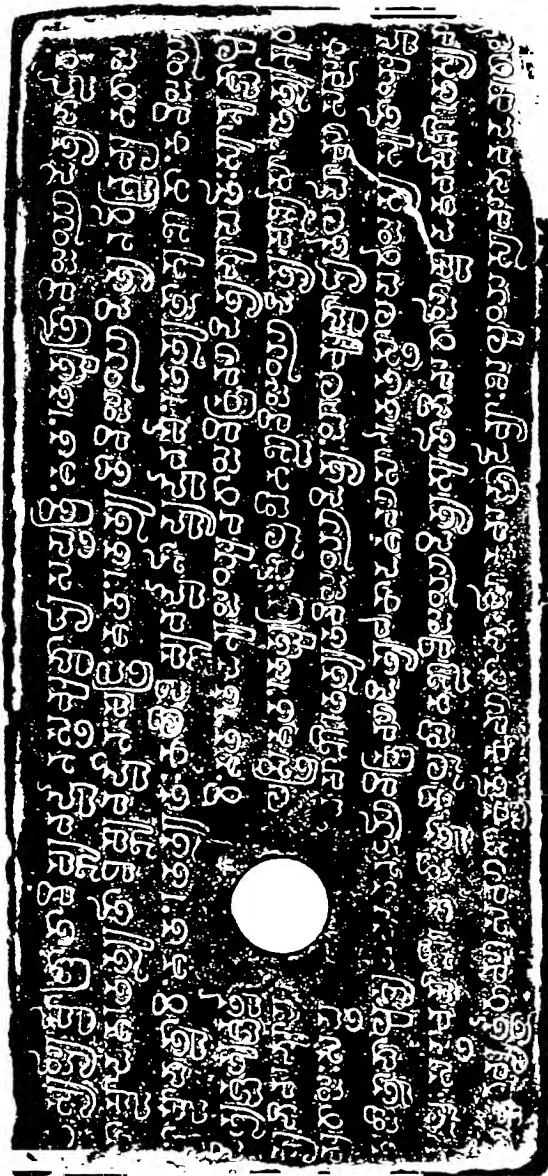
2

4

6

8

II. A.



10

12

14

16

18

E. Hultzsch

Scale 8

Collotype by G. H. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

20 22 24 26
 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 100

32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 100

Third Plate; First Side.

- 28 नुरागाय ॥ [६*] यस्मिन्^१ सासति नृपतौ परिपक्वानेकसस्यसं-^२
 29 पच्छालिः । ^३सततपयोधेनुरभिर्णिरीतिरपरुग्निरस्तचोरो
 30 देशः ॥ [७*] स सकलरिपुनृपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगण-
 31 मधुकरनिकरपरिचुंबितचरणसरसिरुहयुग-
 32 लोयु[ग*]लोचनपदकमलविलसद्विरेफायमानो^४ मा-
 33 नोन्नतोदतः^५ समस्तलोकः समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्चीविज-
 34 यादित्वमहाराजाधिराजप[र*]मेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमन्न-
 35 ह्यख्यः मातापितृपादानुध्यातः पावनवारविषये प्रान्दोऽऽ-
 36 [दाद]शयामनिवासिनो राट्कूटप्रमुखाकुटुंबिनस्समाह-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 37 येत्यमाज्ञापयति ॥

No. 17.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

By F. W. THOMAS, M.A.; LONDON.

The Mathura lion-capital was discovered by the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji under circumstances detailed in his article on *The Northern Kshatrapas* edited and published by Professor E. J. Rapson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XXVI. 1894, pp. 541-554; see in particular pp. 542-4. It was found embedded in the steps of an altar devoted to Śitalā on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindus at Mathurā, but not more definitely located. Having been with difficulty secured by Dr. Bhagvanlal, the capital was conveyed to Bombay; subsequently, on his death, it was despatched to England, and it can now be seen in the Buddhist Room at the British Museum.

The inscriptions incised on the capital were transcribed and translated by the discoverer himself; but owing to his death the task of publishing the MS. was entrusted by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to the late Professor Bühler, who was able to compare the readings with the stone itself and with paper impressions presented to him in 1889 by Dr. James Burgess. At the commencement of the published account, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XXVI. 1894, pp. 525-540. Prof. Bühler observes that "the collation has made necessary some alterations in the transcript and in the translation, among which the more important ones have been pointed out in the notes. But I may confidently assert that all really essential points have been fully settled and explained by Dr. Bhagvanlal, whose great acumen and scholarship are as conspicuous in his interpretation of these inscriptions as in his other epigraphic publications. For convenience's sake I have prefixed an introduction, summarising the chief results deducible from the inscriptions."

^१ Read वसिष्ठासति.

^२ The *anuscāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^३ Read "रमोन्निरिति".

^४ Read "मायो".

^५ The *El-arra* grant (l. 32 f.) supplies the correct reading मानोन्नतो नतोदतसमस्तलोकः.

While endorsing in the main these statements of so great an authority, from all points of view, as the late Prof. Bühler, I have endeavoured, in re-editing the inscriptions with Plates, which before were wanting, to give an unbiased reading based upon new impressions supplied by the kindness of the Department in the Museum (at the instance of Dr. J. F. Fleet, who originated the suggestion of this article), and upon frequent inspections of the stone itself. The present versions will therefore be found to differ in some particulars from those of Dr. Bhagvanlal and Prof. Bühler.

The shape and dimensions of the capital will be best realized from the accompanying Plates; but some particulars demand a verbal description. *In the first place*, the circular hole in the upper square surface, corresponding to a similar hole in the under surface, proves that the capital was surmounted by a shaft or some other continuation. Prof. Bühler remarks that various representations on slabs from the Amarāvati Stūpa prove this shaft to have supported a *Dharma-chakra*, referring to the Archaeological Survey Plates published by Dr. Burgess (Plate xxxviii. figs. 1 and 6, and Plate xl. figs. 3 and 4). But it has already been pointed out by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp. 216 and 464, that the use of lion-capitals of actual pillars was a common feature in Indian architecture, derived from Persian models. Examples may be seen in the Archaeological Survey publications relating to Bharhut (Cunningham, Plates vi., viii., x.), Sāñchi (Maisey, Plates xix., xxxiii.), Mathurā (V. A. Smith, Plates xliii.-xlvi. and xlix.-l.), Amarāvati (Burgess, p. 93, Plates xlix., liii., liv., lv., and Burgess, 1882, Plate xiv.), and elsewhere. The presumption, therefore, is that the lion-capital formed the crown of a real pillar.

Secondly, the state of the stone has been somewhat impaired by time and accident. In some cases, *e.g.* in the loss of the horn-like projections of the two heads, this has involved no curtailment of the text. The chippings at the two bottom corners have been, no doubt, equally harmless. But the front, which would be the most exposed portion of the stone, has in part so peeled away as to render some characters illegible. In the second line of the large inscription carved on the body of the lion to the spectator's left (J. I. 1) the large *rra* is followed by traces of two or three *aksharas* of equal size leading to a partly visible *sa* (?), after which intervene three doubtful characters before we come to firm ground again in *pali*.¹

In size the *aksharas* vary considerably. We may distinguish five groups: (1) the inscriptions B. E. F. I. J. M. on the front and back of the stone (among which I. perhaps exceeds the others slightly in size), having characters about 2-2½ in. in height; (2) G. N. P. E'', on the back and under surface of the stone, circa 2-1½ in.; (3) A. (on the unpolished top and back of the stone), K. L. (on the breast of the left lion), O. Q. R. (underneath), J'. (front, on the leg of the left lion), circa 1½ in.; (4) C. D. E'. (which may be estimated from E'', slightly the largest, visible among the characters of E.), circa 1 in.; (5) H. H', slightly incised in small characters, of about ¾ in., at the places indicated on the front. In the same inscription the *aksharas* generally maintain a fair average size, but sometimes they become a little cramped by limitations of space. It is clear that the inscriptions in the larger characters (1), (2) and (3) were carved first, and those of a smaller size were afterwards crammed in wherever space offered.

In type, on the other hand, the characters present an uniformity which, like the subject-matter of the records, forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of the stone. They have been compared by Prof. Bühler to those of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra versions of the Edicts of Aśoka. But the degree of similarity and dissimilarity may now be more exactly estimated from Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, where the columns viii. and ix.

¹ In quoting Kharoṣṭhi records, length of vowels is noted except where the intention is to insist upon the exact reading supplied by the original in question.

Inscriptions on the Mathara non-capital
in the British Museum

Front of the capital



J. W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS

J. F. FLET

of Plate No. 1 are based chiefly upon these inscriptions. The type may be described as intermediate between the Aśoka forms and the cursive derivatives of the Dharmapada MS. and those discovered by Dr. Stein, to which approximate the vase scratchings from Māpikīāla and other places and the inscription of Sue-Vihār (see the Plate given by Dr. Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X. facing p. 325). It does not, however, appear to be quite identical with that exhibited in any of these or in the Taxila plate (see the facsimile above, Vol. IV. facing p. 56), where on account of the historical contiguity we should expect to find, and do find, a near congener. The inscriptions edited by M. Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. XIII. (1899), p. 526 ff. and Vol. IV. (1894), p. 504 ff. (No. 35), are also in similar characters (see the Plates).

The forms of the individual letters may be seen from Plate IV. Those of *ṭha*, *sa*, *mu*, *spa*, the position of medial *e* and the looped form of *u* have been described by Bühler. Attention may be called to the *rda* in Q. 1, the *spa* in A. 7, the *rna* (?) in I. 1, the curious form in J. 1 interpreted by Bühler as *shṭṣ*, the archaic *ma* with the original angle beneath in A. 2. A few points call for further consideration. The form of *ta*, which occurs many times, has in other records the value of *tra* (see the Plate). Although we have certainly one case (J. 2, in *kūrīta*), and perhaps two others (E'' in *krakārīta*?, and R. 1 in *Tachhīlāsa* or *Bachhīlāsa*?), where the bottom curve is wanting, the character occurs so often that there can be no doubt as to what it denotes. In supposing it to be a *da* Bühler, who in his articles in the *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. XLIII. pp. 133 and 294-6 has read a similar character as *tt* (so also Johansson, *Der Dialekt der Shāhbāzgarhi-Redaktion*, I. p. 126), was influenced by finding it in *pratṣṣō* (M. 2) and similar cases. But the regular form of *da* is several times instanced, and the *t* for *d* in *pratṣṣō* and elsewhere is a dialectical, not an orthographical, feature, found in other Kharōshthī records.

The only question remaining, as concerns *ta*, is part of a larger matter. How do we find represented the conjunct *ṛ*? In a number of cases the addition is made by a stroke inclined to the left attached to the lower curve. This occurs in A. 1 (*chhattra*°), A. 6 (*mātrā*), A. 7 (*pitṛā*°). In these examples there was some slight danger of confusion with *tō*, which shows (see the Plate) a similar stroke attached to the upper curve. Perhaps for this reason another device is more frequently adopted, namely a dot in place of the stroke; see B. 1 and 3 (*chhatra*°), B. 2 (*putra*), M. 1 (*chhatra*°), Q. 2 (*chhatra*°). There remain A. 3 (where *te* is written), A. 5 (where I can detect no clear indication of the *r*-stroke or dot), G. 1 (where there is nothing attached to the *ta*, though the reading may be *chhratava*, if not *chchhatava*), G. 2 (*chhatava*), A. 9 (where we seem to have *atraurēna* for *atē*°). In A. 1 we have two strokes, both of which seem to be intentional; one of them, which resembles the downward stroke of the Aramaic and Pahlavi *t*, I have conjectured to denote a doubled *t* before the *ṛ*. Of a cerebral (*ṭa*) I can find no trace, unless indeed it is contained in the mysterious third sign of A. 13.

With other consonants than *t* the *ṛ* is regularly inserted where required. We may quote *bhra* in A. 7 (where it takes the form of a detached stroke), *gra* in A. 2 and N. 2, *pra* in A. 10 (*praḥhravīpa*°), A. 11 (*prati*°), M. 3 (*pratṣṣō*), N. 3, *ḍhra* in A. 10 and M. 2, *chhra* (*chchha*?) in G. 2 and I. 1 (*chhratava*° and *chhratrava*). In the last example, as also in *praḥhravī* (A. 10, *paḥhravī* in I. 2), it would seem to be even repeated; but this may be a feature of pronunciation rather than of writing. A really otiose *r*-stroke is found in *mahēshri*, A. 2, and probably in *Pispasri*, A. 7.

The case of *kra* is peculiar. If we disregard the doubtful inscription E'', it is found four times, in *bhagravatō* (A. 12), *nākraruasa* (F. 1 and N. 1), and *sakrastānasa* (P. 1), i.e. in places where we expect a simple *ga*. This can hardly be accidental; it would seem probable that in these cases the combination *kra* represents a spirantic pronunciation of *ga*, analogous to the Persian *ḡ*; more especially as in the name of Seistān (Pahlavi *Saghistān*) this sound no doubt prevailed at the time.

A few further points remain to be noticed. (1) In *ateūrēna* and *hōrakūparivārēna* (A. 9 and 10) we find a perhaps intentional stroke diverging from the tail of the *na*, though not in both cases on the same side. Have we here *ṇa*? The rather noticeable variations in the form of the nasal may be observed in Plate iv.

(2) *Sa* varies between the forms with and without the small adjunct near the centre (see Plate iv). In N. 3 the addition of the *r*-stroke makes *saṃ*. In E. 4 a slight curve at the foot may also indicate *saṃ*, anticipating as in the Stein documents, the following nasal. A writing *syā* is certainly to be seen in G. 1 and probably also in B. 2.

(3) The two occurrences of *kharaōstu* (A. 4 and E. 1) seem both to show a small diverging mark in the place where *h* is usually appended, a circumstance which, together with the probable derivation of the word, suggests a reading *rha*=*hra*.

(4) In A. 2 *a* has a small stroke added as a sort of head.

(5) In A. 13 we have the distinguishing mark of *ś* vertical and at the top; elsewhere it is horizontal and at the centre.

(6) The *śē* of A. 11 has two small (head and foot) strokes differentiating it from the *śē* of the previous line,— apparently without reason.

(7) The complicated *jo* of C. 2 recalls the varieties on the coins (see Gardner. *The Coins of Bactria*, pp. 55, 83).

(8) Lastly we may mention that the stone presents a number of dots and other small marks which must apparently be ascribed to accident or wear. In some cases we might be tempted to trace the *anusvāra*, e.g. in J. where we should thus arrive at a reading *Sarvāstivādinam*.

The *Prākṛit* in which the inscriptions are composed has been described by Bühler and perhaps need not be discussed at length. It is distinguished by closeness to Sanskrit. Elision of medial consonants occurs, if we neglect the suffixal *k* (*nīgarāa*, *kuśūlaa*, *mihāsīṅghā*), only in *ateūrēna* (for *ateūrēṇa*?), *saśpa*[*t*]². In *ayaria* and *puya* (= *āchārya* and *pūjā*) we have a weakening of *ch* to *y*. I have suggested (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 205) that the sound denoted by this *y* was that of the French *j*, and the matter will arise again in connection with the proper names. The changes apparent in the word *chhatra* are not necessarily Indian. The hardening of *g* and *d* to *kr* and *t* has been already dealt with; on the other hand *p* appears in *thūra* and *pratiḥāritō* as *v*, never *b* as *p*. Conjunction *s* is, except in foreign and technical names (*kharaōsta*, *sakastāna*, *sarvāstivāda*), assimilated ([*t*] *thūra*, *kuḥharira*, *prati*[*t*] *thārita*, *bhī*[*k*] *khū*); *r*, on the other hand, remains both as prior (*saria*, *kharaḍa*), and as posterior, member of a conjunction. The forms of the *a* and *ā* declensions are very well preserved. The nominative sing. masc. appears both as *a* (in *thūra*, etc.) and as *o* (*kharaōstō*, etc.); the neuter is in *a*[*m̐*] (*śarīra*[*m̐*]), the genitive singular in [*s*] *sa*, twice written *syā*. In *munisa* the *i* declension shows the *Prākṛit* form; of the *i* inflexion we have several forms (instrumental *-ī*, etc.). The *r*-stems seem to be regular (*dhīte* in A. 3 being a miswriting for *dhitrā*), while in *yurārāṇa*[*h*] in A. 4 we have an ultra-Sanskrit use of the consonant paradigm. We may note the employment of *sarvāstivāda* in place of *avādin*. The only pronouns occurring are *imō*, nominative masculine, and *iśē*, a locative, and the only finite verb *bhūsvi* (certainly not *bhūsvati*, as Bühler read) presents a problem; see the note to A. 13. The false concord *śarīra pratiḥāritō* is found elsewhere (see the note *ad loc.*).

We now come to the historical matter, which has been discussed both by Bühler, pp. 529-33, and by Professor Rapson (p. 541 ff. of the same volume). The object of the chief inscription (A.) is to record a religious donation on the part of the Chief Queen of the Satrap Rājula, with whom are associated various members of her family and her whole court. In the other inscriptions we find honourable mention of (1) certain other members of the Satrap family at Mathurā, (2) other Satraps, and (3) a Buddhist teacher, or two Buddhist teachers, bearing the

names Buddhila (or Budhila) and Bu[d]dhadēva. The last named, who is termed an *āchārya* and represented as a champion of the *Sarvāstivādin* school against the rival *Māhāsāṅghikas*, bears a name which cannot have been rare; one teacher of this name is mentioned by Tāranātha as a leader of the *Vaibhāshikas* (see Schiefner's translation, pp. 4 and 67, and the references in the St. Petersburg Dictionary), and we have therefore no sufficient means of identification. It is different with some of the other names.

In the first place, the Great Satrap Rājūla himself and his son, the Satrap Śudāsa, have both been identified with rulers named on coins and in other inscriptions from Mathurā (see Bühler, pp. 531-2, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 195-6, 199; Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. III. p. 30, and Vol. XX pp. 48-9; V. A. Smith, *Mathurā*, p. 21; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9, § 33). These identifications were made by Cunningham, who also proposed to identify the *Yuvarāja* Kharaōsta with the Kharamōsta, son of Artas, known from coins, a suggestion which is scarcely tenable (Bühler, *op. cit.* p. 532). The further identification of the Great Satrap Kusūlaa Pādika with Pātika, son of the Satrap Liaka Kusūlaka, named in the Taxila plate, is important not only as supplying a date, though in an unknown era,—for the Taxila Plate is dated in the year 78, (in the time) of the Great King Mōga,—but also as implying that the other Satraps mentioned may also have ruled in distant places. It appears therefore that the inscriptions make a point of naming with respect the chief representatives of the Kshatrapa dominion in Northern India; and this is a strong argument for retaining the evident interpretation of inscription P. as 'in honour of the whole Saka realm' (*Sakastāna*). It is therefore important to ascertain what other indications of nationality the inscriptions supply.

In an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906 (pp. 181-216; see also pp. 460-4) I have endeavoured to prove (1) that Sakas inhabited the region now known as Seistan as early as the time of Darius the Great and Alexander; (2) that the inscriptions of the lion-capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Saka nomenclature; and I have inferred that the Kshatrapas of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Saka domination. I think that all these propositions must be adhered to. Upon the first of them we need not dwell here. The second is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Pātika of Taxila, who bears himself a distinctively Persian name, mentions as his overlord the Great King Mōga, whose name is with equal distinctiveness Saka.

I may here refer to a small point in the Taxila inscription which is not without interest. The form of the phrase *chhatrapasa Liakō Kusūlakō nāma tasa* (for *chhatrapasa Liakasa Kusūlakasa*), which recurs in a second phrase, has been by Bühler compared with passages in two of the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā. We may perhaps find something of the kind in later Sanskrit inscriptions and in the style of the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitōpadēśa*. But the turn of the phrase is so conspicuous a feature of the edicts of the Achæmenids that we are strongly tempted to regard it as, like the earliest Indian architecture, derived through the Satraps from a Persian model.

This is not the place for resuming at length the discussion of the etymology of all the names occurring in the inscriptions. A few points may be mentioned:—

1. The name *Kharaōsta* or *Kharha(hra)ōsta*, as = *khshathra*, 'sovereignty,' + *ōsta*, 'blessing,' is practically certain. The initial *kha*, which reappears in *khaharāta* with variant *kshaharāta*, presents no difficulty; it recurs in the *kharpallāna* (no doubt = *khshathrapihlāna*, 'defence of sovereignty,') of the new Sārṇāth inscription (above, Vol. VIII. p. 173 ff.). The variation in the initial consonant group, of which we find a third form in *chhatrapa*, is of the same nature as that in *cavalier* and *chivalry*, that is to say, it is due to historical and dialectical differences.¹

¹ On a coin given by Prof. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. iii. No. 1, we have *Kshaharāta* in Brāhmī together with *Chhaharāta* in Kharōṣṭhī; some of the Nāsik inscriptions have *Khakharāta*, etc.

The *hra*, from *thra*, arose (with other forms) on Iranian soil, *Mihra* (Skt. *Mihira*) being a variant of *Mithra*,¹ of which a still more simplified form is found in *Miraboyana* of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. X. Vol. III. (1904) pp. 463-4); the old Persian dialect had also *s*, concerning which it may be sufficient to refer to the grammars.

2. *Mévaki* is no doubt a variant of the Scythian name *Mauakes* *Μεβακς*, which we find attached to the king *Manes* and *Môga* (= *Mauaka*).

3. The two names *Kâlûi*, *Kâmûiô* show a Pahlavî suffix *ûi*, in the second case with addition of an Indian termination.

4. *Naûludo* is no doubt for *Naûrûdô*, 'New Growth,' with a Pahlavî or Afghan *l* for *r*.

5. The element *Khala-* appears in *Khalama* and *Khalaśamušo*.

6. The termination *-ûs* in *Kômûsi* and *śamušo* seems to be Scythic.

7. The element *-si* in *Āyasi Kômûsû*, *Nandasikasa*, *Pispasi* is certainly not the Sanskrit *śrī*, which would have been so written in these inscriptions. It is a derivative element, perhaps identical with the *-ci*, *-zi* (Pahlavî *-cik*) which appears in many Iranian names.

8. The *y* in *Āyasi*, *Hayuarana*, *Ayimisa*, found also on the coins as an alternative for *z* in *Āyilisa*, etc. (see Gardner, *op. cit.* pp. 93, 173), most probably represents a *j* sound resembling the French *j*, for which reasons it must also remain undetermined whether the *ayaria* (= *āchārya*) and *puya* (= *pūjā*) of our inscriptions were intended or not to represent a pronunciation with a *y*.

9. The name *Abûhólâ* doubtless consists of two members, *Abû* (of uncertain meaning) to be traced in *Αβουλινης* (see Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v.) + *hólâ*, a variant of the *hóra* in *Spâlahôra* and the *hórakû* of our inscriptions. That *spâla* is a Pahlavî form of O. Pers. *spâda* = Zend *spâda* = Neo-Pers. *sipâh* is plain from its occurrence in *Spalapati*, which corresponds to the Persian *Ispahbad*, Pahlavî *Spâhpat* (see Justi, *op. cit.* and Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, No. 699). As the Zend-Persian *ahura* is used in the sense of 'prince' and as the form *hóra* is to be traced in the common (Sassanian) name *Hormisdas*, there can be no reason to doubt that this is the meaning of the second part of the name of *Abûhólâ* and that her *hórakâparivâra* was a 'retinue of princesses (or ladies).'

10. As regards the term *Kusûlâa* (= *Kusûlaka* of the Taxila Plate), it seems to me extremely unlikely that the word is unrelated to the *Kuyûla*, *Kujûla*, *Koçovla* applied to Kadphises and Kanishka, more especially now that the Sârânâth inscriptions have brought Kanishka into relation with the northern Satraps. The word seems to me to have been probably a title of the order of *Śāhib*, *Bahādur*, and the like.

It will now be sufficient to enumerate the persons occurring in the inscriptions. These are:—

(1) The family of Rājûla:—

(a) Rājûla himself with his sons *Kharaôsta* (*Yuvarāja*,² son of the Chief Queen *Abûhólâ*), *Śudâsa* (entitled Satrap), *Khalama* (entitled *Kumûra*³), and *Maja* (entitled *Kanishktha*),— the two last also being possibly children of the Chief Queen *Abûhólâ*— and his daughter *Hana*.

(2) Five other, probably princely, persons: *Kâlûi*, *Naûlûdô*, *Kâmûiô*, *Āyimisa* *Khalaśamušo*. These were perhaps relatives of Rājûla.

(3) Friendly satraps, namely *Kusûlâa Pādika*, *Mévaki Miyika*,³ *K(r)ônina*, *Khadaa*, *Tachhila* (*Rachhila*).

(4) A Buddhist *āchārya*, named *Buddhila* (*Budhila*), and a second (perhaps identical with the former), named *Buddhadêva*.

¹ Cf. Husing in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXVI. p. 562 ff., and Foy, Vol. XXXVI. p. 489 ff.

² On this and other similar titles see M. Lévy's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. XIX. p. 95 ff.

³ The name of a satrap *Mevaku* is traced by Prof. Rapson on a coin (J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 538).

The inscriptions supply in themselves no means of dating. But the style of the monument of which they celebrate the foundation seems to have been strongly Persian. This is in favour of an early date; but for a definite determination of it we must continue to rely upon the more or less contemporary Taxila plate belonging to the year 78 (in the reign) of the Great King Môga, who is usually placed (see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 29) as early as 120 B. C.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES.

A. I.

- 1 Mahachhatra(ttra)vasa rajulasa [Mahâchhatravassa Râjûlassa]
- 2 agra(ggra)maheshriayasia(o?) [agramahêshi-Âyasiâ]
- 3 komusaa dhite [Kômûsââ dhite]
- 4 khara(rha?)ostasa yuvaraûa [Kharaôstassa yuvarâûah]
- 5 mata nadadi(si?)akasa .. [mâtâ Nandadi(si?)akasa ..]

A. II.

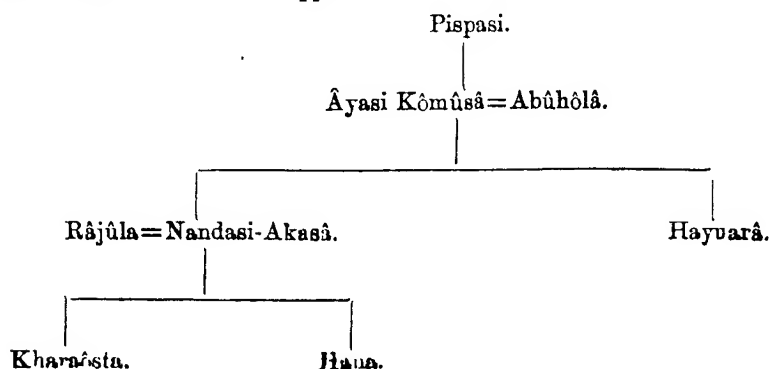
- 6 sadha mata(tra) abuholaa(e?) [sadha mâtrâ Abûholaâ]
- 7 pitramahi pispasria bhra [pitâmahi-Pispasiâ bhrâ-]
- 8 tra hayuarana sadha hanadhitra(?) [-trâ Hayuarânâ sadha Hana-dhitrâ]
- 9 atra(te)ûrena horakapa [amtêûrêna hôrakâpa-]
- 10 rivarena ise praḍhraviprate [-rivârêna isê praḍhravîpratê-]
- 11 še(šre?) nisime śarira pratiṭhavitō [-sê nissimê śarira[m] pratiṭṭhâvitō]
- 12 bhakravato śakamunisa budhasa [bhakravatō Śakamunissa Buddhassa]
- 13 ma(mra?)kiṭe(hi?)ra(?)ya saśpae bhusaveti(?) [. . . rāya saśpae bhûsâ-v-iti]
- 14 thuva cha sagharama cha chatu [thûva cha saṁghârâma cha chatu-]
- 15 diśesa saghasa sarva [-ddiśassa saṁghassa Sarvâ-]
- 16 stivatana parigrahe [-stivâtânâṁ parigrahê].

TRANSLATION.

By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Râjûla, daughter of Âyasi Kômûsâ, mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaôsta, Nandasi-Akasâ (by name), together with her mother Abûhola, her paternal grandmother Pispasi, her brother Hayuarâ (?), her daughter Hana, her household and court of *horakûs* (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a *stûpa* with the thought: 'May it be for the eternal of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha.' And the *stûpa* and the monastery are for the acceptance of the universal *Saṅgha* of the Sarvâstivâdins.

NOTES.

Genealogy.—The scheme appears to be as follows:—



Readings.—L. 1. The additional stroke in the *tra*, if not accidental, may denote a doubling. At least I learn from Prof. Rapson that a (cross) stroke is used in the Stein documents for that purpose.

L. 2, *aggra* with a cross stroke; *ma* in *mahēshi* has the original form with a subscribed angle; *shri* has the otiose *r*-stroke found elsewhere.

L. 3, *te* in *dhite* is quite clear; it must be due to an error, as the regular form of *tra* occurs several times in the inscription.

L. 4. Is the side stroke in the *r* of *kharaōstasa* accidental, or does it possibly represent *h*? See p. 138 above. It occurs in the place, though not with the shape, of aspiration in other consonants.

L. 5. No doubt *namdasi* should be read, on the analogy of the other names. But the lower stroke of the *akshara* is curtailed (being at the edge of the stone) in such a way as to produce the appearance of the cursive *da* in Bühler's Table, col. viii. After *sa* nothing can be clearly seen on the stone. The analogy of the other names would lead us to expect *-saḍ*. On the *ta* in *mātā* see p. 137 above.

L. 8. From what nominative form the instrumental *Hayuarānā* is to be derived is not obvious.

L. 9, *a[m]teūrēna* presents a case, rare in these inscriptions, of disappearance of a medial consonant. The only other cases are: (1) *śaṣpā* for *śaṣvatē*, l. 13 (if that is the correct reading); (2) *k* in *nākraraassa* and *māhūsaṅghidāna*; and (3) *kharaḍaassa*. As in general the medial consonants are sharpened rather than weakened, this seems to show a mixture of dialects. On the word *hōrakā* see p. 140 above.

L. 11, *nisime*. Bühler takes this as denoting a *stūpa*, and he quotes Professor Pischel's view that it is a Prākṛit form of *nihsama*, used in the sense of 'high', hence = *stūpa*. The word is certainly a substantive and the name of a manufactured object, as appears from the phrase *nisimō kārīta niyātītō* in inscription J.; but in point of etymology it may perhaps be related to the *nissimamālaka* of the *Mahāvamsa*, c. xxxii: *raṇṇō śarīraṃ jhāpēsum yasmin nissimaḥ ālaka*.

L. 13. The last *akshara* is doubtful, and it is indeed possible to question whether any sign is intended after *vi*. Bühler's reading *bhūsati* is out of the question. We must apparently take *bhūsā* as a strange optative form.

L. 12. The sign for *tō* is, owing to misplacement of the vowel stroke, that usually in these inscriptions denoting *tra*. I do not detect a sign for *r*.

L. 6. Whether *mūhā* or *mūtrā* is inscribed I cannot determine.

L. 7, *tra* is clear in *pitra*, and *sri* in *Paspasri*.

L. 9. The second *akshara* resembles *tra* more than anything else; if it is really *tē* (which in any case must be meant), the sign for *ē* is added to the earlier form of *ta*.

L. 13. Bühler's reading *mukhītāya*. The first *akshara* is certainly not *ma*, but might be *mra*, unless it is simply *ma*, and the third is far from being an ordinary *ta*, the expression *Buddhasya mukhītāya* does not present an orthodox appearance.

L. 15, *śē* seems clear; compare *śē* in l. 10.

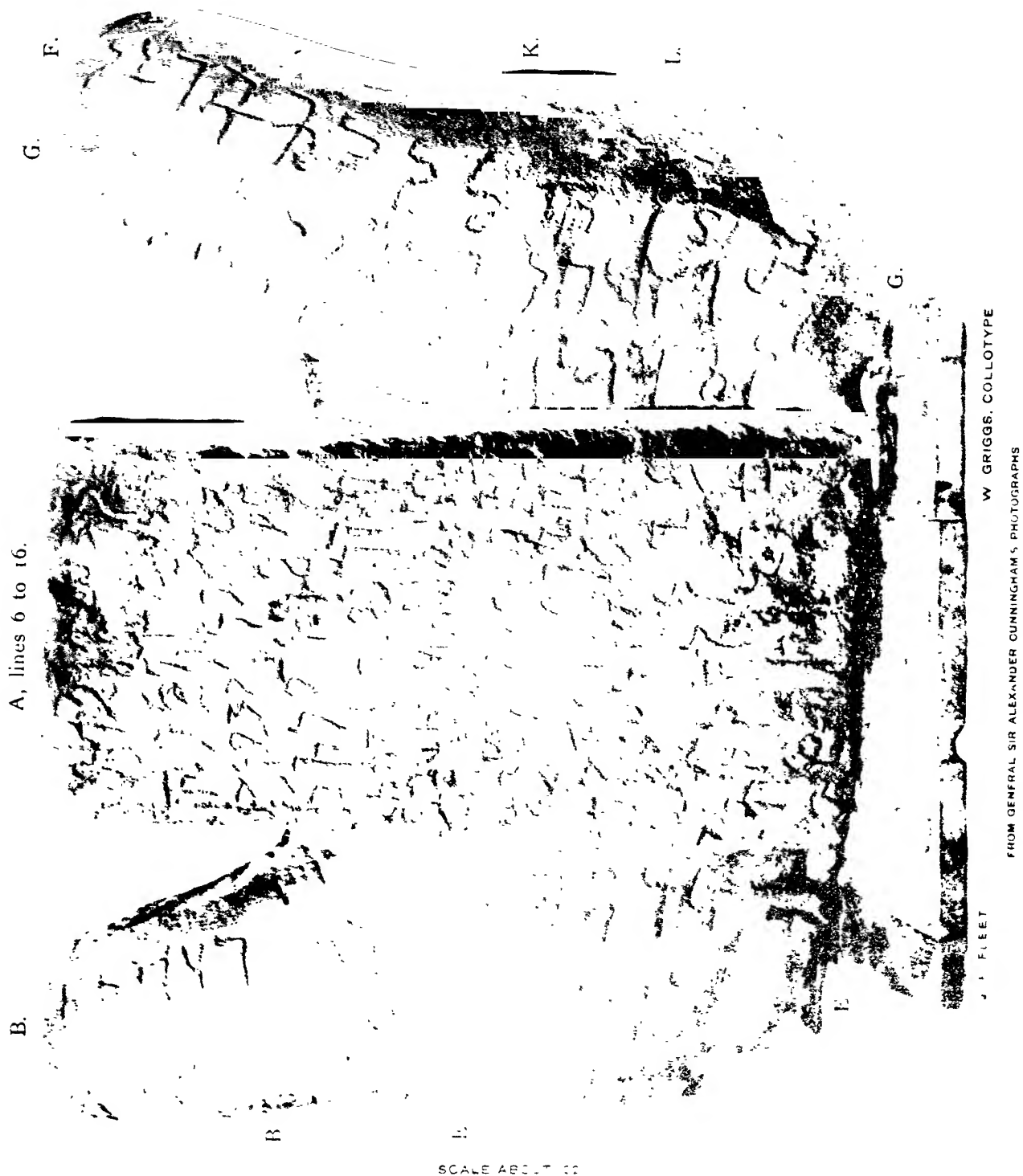
Grammar and interpretation.—L. 1, *ā* in *Rājūla* is supported by the *ā* in *śā*, etc., of the coins.

L. 2. It is doubtful whether *mahēshi* *śyasi*? or *mahēshī* *śyā*? is to be read. In the former case we have an omission (or postcrement) of the sign of declension, as in *pitāmahī* l. 7. It would however not be entirely out of the question to take *śyā* as an active participle with the subject *mūhā* in the nominative and in case concord. Bühler observes (p. 535) that '*pratīḥāritō* is the neuter, as frequently in the Pāli version of the Rock Edicts.' We may compare *imam kaṭarō* in Edict XI. It is hardly necessary to add cases parallel to the present (e.g. in

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum

Plate II

Back of the capital



the Māṇikīāla, Taxila, and Wardak inscriptions) the active construction (*pratiṭhāvēti*) is preferred.

B.¹

- 1 Mahachha(chchha?)travasa [mahāchhatravassa]
- 2 vajulasya putra [Rājūlasya putra]
- 3 śuḍase chatrave [Śuḍāsē chhatravē].

TRANSLATION.

Śuḍāsa, son of the Great Satrap Rājūlja, being Satrap.

NOTES.

L. 1. A cross stroke, apparently intentional, on the *chha* may indicate duplication, as in the cases already noted.

L. 2, *va* (*sic*).

L. 3. As these inscriptions seem to present no other nominatives in *-e*, *Suḍāsē* may best be regarded as a locative; in M. it is plainly so.

C.²

- 1 Kalui a [Kālūi a-]
- 2 varajo(jho?) [-varajō].

TRANSLATION.

Kālūi, younger brother.

D.³

Naūludo [Naūlūdō].

E.⁴

- 1 Khara(rha?)osto yuvaraya [Kharaōstō yuvarāyā]
- 2 khalamasa kumara [Khalamasa kumāra]
- 3 maja kanittha [Maja kanittha]
- 4 sa(sam?)manamota.

TRANSLATION.

Kharaōsta, Heir Apparent; Khalamasa, *kumāra*; Maja; youngest;

NOTES.

Bühler read *Jalana*^o in l. 2, but the *akshara* seems to be a *kha*. He also regarded *kumārā(t)maja* as a single word. The last line is uncertain; but I may perhaps suggest that the cross stroke in *mō* is accidental, in which case we may understand the words *samānā mītā* as indicating that the three sons named were *uterine* brothers. Bühler's reading *chha* is by no means borne out by inspection.

E'.⁵

Kamuio [Kāmūiō?].

NOTE.

Apparently a proper name, like Kālūi.

E''.⁶

kra ka(rva?)rita (yu?) [-kra kārīta?].

¹ See Plate II.

² In small letters at the place indicated in Plate III.

³ In smaller letters within E.; see Plate II.

⁴ On the right cheek of the right lion; not shown in the photographs.

⁵ See Plate III.

⁶ See Plate II.

NOTE.

The *ta*, if it is so to be read, has the earlier form.

F.¹

- 1 Budhilasa nakraraasa [Buddhilassa Nâkraraassa]
- 2 bhikhusa sarvastivatasa [bhikkhussa Sarvâstivâtassa].

G.²

- 1 Mahachhatavasya kusulaasa padikasa meva(na)kisa [mahâchhatravasya Kusûlaassa Pâdikassa Mevakissa]
- 2 miyikasa chhatavasa puyae [Miyikassa chhatavassa pûyâê].

J. (3).³

Sarvastivatana padi[ri ?]grahe [Sarvâstivâtâna padi(ri ?)grahê].

TRANSLATION.

F.—Of the Nâgara *bhikkhu* Buddhila, a Sarvâstivâdin.

G.—For the honour of the Great Satrap, the Kusûlaka Pâdika, and the Satrap Mevaki Miyika.

J.—For the acceptance of the Sarvâstivâdins.

NOTES.

These three inscriptions, written in *aksharas* of about the same size, adjoin each other, and may form a single whole.

Readings.—G. 1.—The *va* or *na* of *mêva(na)kisa* is a single straight stroke. *Mêvaki* is however more probable than *mênaki* (*mainâki*); see above.

J. (3).—The *di* in *padigrahê* (= *pratigrahê*) is identical with that in *Pâdika*; nevertheless *parigrahê* is on the whole more probable in view of A. l. 16. The *bhikkhu* Buddhila may be, but need not be, identical with the Buddhadêva of the inscription K. He belongs to Nâgara, no doubt the famous city of Nagarahâra (but see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. p. 184 ff., 201 and ref.). Concerning the remaining persons see the introductory remarks. There seems to be no ground for joining the inscription J. (3), as Bûhler does, to the lines J. (1 and 2), on the opposite face (the front) of the stone.

M.⁴

- 1 Chha(chchha)trave sūdise [chhatravê Śūdisê]
- 2 imo paḍhravi [imô paḍhravi]
- 3 prateśo [pratêśô]

I.⁵

- 1 veyā aṁ (u ?) dirna (dinam ?) kadhavaro busapa
- 2 ro kadha
- 3 varo
- 4 viyāa

¹ See Plate II.

² See Plate I.

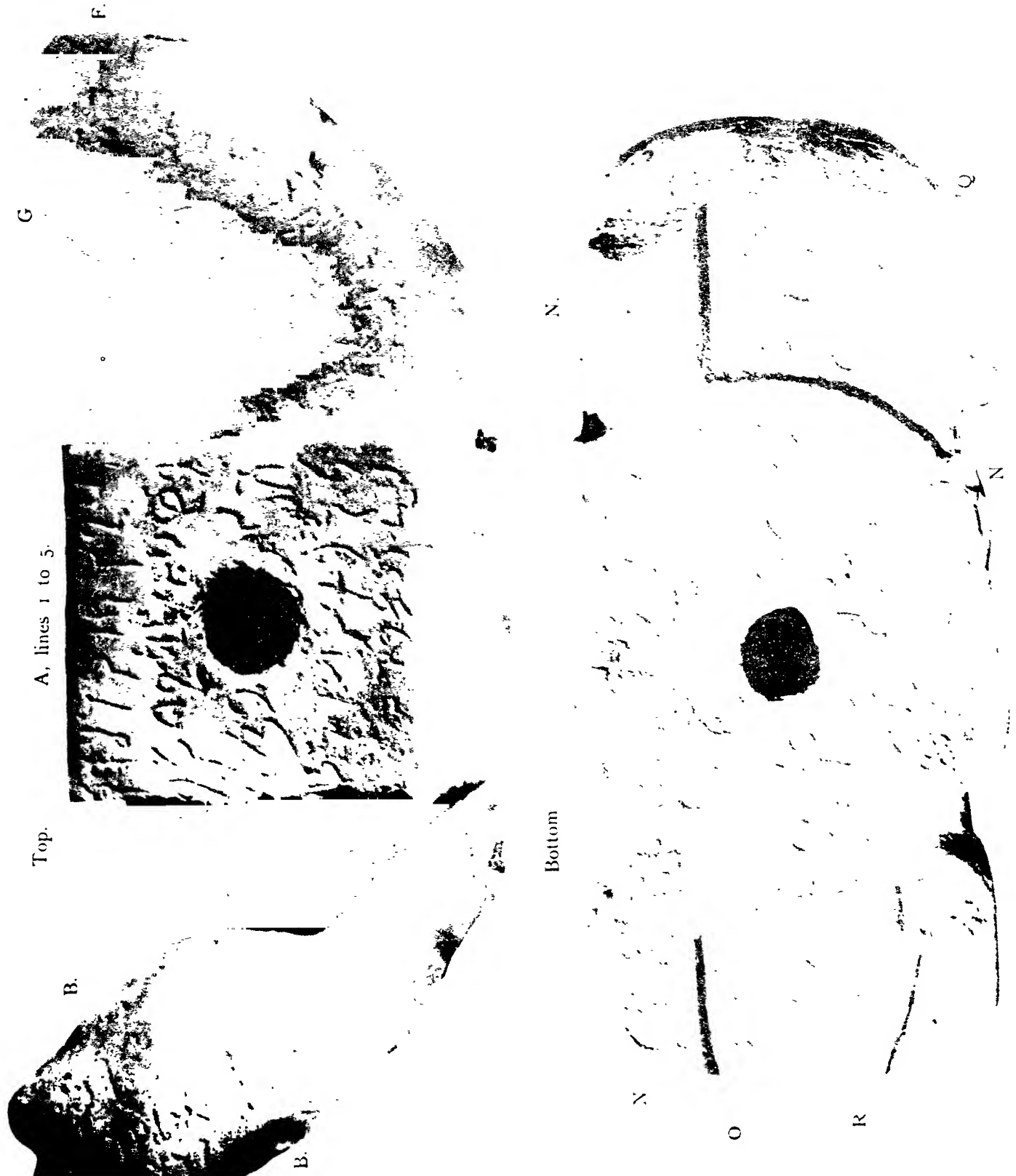
³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum.

Top and bottom of the capital



W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS

J. F. FLEET.

SCALE ABOUT 27

J. (1 and 2).¹

- 1 *viya rva* palishte (??) na
 2 *nisimo karita niyatito* [nissimo kârita niyyâtîtô].

These three inscriptions present the most difficult problems of all those inscribed on the capital. They are written in *aksharas* of approximately the same size. As M. has no verb (unless we here make use of the *-krakârita* (?) of E.), we should naturally expect it to be in connection with one of the others. It certainly seems to join the *vêya*^o of I. 1. But here we enter upon a very obscure passage. Bühler with great ingenuity has elicited the reading *vêya-udîno kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro=vêgôdîrno skandhâvârô busaparô skandhâvârô*, which he renders 'the army has started in haste, the army is intent on wealth.' But to this there are, apart from the inappropriateness of the sense, the following objections:—(1) *skandhâvâra* does not mean 'an army,' but 'an encampment'; (2) the meaning 'riches' attached to *busa* is attested only by Wilson's Dictionary; (3) it is doubtful whether the third *akshara* is really *u*; it is unlike the other *u*'s of these inscriptions and rather resembles *am*, while the bottom curve may even be a part of the accidental indentation in the stone (see the Plate); (4) a weakening of *g* to *y* in *vêya* is contrary to the tendencies of the languages employed in these inscriptions. On the other hand, the *ro* of I. 2 plainly follows the *pa* of I. 1, and a reading *veyaamdinam kadhavaro=vaijayantinâm skandhâvârô* appears but little promising. The *viya* which precedes the large *rva* in J. 1 is in small characters and no doubt an independent addition. Can it possibly be an insertion to show that the large *rva*, which apparently joins on to nothing, is an error for *vya*=*viya*? The sign which Bühler renders by *shîê* (reproduced in his *Indian Palæography*, Plate I. col. xiii.), is quite clearly inscribed; but its meaning is anything but clear. It is more like *rdi*, which seems very unlikely. With the preceding *pali* (Bühler *puli*) it composes no doubt a proper name. What came before *pali*, occupying a space sufficient for 7 or 8 *aksharas*, is quite obscure owing to the stone having peeled away. We seem to have the remains of a *sa*; but what is to be done with the large *rva* commencing the line? Even adopting the suggestion that it is an error for *vya* we have no ground for proceeding further. The words *nissimô kârita niyyâtîtô*, 'a *stûpa* was caused to be made and presented,' are quite satisfactory. We have already noted the older form of *ta* in *kârita*. With these remarks I must be content so far as these inscriptions are concerned.

J'.²

- 1 *Khalaśamu-*
 2 *śo.*

The *aksharas* are perfectly clear, though Bühler read *khalaśâna śo*. We seem to have here a proper name.

K. & L.³

- 1 *Ayariasa* [Âyâriassa]
 2 *budhatevassa* [Buddhatêvassa]
 3 *utaena ayimisa* [utaêna Âyimisa].

TRANSLATION.

Through the elevation of the *âchârya* *Buddhadêva*, *Âyimisa*.

The exact meaning is not clear. We might take *Âyimisa* as a genitive with *dînam* understood. But what then was the *dîna*? The last *akshara* of *Âyimisa*, which lacks the tail of the *sa*, was read by Bühler as *ta*.

¹ See Plate I.

² On the leg of the left lion, under his tail.

³ Not shown in the Plates: incised in very clear characters on the breast of the left lion between J. and P.-U. (see Plate II): plainly a single independent record.

H.¹

Gubavihara [Guhâvihârê].

TRANSLATION.

In the cave-vihâra.

Bühler would translate: 'In the Guha-monastery,' and the matter cannot be considered certain, as we have a Hamsasaṅghârâma near Gaya (*Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. I. p. 18) and a (Jaina) *Mihiravihâra* mentioned in an inscription published by him in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212.

H'.²

Dhamada(?)na(?) [dhammadânam].

TRANSLATION.

Religious donation.

N.³

- 1 Ayariasa budhilasa nakraraasa bhikhu [âyâriassa Buddhilassa Nâkraraassa bhikkhu-]
- 2 sa sarvastivatasa pagra [-ssa Sarvâstivâtassa pâgrâ-]
- 3 na mahasaghiana pra [-nam Mâhâsâṅghiânam prâ-]
- 4 ma(?)ñavitave khalulasa [-mâñavittavê khaḷûlassa].

TRANSLATION.

To the Sarvâstivâdin *âchârya* Buddhila, a *bhikkhu* of Nagara, an exercise-ground in the knowledge of the nature of proof to the vanguard of the *Mâhâsâṅghikas*.

L. 1. Buddhila is, of course, the *bhikkhu* already mentioned in the inscription F. The rendering 'of Nagara' (Bühler) seems to be the most satisfactory among the meanings of *Nâgaraka*, for which see the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Concerning the place probably denoted see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. pp. 184 ff., 201 and reff.

Ll. 2-3. Of the *sa* which Bühler inserts after *gra*, in order to get the word *prakâsamâ* I can see no trace.

L. 4. The reading seems certain; the only difficulty is the word *khalula*. Halâyudha gives *khaḍûrikâ* in the sense of 'a military exercise-ground,' and the Atharva-Vêda has *khaḍûra* with indeterminate sense. If the rendering given above does not seem quite acceptable, we may at least find in *khalula* some form from the root *khaṇḍ*, so common still in titles of controversial works. That the *Mâhâsâṅghikas* were opposed to the Sarvâstivâdins Bühler has already observed. I conjecture that *pramañavitave=pramânyavittvê*.

O.³

- 1 Sarvabudhana puya dhamasa [sarvabuddhânam pûyâ dhamma-sa]
- 2 puya saghasa puya [pûyâ saṅghassa pûyâ].

TRANSLATION.

Honour to all the *Buddhas*, Honour to the *Dharma*, Honour to the *Saṅgha*.

P.³

- 1 Sarvasa sakrasta [sarvassa Sakrastâ-]
- 2 nasa puyae [-nassa pûyâe].

¹ In small characters below the letter H. in Plate I.

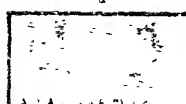
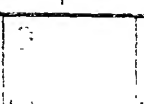
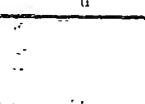
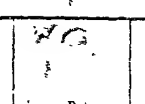
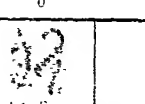
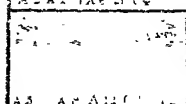
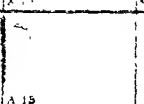
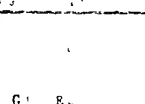
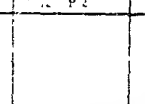
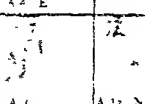
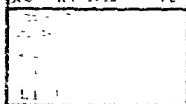
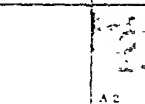


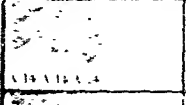
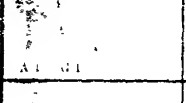
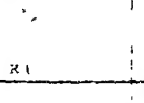

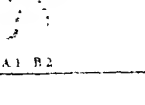

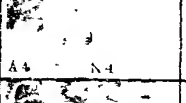
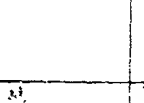
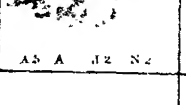
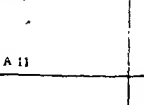
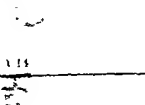
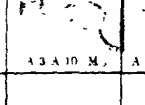
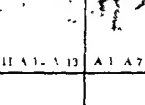
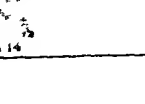
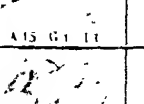
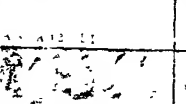
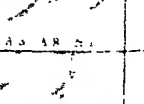
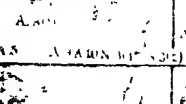
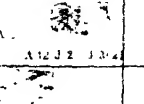
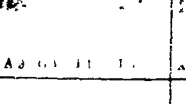
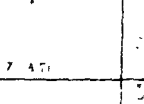
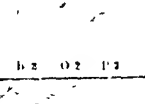
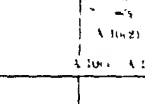
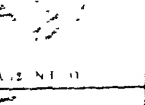

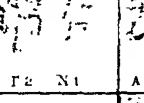
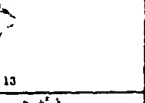

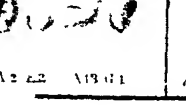

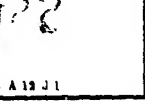


² In small characters, as H., below the letter H' in Plate I.

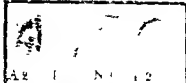
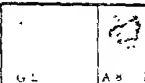

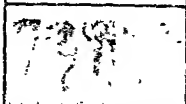
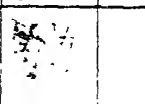
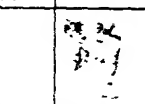
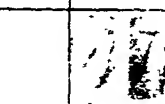
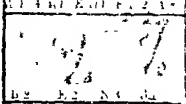
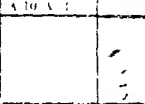
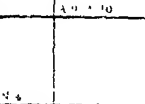
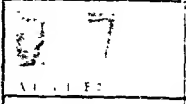


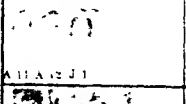
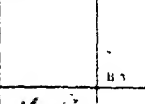
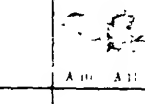
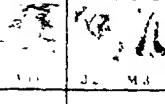
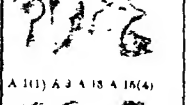
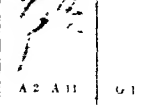
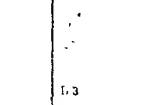

³ See Plate III.




INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM




Table of Aksharas










Plate IV.

	a	i	u	e	o
A	 A 2 A 1 A E D I G	 A 1	 A 2	 A 3 P 2	 A 4 E
K	 A 5 A 6 A 12 C 1	 A 13	 G 1 E	 A 4	 A 12 N 1 P
Kl	 L 1				
G					 A 2 A 1 N
Ch	 A 14 A 5	 A 6			
Ch	 A 14 A 14 A 4				
Chh	 A 1 G 1	 K 1			
J	 A 7		 A 1 B 2	 C 2	
N	 A 4	 A 1			
T	 A 5 A 12 N 2	 A 11	 A 15	 A 3 A 10 M	 A 11 A 1 A 13 A 1 A 7 A 8 (1) A 8 (2) B 2
Th			 A 14		
D		 A 15 G 1 H			
Dh	 A 12 A 12 H	 A 6 A 8 A 1			
N	 A 5 A 1 A 10 N 1 (2) A 12 J 2 J 3 A 4	 A 1			
P	 A 2 G 1 H 1	 A 7 A 7	 B 2 O 2 P 2		 A 10 (2) A 10 A 11 M A 1
B			 A 12 N 1 H		
Bh	 A 12	 F 2 N 1	 A 13		 A 1
K	 A 2 A 2 A 13 G 1	 G 2	 A 5 A 13 J 1	 A 11 G 1	 J 2

	i	u	e	o
Y	 A 2 I N 1 A 2	 G 2	 A 8 F 1	
L	 L 1 A 1 E 1 F 2 A 3	 A 10 A 1	 A 9 A 10	 I 2 I 5
V	 A 1 I F 2	 A 13 A 4	 A 1	
S	 A 11 A 12 J 1		 B 3	 A 10 A 11 A 13 J 2 M 3
S	 A 11 (1) A 2 A 13 A 16 (4)	 A 2 A 11	 G 1	 B 3
H	 A 1 A 8 (2) G 1	 A 7	 A 2	 A 6 A 8

Th	 A 11
D	 B 3
Dha ² Dhra ²	 A 10 M 2

St	 A 5 F 1
St	 A 10 F 3 J 3
Sto	 F 1

Shr.	 A 2
Sri	 A 7 N 3
Sya	 B 2 G 1
Rd	 G
Rvr	 F 2 J 2 F 1
Rna	 I 1
Ti ¹	 A 11 A 1
op.	 A 3
So	 A 7

Sam²

Tra²
Te²
Te²

TRANSLATION.

For the honour of all Sakastāna.

The objections raised by Dr. Fleet (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp. 703-9 ; 1905, pp. 154-6) to this rendering of Bühler seem to me ineffective. As regards the presence of Sakas at Mathurā, see the introductory remarks, where it is also shown that the form of the word exactly represents the name of Sakastāna. Nor is there any difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Sakas,' since we find in the Wardak inscription (and elsewhere, e.g. in the inscriptions of Sue Vihār, Anyor, and various Mathurā inscriptions, which have regard to the 'good and happiness of all living creatures,' *sarvasattvānām*) even more comprehensive expressions; nor again is there any difficulty in the use of *sarva* (uncompounded) with the meaning 'whole' (see the St. Petersburg Dictionary). As regards *svaka*, 'one's own,' (a common word), and the Pāli *sakattāhāna*, 'one's own place (home, etc.),' it may be remarked that, while it is natural to say, as in the passages cited by Dr. Fleet, 'he went to his own home,' etc., it seems less natural to inscribe on the stone 'honour to (somebody's) own home,' etc. [This inscription has been recently discussed by M. Barth, *Comptes Rendues de l'Académie*, 1907, pp. 384 ff., with his accustomed perspicacity. I am, however, unable to admit that the name of a donor is required here any more than in the inscriptions G. and O. A *pājā* addressed to a country is certainly unusual, but inscription G. contains a similar *pājā* addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominion.]

Q.¹

- 1 Khardaasa [Khardaassa]
- 2 chhatravasa [chhatavassa].

TRANSLATION.

Of the Satrap Khardaa.

R.²

- 1 Ra(ta?)chhilasa [Ra Ta h . . .]
- 2 kroni . . .

TRANSLATION.

Of Ra . . . (Ta . . .) Kaundinya (?).

Kaundinya is a suggestion of Bühler, who also regards *Tachhilasa* as = *Takshasilasa*.

Additional Notes.

1. A number of questions relating to, or connected with, the inscriptions on the Lion Capital—for instance the forms of the names Moga, Rajāla, and Kharaosta, and the date of Moga—have been discussed by Dr. J. F. Fleet in an article entitled 'Moga, Maues, and Vonones,' published in the *J. R. A. S.* for October 1907, pp. 1013-40.

2. P. 137, l. 9: Insert after 'pp. 526 ff.' the words '(where *sapana* is perhaps = *sappana* = *sattvānām*, see Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen* §300).'

3. P. 137, l. 38: Insert after 'detached stroke' the words 'to the left together with the same curve to the right that in *śe* denotes *e*, see below.'

4. P. 139, l. 44: Insert after the words 'defence of sovereignty' the words 'see the Iranian *Grundriss* II. p. 97.'

¹ See Plate III. and Plate I. where R. has been printed in error. The word *chhatavasa* is inverted on the stone.

² See Plate III.

No. 18.— MOUNT ABU VIMALA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION
OF [VIKRAMA-] SÂMVAT 1378.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In 1828 H. H. Wilson, in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 284 ff., published an account of the inscriptions on the mountain *Arbuda*, the modern Mount *Âbû* in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, from copies presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Captain Speirs, Political Agent at Sirohi. In that account Prof. Wilson gave full translations of one of the two large inscriptions at the temple of Nēminātha, the texts of which were first published in 1883 by Mr. A. V. Kāthavate, and which have now been edited, with facsimiles, by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII. p. 200 ff.; of the Guhila inscription in the neighbourhood of the temple of Achalēśvara, edited by myself in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 347 ff.;¹ and of the Achalēśvara temple inscription of which I have treated above, p. 79 ff.² Of other inscriptions only short abstracts of the contents were given, apparently based on an account in Hindi that had been drawn up by a native scholar.

For many years afterwards little³ was done for the study of the Mount *Âbû* inscriptions. But in the cold season of 1900-01 Mr. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, while staying at *Âbû*, had impressions (or, in a few cases, eye-copies) prepared of all inscriptions which are now found on the mountain; and by sending them to the Government Epigraphist he for the first time has placed at our disposal trustworthy materials for a critical examination of these records. Most of these inscriptions are very short; none of them go back beyond the middle of the 11th century A.D.; and considering their great number, the *data* furnished by them for the political history of the country are disappointingly few. In other respects, some are of considerable interest and well deserve to be made more generally accessible, while a good many contain some name, or expression, or date, or perhaps only some mark or letter, which, unimportant as it may seem at first sight, may prove of use on a future occasion.

The number of the inscriptions in Mr. Cousens' collection, which has been sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, is 298, of which 270 are ink-impressions and 28 eye-copies only. Of the total number, 148 are from the temple of Rishabha (*Âdinātha*) which was founded by Vimala;⁴ 97 from the temple of Nēminātha, founded by Tējāhpāla;⁵ 30 from the temple of Achalēśvara, and 13 from other localities. Of the Vimala temple inscriptions 126 are dated, the earliest date being of the [Vikrama] year 1119 (about A.D. 1062), in a short inscription (No. 1780 of Mr. Cousens' List) of a minister of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I., and the latest (in No. 1874) of the [Vikrama] year 1785 (about A.D. 1728); between the two, the years which most

¹ A kind of facsimile of the inscription may be seen in *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* Plate xxxvi.

² Prof. Wilson also gave a translation of the inscription of the Vikrama year 1265, published by Dr. Cartellieri in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 221 ff., the original of which is now at the town of Sirohi; see *Progress Report of the Archaeol. Survey of India, W. Circle*, for 1905-1906, p. 47.

³ For inscriptions that have been edited (in addition to those translated by Prof. Wilson) see my *Northern List*, Nos. 261 and 265.

⁴ In inscriptions the temple is called *Vimala-vasahikā*, *Vimalasya vasahikā*, *Vimala-vasahī*, and *Vimala-vasahikā-tīrtha*, in literary works also *Vimala-vasati*. Above, p. 81, I have already stated that the names 'Vimala Sāh' or 'Vimala Shāh,' recently written 'Vimala Sā,' in my opinion owe their origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple.' Similarly, *Lūniga-vasahikā* has given rise to the name (for Tējāhpāla's brother) 'Lūniga Sahitā,' in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 309.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 200, Prof. Lüders has shown that the ordinary name of the temple is *Lūnarimāha* (or *Lūnarītha*)-*vasahikā* or *Lūna-vasahikā*. In inscriptions I also find *Lūniga-vasahikā*, *Tējāpāla-vasahikā* and *Tējāla-vasahī*, and in literary works *Lūniga-vasati*.

frequently occur are the Vikrama years 1245 (22 times) and 1378 (25 times). Of the inscriptions at Têjahpâla's temple 77 are dated, and here the earliest dates are of the Vikrama year 1257 (about A.D. 1230), the very year in which the temple was founded, while the latest date (in No. 1748) is one of the [Vikrama] year 1911 (about A.D. 1854); no less than 47 inscriptions are dated between the Vikrama years 1287 and 1297, and 9 between 1346 and 1389. Of the 30 inscriptions at the temple of Achalêśvara 22 are dated. Here the earliest inscription appears to be one (No. 1950), unfortunately almost entirely effaced, of the [Vikrama] year 1186 (about A.D. 1129), and another (No. 1941) seems to contain a date in the [Vikrama] year 1191. What I consider to be certain is, that No. 1951 of Mr. Cousens' List is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1207 (about A.D. 1150), in the reign of the [Paramâra] *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Yaśôdhavaladêva* (a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla, an inscription of whom is dated in the same year).¹ Two other inscriptions (Nos. 1945 and 1946) are dated in the [Vikrama] years 122[5] and 122[8], the rest in 1377 and later years. Regarding the 13 remaining inscriptions, it will suffice to say that the Guhila inscription mentioned above (No. 1953 of the List) is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1342, and that the dates which occur in others are of later years.

Of the inscriptions at the temple of Nêminâtha, the two largest and most important, together with 30 shorter ones, have been edited from Mr. Cousens' materials by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII. p. 200 ff. I now give the text of an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1378, which is at the temple of Rishabha, and the chief point of interest in which is the statement that that temple was founded in the Vikrama year 1088 (about A.D. 1031) by a certain Vimala, who had been appointed *daṇḍapati* at Arbuda by [the Chaulukya] Bhîmadêva [I.].

Before I proceed to describe the inscription, I may state that the date here given for the foundation of the temple is known to us also from other sources. In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 248, the late Dr. Klatt gave an extract from a *Paṭṭâvali* of the Kharatara-gachchha, according to which 'the minister Vimala, who belonged to the Pôravâda (Prâgvâṭa) family, and who broke the parasols of thirteen Sultâns and established the town of Chandrâvatî, caused a temple of Rishabhadeva to be built on the mountain Arbuda — a temple which even now is known by the name *Vimala-vasahî*,' and which, it is added, was consecrated by Vardhamâna-sûri in the year 1088. The same story, with the same date, is more fully given in the extracts in Prof. Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. II. pp. 1036 and 1037, where we are moreover told that, to obtain from the Brâhman the ground on which he intended to build the temple, Vimala had to cover it with gold coins, and that he expended 18 crores and 53 lacs (185,300,000) in the building of the temple. And the date also occurs in an interesting extract from Jinaprabhasûri's *Tirthakalpa*, in Prof. Peterson's *Fourth Report*, p. 92 f. There, again, the Vikrama year 1088 is given² for the foundation of the *Vimala-vasatî*, and 1288 for that of the *Lûniga-vasatî*,³ and it is also stated that, when the two temples had been demolished or damaged (*bhagna*) by the Mlêchchhas, they were repaired in the Saka year 1243 (i.e. the Vikrama year 1378), the first by Lalla, the son of Mahapasimha, and the other by Pithada, the son of the merchant Chandasimha. We shall see below that our inscription actually records the restoration, in 1378, of Vimala's temple by Lalla (Lâlîga), the son of Mahapasimha, and

¹ No. 129 of my *Northern List*.

² So far as I can see, there is something wrong in the verses 39 and 40, as given by Prof. Peterson, but regarding the date of the construction of the *Vimala-vasatî* there can be no doubt.

³ According to the extracts, the *sûtradhara*, who built the *Lûniga-vasatî*, was Śôbhanadêva, who is mentioned in the same way (as *prâśâdakâraka-sûtradhara*) in Mërtuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmani*, p. 259. This builder's name actually occurs in No. 1674 of Mr. Cousens' List, an inscription of the Vikrama year 1288.—Jinaprabhasûri's account of the mountain Arbuda, from which the extracts are taken, seems to be based on inscriptions and to be quite trustworthy.

Vijāḍa, the son of Dhanasimha; and the name of the person who repaired the temple of Tōjahpāla (the *Lūṇiya-vasati*) is given as Pēthaḍa in an inscription¹ at that temple, the full text of which is:—

L. 1 Ōm² || ³Ā-chaindrārkkam namdatād=ēsha sainghā-⁴dhīsaḥ śrīmā-
2 n Pēthaḍaḥ saingha-yuktaḥ | jīrṇnōddhāram Vastupāla-
3 sya chaityē⁴ tēnē yēn=ēhāsrbudādrau sva-sāraiḥ ||

The inscription with which we are more immediately concerned here⁵ is on a black slab, built into the side wall of a shrine in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space between 1' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 1' 8" broad by 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, but of which only the first 22 lines extend over the full breadth of this space; lines 23-29 are only 1' 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " long and line 30 (which contains merely a date) only 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The greater part of the writing is well preserved; but in line 16 about 10 *aksharas* and in line 17 about 4 *aksharas* are effaced, and in some places the writing is difficult to read, mainly, as it seems to me, because the letters have been formed carelessly and are so close to one another that they have not come out clearly in the ink-impression at my disposal.⁶ The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{4}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the words *ōm* || *śrī-Arbudatīriha-prasastir=likhyate* || at the commencement, the words *atha rājāvali* || in line 9, and the date in line 30, the text is in verse, the number of verses being 42. In respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. There are separate signs for the letters *b* and *v*, and the sign for the former has been wrongly employed also for *v* in *sarvajña*, l. 16, and *sa nbbhabah*, l. 21. The palatal sibilant is used instead of the dental in *manasvi*, l. 4, *sāmha-* (for *simha-*), l. 6, and *sahasrē*, l. 8, and the dental instead of the palatal in *nivésitam*, l. 8, *pesala-*, l. 18, and *sasi-*,⁷ l. 29. Instead of the vowel *ri* we have the syllable *ri* in *Rishabha* ll 26 and 29, and in line 24 the author himself has written *shaḍ-arttavaḥ* instead of *shaḍ-ritavaḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.⁸ What is more interesting is, that in line 4 we find *vrīpasa* for *vrīpasya*, and in line 21 *vaddjñā* instead of *vaddānyā*. The latter reminds us of the name *Nyānasakti* (instead of *Jñānasakti*) in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 93, l. 26, and shows that in Rājputāna as well as in the Kanarese country there could have been hardly any difference in pronunciation between *jña* and *nya*; and *vrīpasa* recalls *tasa* and similar genitive cases of far more ancient inscriptions,⁹ without, of course, proving more than that the pronunciation of *s* must have been similar to that of the conjunct *sy*. In respect of grammar I need draw attention only to the word *vidadhāna*, in line 3, the reading of which is certain, and which the author undoubtedly has used as a 3rd person singular of the Perfect of *vi-dhā* (instead of *vidadhē*), probably misled by the participle *vidadhāna* which was more familiar to him than the proper verbal form.¹⁰ Though the writer or engraver in some places has done his work carelessly, I believe that, with the exception of what has been entirely effaced

¹ No. 1743 of Mr. Cousens' List, "on pilaster near shrine doorway of the principal temple in Vastupāla's temple."

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ Metre: Śālini.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ No. 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁶ When my text was finished, I was able to compare impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. Gaurishanker Hirachand Ojha and by the Government Epigraphist, which in one or two places where there had been some doubt confirmed the correctness of my readings.

⁷ For curiosity's sake it may be stated that the Sanskrit *tasa*, German 'hase,' English 'hare,' seems to go back to an original *tasa*; compare Prof. Wackernagel's *Altind. Gramm.* Vol. I. p. 225.

⁸ Compare *shadricha* and *shadarcha* in the St. Petersburg *Dictionary*.

⁹ See Prof. Rapson in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1900, p. 104 f., and Prof. Franke's *Pāli and Sanskrit*, p. 97 f., and compare the genitive cases *terasa*, *sagata*, etc., in *Ep. Zeylanica*, Vol. I. p. 18 ff.

¹⁰ Proper Perfect forms which occur in the text are *babhāva*, *babbhūvaḥ*, *chakāra*, *didīsa*, *pra-pīḍa* and *kārayām-asatuh*.

and of perhaps the last words of verse 21, the original text may everywhere be restored with confidence.

The object of the inscription is, to record that in the [Vikrama] year 1378 two persons, **Lalla (Lāḷiga)** and **Vijāḍa**, for the spiritual welfare of their parents repaired the temple of **Rishabha (Ādinātha)** on the mountain **Arbuda**. And the inscription is divided into three parts. The first part (verses 1-13) is a *praśasti* or eulogy of the sacred **Arbuda**; but besides glorifying that locality and some mythical or divine beings (**Ambikā** and **Śrīmātā**) residing there, it also gives a few historical details connected with it, and especially records the foundation, in the **Vikrama** year 1088, of the temple of **Ādinātha** by **Vimala**. The second part (vv. 14-23) contains a *riṣāvali* of the chiefs who at the time of the restoration of the temple were in possession of the mountain. And the third part (vv. 24-38) gives an account of the family of the men by whom the temple was repaired. The concluding verses (39-42) record the name and spiritual lineage of the priest or teacher who consecrated the restored building, and the exact date when he did so.

To omit what is of no historical interest, the first part begins with the well-known story how on the mountain **Arbuda** there sprang from the fire-pit (*anala-kunḍa*, *agni-kunḍa*) of the sage **Vasishṭha** the hero **Paramāra**. In his lineage appeared the hero **Kānhaḍadēva**; and in his family there was a chief named **Dhandhu (Dhandhurāja)**, who was lord of the town of **Chandrāvati** and who, averse from rendering homage to the [Chaulukya] king **Bhīmadēva [I.]** and to escape that king's anger, took refuge with king **Bhōja**, the lord of **Dhārā**. The author then, rather abruptly, tells us that in the **Prāgvāṭa** family there was a distinguished personage named **Vimala** in whom religion, immersed in darkness through the wickedness of the times, suddenly shone forth again in its splendour. He was appointed by king **Bhīma daṇḍapati** (commander of the forces or governor) at **Arbuda**, and there one night was enjoined by the divine **Ambikā** to build on the mountain a beautiful dwelling for the **Yugāḍibharṭṛi (Yugāḍijina, Ādinātha)**. That **Vimala** obeyed the request the author intimates in the verse: "I adore the holy **Ādinātha** who was placed on the top of **Arbuda** by the glorious **Vimala**, when one thousand and eighty-eight years had passed since (the time of) the glorious king **Vikramāditya**."

The chief **Dhandhu** or **Dhandhurāja**, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, apparently is the **Paramāra** (or **Paramāra**) **Dhandhuka** mentioned above, p. 11, whose son **Pūrṇapāla** ruled the **Arbuda** territory in the **Vikrama** years 1099 and 1102.¹ He would of course have been a contemporary of both the **Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I.** and the **Paramāra Bhōjadēva** of **Mālava**.—**Vimala's** name occurs in another inscription at his own temple, dated in the **Vikrama** year 1201. That inscription,² No. 1767 of Mr. Cousens' List, contains 10 lines of writing which covers a space about 2' 6" long by 5½" high, and contains 17 verses. In the ink-impression the first two lines of it cannot be read with any confidence, but so far as I can see, a man is spoken of in them who belonged to the **Śrīmāla kula** and was an ornament of the **Prāgvāṭa vamsa**. His son was **Lahadha**, who was somehow connected with the king **Mūla** (i.e. the **Chaulukya Mūlarāja I.**) and was also known by the name **Vira-mahattama**. **Lahadha** had two sons. The first of them was the minister **Nēḍha**, and the second **Vimala**, who in verse 7 is described thus:—

Dvitiyakō=dvaitamatāvalamvi(bi) daṇḍādhipaḥ śrī-Vimalō va(ba)bhūva |
yēn=ēdam=nchchair=bhavasindhusētukalpaṁ vinirmāpitam=atra vēśma ||

¹ The name **Dhandhuka** also occurs in the genealogy of the **Paramāras** of **Chandrāvati**, above, Vol. VIII. p. 201.

² According to Mr. Cousens the inscription is over the doorway of cell No. 10 in the corridor of **Vimala's** temple. It is referred to in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, in the words: "One inscription bears date S. 1201, but as nothing else is decipherable, it is of no further value."

Nēḍha's son was Lālīga ; his son was the minister Mahiduka;¹ and he again had two sons, Hēma and Daśaratha. And the object of the inscription is, to record that Daśaratha at the temple of Rishabhā set up an image of Nēmiḥṇēśa (Nēmitīrthakara, i.e. Nēminātha), which was installed on Friday, the first *tithi* of Jyēṣṭhā of the Vikrama year 1201, corresponding to Friday, the 5th May A.D. 1144. I may add that the genealogy here given is for the greater part corroborated by another inscription at Vimala's temple, No. 1768 of Mr. Cousens' List,² the full text of which is :—

- L. 1 ³Śrī-Śrīmālakulōdbhava-|⁴ Vīramabāmantri-putra-[sa]nmantri- | śrī-
 2 Nēḍha-putra-Lālīga-tatsuta-Mahiduka-⁵sutēn=ēdam || Nijapu-
 3 trakalatra-samanvitēna |⁴ sanmantri-Daśarathēn=ēdam | śrī-Nēmi-
 4 nātha-[b]hīmān⁶ |⁴ mōkshārtham kārītam ramyam ||

For us the main point of interest is the date which the first of the two inscriptions furnishes for Daśaratha ; for that date, being of the Vikrama year 1201, shows that Vimala, the younger brother of Daśaratha's great-grandfather Nēḍha, may well have lived in the Vikrama year 1088, the traditional date for the foundation of his temple.

The contents of the second part of our inscription (verses 14-23) I have already given above, p. 81 f. This *rājāvalī* in verse 14 commences with Āsarāja, who belonged to the Chāhuvāma (Chāhuvāpa, Chāhamāna) family and was king of the town of Nadūla (Naddūla). After him came Samarasimha ; and his son was Mahānasimhabhaṭa (v. 15). Then came Pratāpamalla ; and to him was born Vijaḍa, the lord of the Marusthali *maṇḍala* (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūṇiga (v. 17). Verse 18 then eulogizes Luṇḍha 'who like a god of death devoured the host of adversaries ;' and verse 19 Lumbha, of whom verse 20 records that he conquered the mountain Arbuda, and that, after having ruled the earth, he became the lord of heaven (i.e. died). Verse 21 then eulogizes Tējasimha, the son of Lūṇiga ; verse 22 wishes long life to Tihunāka ; and the mutilated verse 23 appears to say that Lumbhaka together with Tējasimha and Tihuna (*śrīmal-Lumbhaka-nāmā samanvitas=Tējasimha-Tihunābhyām*) in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda.

Regarding the first part of this *rājāvalī*, as far as Vijaḍa, there can be no doubt, and I have nothing to add to what I have previously said about it. A difficulty arises concerning the sons of Vijaḍa. According to the inscription of Luṇṭiga-dēva, above, p. 80, Vijaḍa, who is also called Daśasyandana (Daśaratha), had four sons — Lāvanyakarṇa, Luṇḍha (Luṇṭiga), Lakshmaṇa, and Lūṇavarman, of whom Lāvanyakarṇa is distinctly called the eldest (*jyēṣṭha*). According to the present inscription Vijaḍa had three sons the first (*ādya*) of whom was Lūṇiga. After Lūṇiga the inscription mentions Luṇḍha and Lumbha, without saying that they were his younger brothers or in any way specifying their relationship. In my account of Luṇṭiga-dēva's inscription I have identified Lūṇiga with Lāvanyakarṇa, and have taken Luṇḍha and Lumbha to be the names of his brothers, identifying Luṇḍha with Luṇṭiga (Luṇṭiga) and Lumbha with Lūṇavarman. Other inscriptions are sure to be discovered which will show whether I am right or wrong. In the meantime I feel bound to state that my friend Mr. Ojha, than whom nobody is better acquainted with the history of his country, takes the three names Lūṇiga, Luṇḍha and Lumbha (Lumbhaka) to denote one and the same person, and to be all Sanskritized forms of Lumbhā, denoting a chief 'commonly called राव लुम्भा,

¹ The metre shows that the name is correct here.

² The inscription is on the seat of an image in cell No. 10 in the corridor.

³ Metre of the two verses : Āryā.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

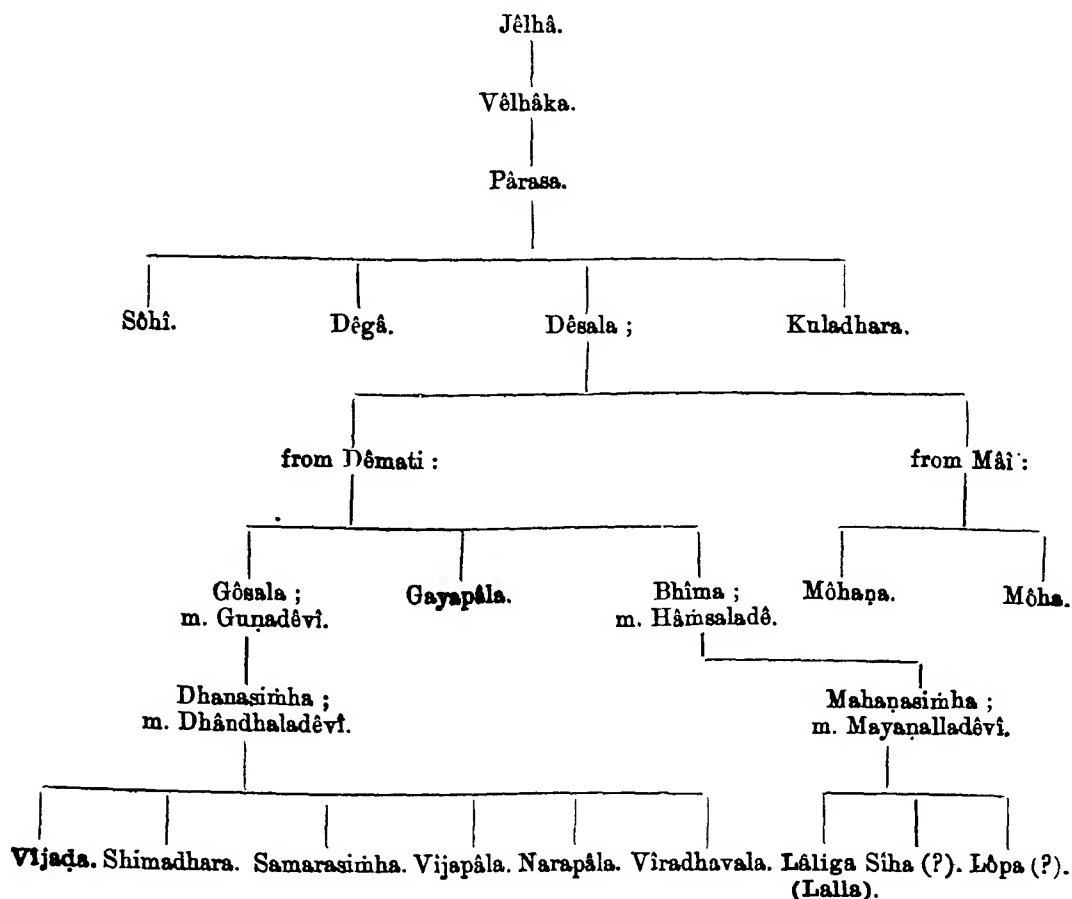
⁵ The metre requires us to read *Mahiduka*.

⁶ Read *-bimbam*.

the famous conqueror of Âbû.' If my learned friend should be right, the last lines of the genealogical Table published above, p. 83, would of course have to be slightly altered. Mr. Ojha agrees with me in considering Tihupâka (Tihupa) to be a younger brother of Têjasimha, but from his point of view places both, together with Têjasimha's son Kânhaḍadêva, under Luptiga (Lunḍha, Lûṇiga, Lumbha). At the time when our inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1378, Lumbha was dead, and the government of Âbû must have been actually carried on by Têjasimha.

The account, which forms the third part of our inscription (verses 24-38), of the family of the two men (Lalla and Vijaḍa) who restored the temple, contains little more than a list of names which may be seen from the following Table:—

Genealogical Table.



The individuals mentioned in this Table were devotedly attached to the Jaina faith. Jêlhâ, the founder of the family, was a merchant, and his *guru* was Dharmasûri.¹ His place of residence was given in the inscription, but the name has been effaced. Of Dêsala it is said that he made fourteen processions to the seven sacred places,² Śatrumjaya and the rest. The other members of the family are eulogized in general terms.

¹ See below, p. 154.

² The seven *śrîhas* or *kaśîtras* are frequently mentioned, but I have not yet found the names of the seven places.

There are at Vimala's temple several short inscriptions of members of this family, likewise dated in the [Vikrama] year 1378. And there is a longer inscription¹ of the same family, No. 1791 of Mr. Cousens' List, which is dated, in words and figures, in the Vikrama year 1309. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing with 15 verses, and records the installation, by Ānandasūri, of an image of Nēmiṣina (Nēminātha) at Vimala's *vasahikā*. We learn from it that the family belonged to the Ūkē[śa] *vamśa*,² and that its founder, Jēlhāka, as he is there called, was an inhabitant of Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor). After Kuladhara it mentions five sons of his, but as the text is partly effaced, I am not at present prepared to give their names from the ink-impression at my disposal.

The remaining verses (39-42) of our inscription record that Rishabha was installed (or rather re-installed) on the mountain Arbuda by the *guru* or *sūri* Jñānachandra, on a date in the [Vikrama] year 1378. Regarding the spiritual lineage of Jñānachandra, we learn that he was preceded by Amaraprabhasūri, and that the founder of the lineage was Dharmasūri, also called Dharmaghōsha-gaṇāryaman, i.e. Dharmaghōsha, 'the sun of the gaṇa,' 'who defeated Vādichandra and Guṇachandra, and caused the awakening of three kings.' Other inscriptions of the [Vikrama] year 1378 speak of Jñānachandra either as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmasūri³ or as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmaghōshasūri;⁴ and an undated inscription, No. 1796 of Mr. Cousens' List, commences with the words: *Śrīmad-Dharmaghōshasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Āna(n)dasūri-śrī-Amaraprabhasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Jñānachandrasūri*. The Ānandasūri of the last must be the Ānandasūri mentioned above with a date in the Vikrama year 1309; and the Ānandasūri and Amaraprabhasūri of the inscription apparently are the Ānandasūri and his disciple Amaraprabhasūri who, according to Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 110, l. 1, are mentioned in a manuscript written by Amaraprabhasūri's advice in the [Vikrama] year 1344. Before Ānandasūri there is mentioned, *ibid.* p. 109, Dharmasūri (a disciple of Śilabhadrasūri of the Rāja-gachchha), who to the pride of conceited disputants was what the lion's roar is to an elephant, and who put an end to the intoxication of the king Vighraha. And the same person is mentioned, under the name Dharmaghōshasūri, in Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, App. pp. 15 and 307, where he is represented as enlightening the king of Śākambhari; and *ibid.* p. 262, where he is said to have defeated disputants in the presence of the king of the Sapādalaksha country. From all this there can be no doubt that, of the three kings who in our inscription are spoken of as having been awakened by Dharmasūri, one was a king Vighraharāja of Śākambhari (the capital of the Sapādalaksha country). In fact, I believe that that king is identical with Visaladēva-Vighraharāja, whose Delhi Siwālik pillar inscriptions (No. 144 of my *Northern List*) are dated in the Vikrama year 1220 (in A.D. 1164), and that Dharmaghōshasūri himself is a person of that name who in a short Vimala temple inscription (No. 1906 of Mr. Cousens' List) is mentioned with a date in the [Vikrama] year 1226 (in A.D. 1170). Who the two other kings were I do not know; nor have I identified yet Vādichandra⁵ and Guṇachandra who were defeated by Dharmasūri.

The date given in verse 42 is Monday, the ninth *tithi* of the dark half (*śitī*) of Jyēshṭha in the year made up of the *vasus* (8), the *munis* (7), the *guṇas* (3) and the moon (1), i.e. the [Vikrama] year 1378. Here there is the difficulty that the word *śitī*, which I have translated by 'the dark half,' might equally well denote 'the bright half'; and at first sight the latter interpretation might really seem to be preferable, because in line 30 of our text the date is repeated

¹ This is the inscription referred to in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, in the words: "Another (*viz.* inscription), in like manner, shows a date S. 1309, but nothing else."

² I.e. the Ōsavāla tribe; compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 40.

³ Nos. 1759, 1822 and 1852 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ Nos. 1756, 1758A, 1764 and 1793 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ There is a Vādichandra who composed the *Jñānasūryodaya*; I do not know whether he is the man mentioned in our inscription.

in the words 1379 *Jyêshṭha-sudi 9 Sôme*. But against this it has to be said that in four independent inscriptions (Nos. 1771, 1821, 1829 and 1904 of Mr. Cousens' List) we have *sainvat* (or *sañ*) 1378 *varshê Jyêshṭha-vadi 9 Sôma-dinê* (or *Sômê*), which evidently is the same date as the one given in our inscription. And besides, for the bright half of *Jyâishṭha* the date would be quite incorrect for 1378 (as a *Chaitrâdi* current or expired, or *Kârttikâdi* expired year), whereas for the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta Jyâishṭha* of the expired *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1378 it regularly corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322. For these reasons I regard my translation of the date to be correct and take Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322 to be its proper equivalent; and I consider the way in which the date has been repeated in line 30 (where '1379' under any circumstances would be suspicious) to be due to a mistake.

TEXT.¹

- 1 || Ôm² || 3⁵ Sri-Arbudatīrtha-prasastir-likhyatê || 4^{Amgikrit-âchalapadô} vṛishabhâsitô=si |⁶ bhûtir-gaṇâdhipatisêvita-pâdapadmaḥ | 5^{sambhur-yugâdipurushô} jagad-êkanâthaḥ puṇyâya pallavayatu⁶ prati-vâsaram sa[h]⁷ || 1
- 2 8^{Nibaddha-mûlaih} phalibhiḥ sapatrai⁹ drumair-narêmdrair-iva sêvyamânaḥ | pādâgrajâgrad-bahuvâhinikaḥ sri-Arbudô namdatu sâila-râjaḥ || 2 Yasmin¹⁰ Visishtânalakumḍa-janmâ kshatikshati-trâṇaparaḥ pur=âsit | pratyashi-¹¹
- 3 rthisârthônmathanâ-kritâthi |¹² kshîtâv-iha sri-Paramâra-nâmâ || 3 13^{Tad-anvayê} Kânhaḍadêva-vīraḥ pur=âvir-âsiva¹⁴ prabala-pratâpaḥ | chiram nivâsam vidadhâna¹⁵ yasya karâmbujê sarvajagaj-jayaśrīḥ || 4 16^{Tatkulakamala-}
- 4 marâlah kâla[h*] pratyarthi-maṇḍalikânâ[m*] | Chamdrâvatipur-īśaḥ samajani vīr-âgrajî[r*]=Dha[m*]jdhuh || 5 17^{Sri-Bhimadêvasya} nripâsa(sya) sêvâm=amanya[m]ânah kila Dhamdhurâjah | narêsa-rôshâch=cha tatô manasvî(svi) Dhârâdhipam

¹ From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens, No. 1790 of his List.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ Here, as often elsewhere, the vowel of *sri* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name.

⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

⁵ This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, may have been struck out in the original.

⁶ Originally *gamtu* was engraved.

⁷ Originally *sd* was engraved, but it seems to have been changed to *saḥ*.— So far as I can see, the verse does not admit of a proper construction. In the three first Pâdas the author addresses the Jaina Tirthamkara Rishabha, in terms which would be equally applicable to the god Śiva; and, as the text stands, he then in the fourth Pâda speaks of him in the third person, in words which would literally mean 'may he day by day put forth sprouts for (our) religious merit.' Instead of *pallavayatu* I should have expected *pallavaya*, followed by an accusative case and generally words to some such effect as 'cause our devotion to thee to sprout for our religious merit!' (Compare *Śatruñjaya-mâhātmya* XIV. 33: *tâdṛśānām hi sâdhakṭi-vally=êvām pallavatya=api*). In the first Pâda I take *vṛishabhâsitô=si* to be equivalent to both *Vṛishabha, âsitô=si* and *vṛishabhâsitô=si*, so that the Pâda would mean both 'O Vṛishabha (Rishabha)! having chosen this mountain for your residence, you are seated (here),' and 'you (O Śiva!), who have taken the name Achala, are seated on a bull.' I am aware that Rishabha has a bull for his cognisance, and that in representations of him this animal is figured beneath him; but I am not sure that he could be described as 'seated on a bull.'— In the second Pâda *gaṇâdhipati* denotes both Puṇḍarika, the leader of Rishabha's *gaṇa*, and Gaṇêśa.

⁸ Metre of verses 2 and 3: Upajâti.

⁹ Read *sapattrair*.— The word *phala* means both 'fruit' and 'the blade (of a sword),' etc.; *pattra* 'leaves' and 'vehicles,' etc.; and *odhant* 'rivers' and 'armies'.

¹⁰ Read *Vasishṭhâ*; the same wrong reading we have below, in line 9.— With *anala-kumḍa* compare *agni-kumḍa* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5.

¹¹ The *akshara shi* is a mistake for *rthi*, and should be struck out because *rthi* has been repeated at the commencement of line 3.

¹² Read *-kritârthah*.

¹³ Metre: Upêndravajrâ.

¹⁴ Read *-dattâ*.

¹⁵ Wrong for *vidadhê*, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁶ Metre: Âryâ.

¹⁷ Metre: Upajâti.

- 5 Bhōjanripam prapêdê || 6 ¹Prāgvātavamś-ābharanam babbūva ratnam
pradhānam Thi(vi)mal-ābhidhānaḥ | yas=tējasā ²dusamay-ādhakāra-magnō=pi
dbarmmaḥ sahas=āvir-āsita³ || 7 ⁴Tava(ta)ś=cha Bhimēna narādhipēna sa
pratāpa-bhūrmī(mi)r=Vima-
- 6 lō mahāmatih | kva(kri)tō=[r*]budē dānpatih satām priyaḥ priyamvadō
nāndatu Jaina-sāsanē || 8 Asōkapat[t*]rārūpa-pānipallavā samullasatkēsara-
sām(sim)ha-vāhanā [i*] śisudvayālamkṛita-vigrahā satī⁵ satām kri-
- 7 yād=vighna-vināsam=Ambikā || 9 Ath=ānyadā tam nīsi dānānyakam samādīdēsa
prayatā kil=Āmbikā [i*] ih=āchi(cha)lē tvam kuru sadma suṁdaram
Yugādibharttur=nirapāya-samśrayaḥ || 10 ⁶Śrī-Vikramādityanripād-vya-
- 8 titē shtāṣiti-yātē śaradām sahasrē(srē) | śrī-Ādi[nā]tha[m]⁷ śikharē-rbudasya
nivēsi(śi)tam śrī-[V]imalēna vamdē || 11 ⁸Vighnādhipyādhi-hamtri yā māt=ēva
prapat-āmgishu | Śrīpumjarāja-tanayā Śrīmātā bhavatām⁹ śrī-
- 9 yē || 12 ¹⁰Achalēsa ¹¹Viśiṣṭānalatāṭiṇi-Mamḍākinīvimalasālila- | punyāni yasya
śrī[m]nē¹² jayamvi(ti) vividhāni tirthāni || 13 Atha rājāvali || ¹³Vairivargga-
dalanē gata-tamdras=Chāhuvāmakulakairava-chamdrah¹⁴ | yō Nadūla-na-
- 10 garasya narēsa Āsarāja iti vīravarō sbhūt || 14 ¹⁵Prabalavairidavānala-
vāridaḥ Samarasi[m*]ha iti prathitas=tataḥ | Mahānāsimhabhaṭaḥ subhaṭ-
āgraniḥ prithu-yaśā ajanishta tad-āmgajaḥ || 15 ¹⁶Pratāpamallas-tad-annu pratā-
- 11 pi babbūva bhūpāla-sadassu mānyaḥ [i*] vīr-āvatamsō=jani¹⁷ Vījādō-sya
Marusthalimamḍala-bhūmibharttā || 16 Āsan¹⁸ trayas=tat-tanayā nay-ādhyā
mūrttāḥ pum-arthā iva bhāgabho(bhā)jaḥ | ādyō dharitripati-rakshapālaḥ
khyātāḥ kshitō(tan) Lūniga-
- 12 nāmadvēyaḥ || 17 ¹⁹Nyāyamārgga-śikharī madhumāsaḥ²⁰ kālavaksha(t=ka)valayann=
ari-vrajam | mamḍalika-paha(da)vīm=apālahā(ya)l=Lumḍha ity=abhidhayaḥ
dhiyām nidhiḥ || 18 ²¹Vipakshanārī-nayanāmbupūraiś=chakāra yaḥ kīrtti-

¹ Metre: Indravajrā.

² Read -astt.

³ Read *dussamay* (or *duḥṣamay*)-*ādhakāra*.

⁴ Metre of verses 8-10: Vamśasṭha.

⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was originally engraved.—Ambikā is similarly described in the inscription of the Vikrama year 1201, mentioned above, p. 151 f., in a verse the correct reading of which I take to be: *Vikāṭa-kuṭiladānshtrā-bhṭshāṇḍīyam tathā cha dhutatabalasatāli-bhāsuram tuṅgam=uchchaiḥ | vakati sutam=uddāram y=ānka-samātham sad=vaiva mṛigapatim=adhīrādāha s=Āmbikā vō=stu tushṭiyai* || Compare the representation of Kushmāṇḍini in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXII. p. 463, Plate iv.

⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

⁷ It is difficult to say whether we should read *Ādinḍtham* or *Ādiddham*. The *akṣhara* which follows upon *Ādi* originally was *dē*, but seems to have been altered; and the next *akṣhara* looks more like *tha* than *va*, but it might be said that *th* has been wrongly engraved instead of *v* also in *Thimāla* for *Vimāla*, in line 5. On the whole I think that the reading *Ādinḍtham* is preferable.

⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁹ The sign for *ā* in this word is clearly struck out in the original, and it seems probable that the engraver intended to alter *bhavatām* to *bhavatu*.—In the above I have purposely given *Śrīmātā*, not *śrī-Mātā*, because in other inscriptions *śrī* appears clearly to be part of the name, not an honorific prefix. I may mention that in No. 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List we have *Śrīmātāddēt* as one word, not *Śrīmātridēt*, and that in the account given of this mythical being and her father in Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, p. 282 ff., the base of the word is both *Śrīmātā* and *Śrīmātri*. In the same account the father's name is *Śrīpuṇja*.

¹⁰ Metre: Āryā.

¹¹ Read *Vasīṣṭhā*; compare above, line 2.

¹² Read *śringē*.—Since at the commencement of the verse the mountain is addressed in the vocative case, one would have expected *tava śringē*, but this would not have suited the metre.

¹³ Metre: Svāgatā.

¹⁴ *Chāhuvāma*—probably is a mistake for either *Chāhuvāna*- or *Chāhuvāṇa*-.

¹⁵ Metre: Drutavilambita.

¹⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁷ After the *ō* of *tamsō* another vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

¹⁸ Metre: Indravajrā—Read *Āsams-troyas*.

¹⁹ Metre: Rathōddhatā.

²⁰ Read, probably, *madhusavatā*.

²¹ Metre: Upajāti.

- 13 *latām sapat[t*]rām | babhūva bhūmīpati-labdhāmānō Lumbh-ābhidhānō jagad-
ēkavīrah || 19* ¹Samhṛitya śatrūn prabalanu² balēna śrī-A[r]budam prāpya
nagādhirājām | ³[bh]uktā sa [bh]ūma[m*]dana-rā[jyam=uchchah] | ⁴ svarlō-
- 14 ka-lōkādhīpatir=babhūva || 20 ⁵Lūnigasya tanujō jaga[j-ja]yī Tējasimha iti
tējasām nidhiḥ | yat-pratāpadavapāvakaś-chiram vairivargga-vipadam
nahatisma⁶ || 21 ⁷Karāgra[jā]gra[t-*]karavā-
- 15 ladamda-khamdikrit-āsēshavirōdhivarggaḥ | prithyām⁸ prasiddhas-Tihunāka-nāmā
vīr-āvatamsaḥ sa chirāyur=astu || 21 (22) ⁹Śrimal-Lumbhaka-nāmā sama[nv]itas=
Tējasimha-Tigu(hu)nābhayām | A[r*]buda[g]irīśa-
- 16 rājyam nyāyāni[dhi ?]¹⁰ [|| 23*] ¹¹urapura-vāsi
suguru-śrī-Dharmasūri-padabhaktaḥ [I*] Sarvajñanāsēna-rataḥ¹² sa jayati
Jēlh-ābhidhah śrēṣṭhi(śhṭhi) || 24 Tat-tanayā su-nayō=bhūt¹³ Vē-
- 17 [lhā]kaḥ sakula-bhūta¹⁴ [I] tat-putrah su-charitra[h] puṇya-nidhiḥ
Pārasaḥ sādhuḥ || 25 Sōhi-Dēgā-Dēsala-Kuladhara-nāmnā tad-aṃgajā jātāḥ |
chatvārāḥ kulamaṃdira-sudṛidhastambh-ābhirāmā [yē ||]
- 18 26 ¹⁵Śrī-Dēsalaḥ sukṛi[apēsa]la-vittakō[tiś=chamcha]chchaturdaśajaga-janitā-
vad[āta]ḥ¹⁷ | Śatrumjayapramukha-viśrutasaptatī[rtha]-¹⁸yātrās=cha[tu]rdaśa chakāra
mahāmāhēna || 27 ¹⁹Dē[ma]ti-Māi-
- 19 nāmni sādhu-śrī-Dēsalaḥ bhāryē dvē | nirmalaśilaguṇ-ā[dhy]ē dayā-ksha[mē]
Jaina-dharmasya || 28 Dēmatikukshi-prabhavā Gōsa[la]-Gayapāla-Bhi[ma]-
nāmānāḥ | Māi-kukshēr=jātau Mōha-
- 20 na-Mōh-ābhidhan putrau || 29 Jinaśāsanakamala-raviḥ sādhuḥ śrī-Gōsalō-
vi[dat]²⁰ kīrttiṃ | guṇaratnarōhaṇadharā²¹ Guṇadēvī priyatamā tasya || 30
²²Saddharmmakarmm-aikaniba-
- 21 ddhabuddhis=²³tad-aṃgajāḥ śrī-Dhanasimha-sādhuḥ | bhāryā tadyā sadayā
vadājñā(nyā) mānyā satārū Dhūndhuladēvi-samjñā || 31 ²⁴Sādhō[r*]=Bhimasya
sutō Hāmsaladēkukshi-sambhava(va)ḥ śrīmān | ma-²⁵
- 22 himā-nidhir=mahaujā mahāuntir=Mahanasimh-ākhyā[h] || 32 ²⁶Mayanalladēvi-
varakukshīśukti-muktās=trayas=tat-tanayā jayanti | jēṣṭhō²⁷ jagadyāpi-
yaśahprakāśaḥ sādhu-agraṇī[r*]=Lālīga-

¹ Metre: Indravajrā.² Read *prabalan*.³ Up to the end of the line the *aksharas* in brackets are more or less conjectural; they are carelessly written in the original. For *bhūmamādana*- read *bhūmamādanā*.⁴ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁵ Metre: Rathō idhatā.⁶ The four *aksharas nahatisma* are quite clear in the original, but offend against the metre and yield no proper meaning. The only alteration which I could suggest would be *dahatr=ika*.⁷ Metre: Upajāti.⁸ Read *prithvyām*.⁹ Metre of verses 23-26: Āryā.¹⁰ Here about 10 *aksharas* are effaced.¹¹ In No. 1791 of Mr. Cousens' List (see above, p. 154) Jēlhāka is described as an inhabitant of Māṇḍavyapura.¹² Read *Sarvajñanāsana-rataḥ*.¹³ Read *bhūt*.¹⁴ Here about 4 *aksharas* are effaced.¹⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹⁶ Read *pēsala-vittakōtiś*.¹⁷ Read, perhaps, *dānaḥ*.¹⁸ Originally *itṛthō*, with a sign of punctuation after it, was engraved.¹⁹ Metre of verses 28-30: Āryā.²⁰ The reading is conjectural. The original has *vi [t ?] dē kīrttiṃ*.²¹ Compare *guṇaratnarōhaṇagiri* in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1881, p. 43, line 1.²² Metre: Upajāti.²³ After the *akshara dāhi* a sign of punctuation was originally engraved, but has been struck out.²⁴ Metre: Āryā.²⁵ Here originally *mē* was engraved, but the sign for *ē* seems to have been struck out; the two *aksharas himā* at the commencement of the next line are quite clear. The author has used the feminine *mahimā* instead of the masculine *mahiman*.²⁶ Metre: Indravajrā.—The two *aksharas maya* at the commencement of the verse were apparently read as one syllable (*mai*).²⁷ Read *jyēṣṭhō*.

- 23 sādthurājāḥ || 33 ¹Āśvinēyā[v]=iva śrēshṭh[au] kanishṭhau guṇa-śālinau [!]
 Śiḥa-Lōp-ābhidhau² dharmmadhyāna-pravaṇamānasau || 34 Shaṭ sutā
 Dhanasimhasya mūrttā
- 24 iva shaḍ=arttavaḥ³ | viśvaviśv-ōpākārāy=āvatirṇṇā[h] pritha(thi)vi-talē || 35
⁴Tēshām=ādyāḥ sādhu[r*]=Vljaḍa iti vimalama(ta)ra-yaśaḥprasaraḥ | guṇa-
 sāgaraḥ Shimadharah saḥjā(jja)na-
- 25 mānyaḥ Samarasi[m]haḥ || 36 ⁵Rājasamāja-śrēshṭhō vikhyātō(taḥ) sādhu-
 Vijapālāḥ [!]^{*} nīpuṇa-matir-Narapālāḥ sukṛita-ratō Viradhaval-ākhyāḥ | (||)
 37 ⁶Svapitṛi-śrēyasē
- 26 jīrṇōddhārāṁ⁷ Rishabha-maṁdirē | kārayām-āsatur=Llalla-Vljaḍau sādhu-
 sattamō(mau) (||) 38 ⁸Vādīoamdra-Guṇachandra-vijētā bhūpatitraya-vibōdha-
 vidhātā | Dharmmasūri-
- 27 r-iti nāma pur=āsita⁹ viśvaviśva-viditō muni-rāja[h*] | (||) 39 ¹⁰Mūlapatṭa-
 kramē tasya Dharmaghōsha-gaṇāryamā¹¹ [!]^{*} babhūvuh sama-sampūrṇāḥ¹²
 Amaraprabhasūrayāḥ || 40
- 28 ¹³Tatpatṭa-bhūshaṇam=adūshaṇadharmaśīla-¹⁴sidya(ddhām)tasimdhuparisīlana-Vishṇulilaḥ
 | śrī-Jñānachandra iti nāmdatū sūri-rājāḥ puṇyōpadésavidhi-bōdhitasa-
- 29 tsamājāḥ | (||) 41 ¹⁵Vasu-muni-tu(gu)ṇa-śasi(śi)-varsha | Jēshṭē¹⁶ sitinara(va)mi-
 Sōma-yuta-divasē | śrī-Jñānachandra-gurūṇā pra[ti]shṭi(shṭhi)tō-[rbu]da-gi[rau]
 Ri]sha[bhaḥ]¹⁷ || 42
- 30 1379 Jēṣṭa-sudi¹⁸ 9 Sōmē ||

POSTSCRIPT.

On the Chāhamānas of Naddūla.

As I have referred in the preceding to the Genealogical Table of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla published above, p. 83, I take the opportunity to state that Mr. Gaurishankar Hira-chand Ojha has recently sent me rubbings of four inscriptions, two of which furnish a date in the [Vikrama] year 1147 for the chief Jōjalla (Yōjaka), here called Jōjala, while the two others are of the reign of Rāyapāla of Naddūla, whose name does not occur in the Table, and for whom they furnish dates in the [Vikrama] years 1198 and 1200. The rubbings do not enable me to edit the full texts of these inscriptions, but the initial lines, which contain the dates and the names of the chiefs, may be given with confidence.

1.— This inscription is at Sādri (about 13 miles south of Nadol) in the Gōdwār district of the Jōdhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing and commences:—

- L. 1 Ōm¹⁹ samvat 1147 Vaisākha-sudi 2 Budha-vāsarē mahā-
 2 rāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvēna śrī-Lakshmanasvāmi-prabhṛiti-
 3 samastadēvānām yātrākāla-vyavahārō lēkhitāḥ ||

¹ Metre of versēs 34 and 35: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

² I am doubtful about the correctness of the two names; the four *akṣaras* at the beginning of the Pāda might be read also *sthālāpā*.

³ Wrong for *shaḍ=ritavaḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.

⁴ Metre: Āryā.

⁵ Metre: Upagiti.

⁷ Read *ōram=Rishabha*.

⁸ Metre: Svāgatā.

¹⁰ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh)

¹¹ Read *-gaṇāryamaṇaḥ*.

⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁹ Read *-dēdē*.

¹² Read *-sāmpūrṇā*.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.— With the commencement of the verse compare e.g. Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*,

p. 207, v. 5: *tatpatṭa-bhūshaṇamaṇir=gata-dūshaṇō=bhāt*.

¹⁴ Probably the intended reading was *ōślāḥ*.

¹⁶ Read *-varshē Jyēshṭhē* (or *Jyāishṭhē*).

¹⁵ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁷ Read *-gīrāv=Rishabhaḥ*.

¹⁸ Read *Jyēshṭhā* (or *Jyāishṭhā*)-sudi; and see above, p. 166.

¹⁹ Denoted by a symbol.

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2.—This inscription is at Nadol. It contains 13 lines of writing and commences :—

- L. 1 Ōm¹ samvat 1147 Vaiśākha-śudi 2 Vu(bu)dha-vāsa-
 2 rē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvaḥ sama-
 3 sta-dēvānām śrī-Lakshmaṇasvāmi-prabhṛitānām yātrā-vya-
 4 vahāraṁ lēkhayati yathā ||

The date of these two inscriptions regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1147, to Wednesday, the 23rd April A.D. 1091, when the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

3.—This also is at Nadol. It contains 39 lines of writing and commences :—

- L. 1 Ōm¹ samvat 1198 Śrāvaṇa-vadi 8 Ravāv-ady-ēha [ma]-
 2 hārājā[dhirāja]-śrī-Rāyapālādēvaḥ² kalyāṇa-vija[ya]-
 3 rājyē ēvaṁ kālē pravarttamānē

The date corresponds either, for the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa of the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 29th June A.D. 1141, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise; or, for the *amānta* Śrāvaṇa of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. As the date of the following inscription is correct only for the *amānta* month, I here, too, take Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, to be the true equivalent of the date.

4.—This also is at Nadol. It contains 8 lines of writing and commences :—

- L. 1 Ōm¹ || Samvat 1200 Bhādrapada-vadi 8 Budha-vārē ady-ēha śrī-
 2 Na[dū?]lē samastarājāvalisamalaṁkṛita-pūjya-mahārājādhi-
 3 rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Rāyapālādēva-vijayarājyē ē-
 4 vaṁ kālē pravarttamānē

The date, for the *amānta* Bhādrapada of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1200, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1144, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

In the Table Rāyapāla (A.D. 1142 and 1144) would have to be placed between Jōjalla (A.D. 1091) and Ālhaṇa (A.D. 1153-1161), and it is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of the latter; but how he was related to either of them it is impossible to say at present.

I may add that Mr. Ojha has also been good enough to send me some notes on the identification of Kāsahrada and Naddūlāi, spoken of by me above, pp. 73 and 67. On the former, which I suspected to be somewhere near Nadol, he writes :—

“I would identify Kāsahrada with Kāyadrām (also called Kāsadrām) at the foot of Mount Âbū, about 3 miles from the Bhimānā station of the R. M. Railway. It is a place of considerable antiquity with several old temples. An inscription of the time of the Paramāra prince Dhārāvārsha was discovered there by me some years ago.”

And respecting Naddūlāi, which I had taken to be a different place from Naddūla, he says :—

“As you think, it is quite different from Naddūla. It is now called Nāralāi, and is situated in the Gōdwar district of the Jōdhpur State. An inscription from the place is published in *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 140 (where the date given is incorrect³).”

¹ Denoted by a symbol.

² Read *ādēva-kalyāṇa*.

³ See my *Northern List*, No. 306.—On the map of the Rājputana Agency, No. 1, of ‘Nadol.’

No. 19.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BASTAR STATE.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Mr. Cousens in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04 (p. 54) opens his report on the conservation of antiquarian remains in the Central Provinces with the remarks that 'the Central Provinces and Berâr cannot be said to be rich in antiquarian remains,' but 'possibly there exists many an old relic of considerable interest lying hidden away in some of the extensive jungles and little known tracts in the province, that has not come under the notice of any one capable of estimating its value.' Exactly from such a place do I draw the materials for the subject I propose to notice on.

Bastar is a feudatory state in the extreme south of the province situated between 17° 46' and 20° 14' north latitude and 80° 15' and 82° 15' east longitude, touching the Gôdâvarî and comprising an area of 13,000 square miles, all covered with dense forests and populated by the wildest tribes, some of whom did not till very recently know the use of clothes. This extensive jungle has been made to yield no less than 22 inscriptions¹ through the strenuous efforts of my friend Mr. Baijnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State. Three of these inscriptions were noticed by Colonel Glasfurd, Deputy Commissioner of the then Upper Gôdâvarî District, about the year 1862 A.D.² So far as is known, only one of them has been published, viz., the so-called Nâgpur Museum inscription of Sômêśvara.³ On the authority of the information supplied by the Curator of the Nâgpur Museum it is there stated that the stone was brought from a village, Kowtah, near Siroucha, which is incorrect as will presently be shown. It belonged to Bârsûr, of the Bastar State, and is an important record of the predecessors of the present line of Râjas.

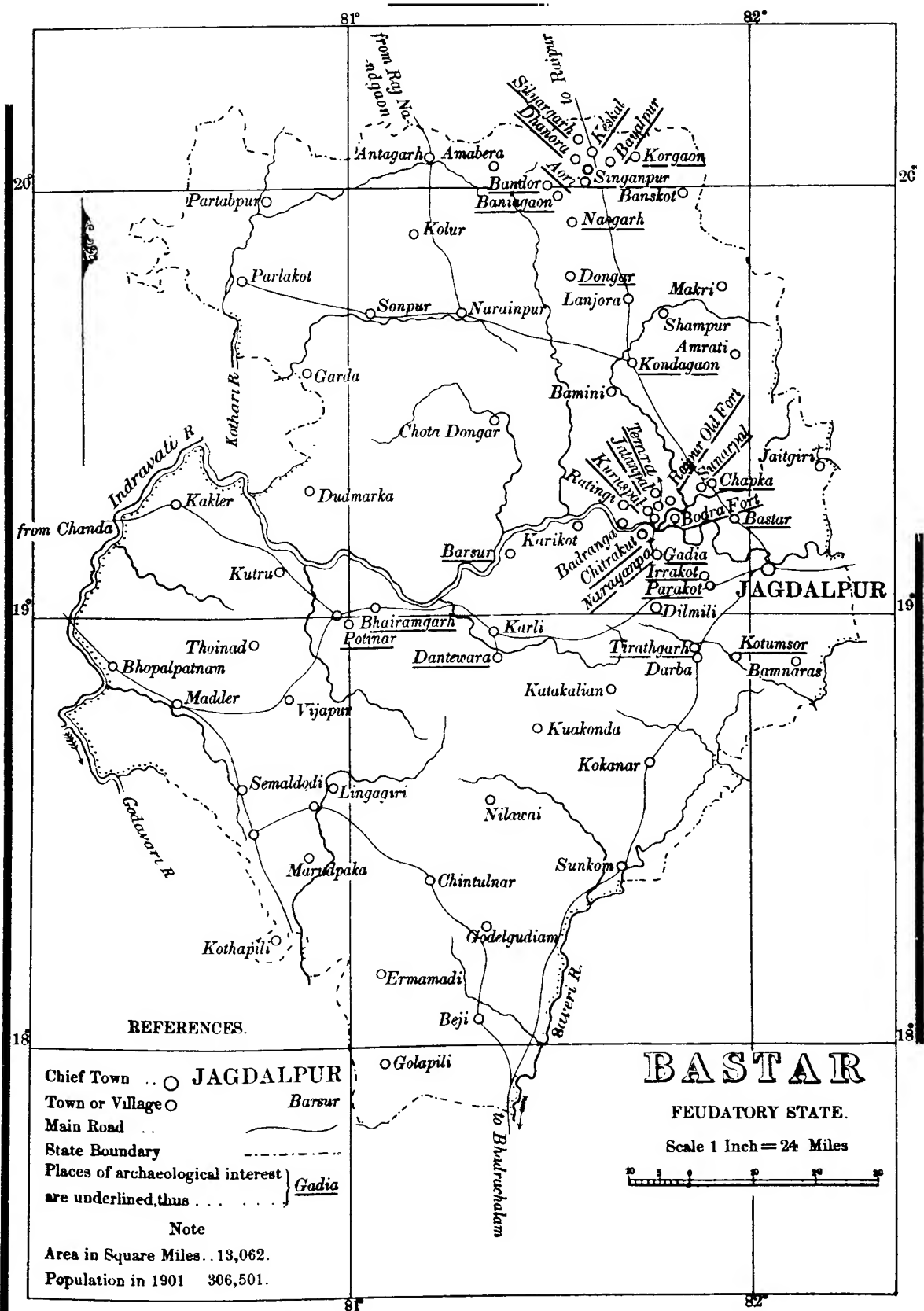
In order that the references to places in the Bastar inscriptions may be easily understood, I append a map of the State showing their positions as also some other places possessing archaeological remains. As most of the latter have never been noticed before, a brief mention of at least some of the important ones may not be out of place here. These places are Bârsûr, Dantêwârâ, Gaḍia, Bhairamgarh, Narâyanpâl, Sunârpâl, Kuruspâl, Tirathgarh, Potinâr, Chapkâ and Dôngar.

Bârsûr is a place of very great interest. It is 55 miles west of Jagdalpur, the present capital of Bastar. It contains ruins of many temples, the most important of which is a Śiva temple with two sanctuaries having a common *maṇḍapa* supported on 32 pillars in four rows. In each of the sanctuaries there is a *linga* and a Nandi, and old people remember that an inscription was removed from this place about half a century ago. Another Śiva temple has a *maṇḍapa* with 12 pillars in three rows, and the third is called *Mâmâ bhâñjâ-kâ mandir* and is distinguished by carvings on the inside walls in the shape of bells suspended from chains. Outside the Gaṇêśa temple there is a huge figure of Gaṇêśa, 17' in circumference and about 7' or 8' high. Numerous images are lying about or collected together under huts, of which the most noticeable is one of Viṣṇu, 4' high, and showing good workmanship. There are also some images of Mahishâsuramardini, one of which is inscribed. All the temples are of mediæval Brâhmaṇic style, most of them built of stone without lime.—Dantêwârâ is about 20 miles south of Bârsûr, and in the intervening villages there are sculptured stones lying about, some of them being five-hooded cobras or intercoiled snakes. Dantêwârâ contains the shrine of Dantêśvarî, the tutelary goddess of the present ruling family. The temple is built at the junction of two rivers

¹ Since I wrote this Mr. Baijnath has made further discoveries which will be described in another paper.

² See *Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department*, No. XXXIX. p. 62 et seq.

³ Above, Vol. III. p. 314.



Prepared specially for the Govt. Epigraphist for India.
from an original supplied by him.

called Saṅkhinī and Daṅkinī, and is notorious as a place where human sacrifices were formerly annually offered. At least a place was pointed out to me in the innermost sanctum, close to the goddess, where they said the victims used to be decapitated. The goddess has eight arms and is represented in the act of killing the buffalo demon. She is in reality Mahishāsūramardini, locally known as Dantēśvarī. There are various other images such as those of Viṣṇu, Kārttikēya, Gaṇēśa, etc., some of which were brought away from the ruins of Bārsūr. There are five inscriptions here, three inside the Dantēśvarī temple, one just outside it, and another near a mud hut called Bhairamguḍī. There are remains of several other temples buried in ruins. For the support of the Dantēśvarī temple, an estate consisting of several villages is attached.—**Bhairamgarh** is about 70 miles west of Jagdalpur and has three or four temples, together with remains of a fort and a ditch and several tanks. There is an inscription on a pillar, and at Potinār, a village near Bhairamgarh, there is a slab¹ inscribed on four sides.—**Gaḍia** is 20 miles west of Jagdalpur and has a stone temple with no idol, but built in the same style as those of Bārsūr. About 400 yards away there is a big inscription, and a *līṅga* was found buried in a brick mound.—**Narāyanpāl** and **Kuruspāl** are quite close to each other, the former being situated on the river Indrāvatī. Near these villages are the forts of Rājapur and Bōdrā, and not far away the beautiful falls of the Indrāvatī at Chitrakūṭ present a magnificent appearance.—**Narāyanpāl** is only 6 miles from Gaḍia and has an old temple, an image of Viṣṇu, and an inscription.—**Sunārpāl** and **Chapkā** are within 12 miles from Narāyanpāl. Chapkā has a number of *satī* pillars, several of which are inscribed.—**Tirathgarh** also contains some temples and relics.—**Dōngar** is a place where according to custom the present Rājas go to be crowned. Here one of the queens, whose finger was chopped off by royal order and who ventured to inform her father, writing the letter with the blood so wantonly spilt, was buried alive. The pit, which is still pointed out, was once disturbed by a greedy Rāja of the same family, who also brought down the temple of Narāyanpāl and some others in search of supposed buried treasure.

I now proceed to give a short notice of each inscription of which I possess impressions, with very brief remarks where necessary, reserving a fuller account for other papers. The Bastar inscriptions may be roughly divided into three classes, *viz.*, those of the (1) Nāgavamśī kings, (2) the Kākatīyas, and (3) miscellaneous. Of 22 yet discovered, ten belong to the 1st class, five to the 2nd, and the rest to the 3rd.

THE NĀGAVAMŚĪ INSCRIPTIONS.

I.—Narāyanpāl Stone inscription of Queen Guṇḍa-mahādēvi, the mother of Sômēśvaradēva.

Narāyanpāl is a village 23 miles west of Jagdalpur. The inscription is on a stone slab and is in Nāgarī characters, and the language is Sanskrit. It records the grant of the village **Nārāyaṇapura** to the god Nārāyaṇa and some land near the **Khajjuri** tank to the god Lōkēśvara, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon-day of the Kārttika month in the **Khara saṁvatsara** (*Śaka-nṛipa-kūlātītē dāśa-śata-traya[s*]-trims-ādhikē Khara-saṁvatsarē Kārttika-paurṇimāsyinī Budhavārē*) corresponding to 18th October 1111 A.D., and issued by **Guṇḍa-mahādēvi**, the chief queen of **Mahārāja Dhāravarsha**, the mother of **Sômēśvaradēva** and the grandmother of **Kanharadēva**, who was then ruling on the death of his father (*Mahārāja-Sômēśvara-dēvasya svara(svar)gatē tēshām putrasya āsām naptuḥ . . . śrīmad-vīra-Kanharadēvasya kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē*). The dynasty claims to belong to the Nāgavamśa and the Kāśyapa gōtra, to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of Bhōgāvatī the best of the cities (*Nāgavamśōdbhava Bhōgāvatī-pura-var-ēśvara savatsa-vyāghra-lāṁchhana Kās(s)yapa-gōtra*). At the end of the inscription the sun and moon, a cow and a calf, and a

¹ This has now been removed to a roadside place called Jānglā, six miles north of Potinār, for easy access.

dagger and shield with a *liṅga* in its socket, exactly of the shape in which the *Liṅgāyats* wear them, are engraved. There is a postscript to this inscription in which it is stated that the land was given by *Dhāraṇa-mahādēvi*, who was probably the widow of *Sômēśvara*, as will appear further on. There can be no doubt that *Nārāyaṇpāl* is the *Nārāyaṇapura* of the inscription. A temple of *Nārāyaṇa* is still standing there. The image of *Vishṇu*, about 2' high, canopied by a hooded snake, is exquisitely executed.

II.—Bārsūr inscription of *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*, wife of *Sômēśvaradēva*.

This inscription is now in the *Nāgpur Museum*, and, as stated above, it has already been published.¹ It is a slab 9' 2" long, 14" broad and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, broken into two pieces, the bigger one measuring $6\frac{1}{4}$ ' and the smaller one 2' 11". It is inscribed on three sides. The inscribed portion of each flat side is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ', thus leaving half of the pillar buried underground. As the whole of the inscription could not be completed within the allotted space, the remaining portion has been inscribed on the third side, on which the writing runs to the length of 31". The stone is stated to have been brought from *Kowtah* near *Sironcha*, but the *Tahsildar* of *Sironcha* informs me that it was never sent from that place.²

The stone is indisputably from *Bārsūr*. Happily *Col. Glasfurd* has given a facsimile in his report on the *Dependency of Bastar*. Speaking of the *Bārsūr* temples he says³:—"In front of this temple I found a slab with an ancient Sanskrit and Telugu inscription on both sides; part of it had been broken off and was nowhere to be found. After offering a reward and causing search to be made I had the satisfaction of obtaining it. As the Telugu is of an antiquated character, I regret to say I have not succeeded in obtaining an accurate translation of the inscription. A facsimile is appended. From what I can ascertain it would appear that the temple of *Mahādēva* where the slab was found was built by a *Rājā Sômēśvaradēva*, a *Nāgavamsī Kshatriya*, in the year 1130."

The inscription is in the Telugu character, and the language is also Telugu prose, the *birudūrali* or titles of the king being in Sanskrit and corresponding with those in the *Nārāyaṇpāl* Sanskrit inscription. It records that *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*, the chief queen of *Sômēśvaradēva* gave a village named *Kēramaruka* or *Kēramarka* to two temples of *Śiva* (both of which she had built) on Sunday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna* in the *Śaka* year 1130. The two temples referred to here still exist, having one common *maṇḍapa*, and from local enquiry it appears that it was from this place that *Col. Glasfurd* removed the slab. Although the names of the temples *Virasômēśvara* and *Gaṅgādhareśvara* given after the royal couple as recorded in the grant, are forgotten, a tank still remains which is called *Gaṅgāsāgar* and retains the memory of the charitable queen *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*. If the *Sômēśvara* of this inscription is identical with that of *Nārāyaṇpāl*, there has apparently been a mistake in engraving the date which should be 1030 and not 1130, and that is perhaps the reason why the week day does not correspond with the *tithi* given there, viz., the 12th of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna*, on a Sunday. According to *Mr. Dikshit's* calculations, *Phālguna Śukla 12* of *Śaka-Samvat 1130* ended on Wednesday. So it was concluded that the year meant was *Śaka 1131* expired, in which year the *tithi* given in the inscription fell on a Sunday. But on calculating the week day for the same *tithi* in *Śaka 1030* expired I find that

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 314.

² A similar error seems to have been committed in relegating the Buddhist stone inscription of *Bhavadēva* (republished in *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 617, by *Dr. Kielhorn*) to *Ratanpur*, whereas from my enquiry *in situ* I found that the inscription was really brought from *Bhāndaka*, and this is confirmed by *General Cunningham, Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

³ *Report on the Dependency of Bastar*, 1862, p. 62.

it also fell on Sunday.¹ In the Narāyanpāl inscription it is stated that the grant of Nārāyanapura was made in Śaka 1033, in the reign of Kanharadēva, who had succeeded his father Sōmēśvaradēva on his death. And as there is nothing to show at present that there were two Sōmēśvaras,² the date 1030 fits in very well. It, however, seems somewhat extraordinary that such a palpable mistake should have been allowed to remain when it could be corrected by joining together with a curved line the two ends of the Telugu 1 which is like an egg half-cut (at least it is so in the inscription) thus transforming easily the second 1 of 1130 into a zero. I am very reluctant to suppose that the engraver committed a mistake, but that he did is patent enough in this case whether we read 1030 or 1130. The village Kēramagruka may be identified with Kōdmalnār, which is situated quite close to Bārsūr and is said to have been *mu'afi* or exempt from the payment of taxes for a long time.

III.—Kuruspāl inscription of Dhāraṇa-mahādēvi, second queen(?) of Sōmēśvara.

Kuruspāl is a village about a mile off from Narāyanpāl. The inscription was found built upside down into the steps of a small tank, which shows that it did not belong to the tank itself, but was brought away from some ruins, possibly the temple built in the centre of the tank, and was utilised without regard to what was engraved on it. It is in the Nāgarī character, the language being Sanskrit with very bad spellings. The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land situated near Kalamba by Dhāraṇa-mahādēvi, who seems to have been the second queen of Sōmēśvaradēva. The inscription belongs to the victorious reign of Mahārājādhirāja Sōmēśvaradēva (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-pādānu kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē . . . śrīmat-sā(mach-ḥhā)sana-mahādēvi dvitīya Dhāraṇa-mahādēvi tay=āchamyā Kalāmmvasamīpasthā bhūmī dattam(ā)*). The same long *birudas* as in the Narāyanpāl and Bārsūr inscriptions are attached to Sōmēśvaradēva's name. The inscription also mentions the name of Nārāyanapura. It is dated in the Saumya samvatsara.

IV.—Sunārpāl stone inscription of Mahādēvi, queen of Jayasimhadēva.

Sunārpāl is about 10 miles from Narāyanpāl. The stone is partially broken, and a part of the inscription is gone. It is undated. It records the grant of land, or, more properly, an imprecation against the resumption of granted land, and gives the names of witnesses before whom the gift was made, but it is not stated where. The gift was apparently made by Mahādēvi, the chief queen of Jayasimhadēva of the Nāga race, the supreme lord of Bhōgāvatī, having the tiger with a calf as his crest. He is called Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Śrī Jayasimhadēva.

V.—The Dantēśvarī guḍī inscription³ of Narasimhadēva.

This is another stone inscription in Telugu character found in the temple of the goddess Dantēśvarī at Dantēwārā. It is dated in the dark fortnight of the month Jyēshṭha in the Śaka year 1140 (expired). In this year there was an eclipse of the sun, and the month of Jyēshṭha was intercalary. At that time Mahārāja Narasimhadēva, the ornament of the race of the best of serpents, was ruling (*Śrī-bhujaga-vara-bhūṣaṇa-Mahārājul=aīna Śrīman-Narasimhadēva-Mahārājula rājyamu*). The inscription is only a fragment.

¹ Since I wrote the above, Prof. Kielhorn has kindly calculated the date for me and finds that Śaka 1030 Phālguna Sudi 12 Sunday regularly corresponds to Sunday, 14th Feb. A.D. 1109.

² I do not think that much importance can be attached to the different *birudas* used in the Bārsūr and Narāyanpāl inscriptions. The Sōmēśvara of the former has the title *jagadēkabhūṣaṇa-mahārāja*, which does not occur in the latter. But then the *birudas* used in the Bastar inscriptions are not always the same.

³ For reading this I am indebted to Mr. Sitaramayya, one of the Superintendents in the Comptroller's office, Central Provinces.

Of the remaining five Nāgavaṃśī inscriptions it has not yet been possible to obtain good impressions. They are all in Telugu. The Potinār slab seems to refer to Narasimhadēva and the Dantēwārā stone lying outside the Dantēśvarī temple to Jayasimhadēva. The Bhairamgarh inscription contains *birudas* similar to those found in the Bārsūr one, and the king is stated in both to be the worshipper of Māṇikyadēvī (*Śrī-Māṇikyadēvī-dīvyā-śrīpāda-padma-ārādha*), which is an older name of Dantēśvarī, so named by the successors of the Nāgavaṃśīs, the Kākatiyas, although the latter claim that Dantēśvarī came with them from Warangal, where she was called Māṇikyēśvarī.¹ This inscription is incomplete and it appears that it was never completed. The Bhairamguḍī inscription at Dantēwārā appears to be the oldest of all, as its date appears to be Śaka 984.² The Gaḍia inscription, apparently of Somēśvaradēva's time, contains the usual figures of the cow and calf, Sun and Moon, Śiva, etc., the peculiar signs of the Nāgavaṃśī kings, although they do not seem to refer to their family crests. They are all picture imprecations. The sun and moon represent that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Śiva is the protector against violation of the grant on the spiritual side, and the dagger and shield of the king on the temporal. The cow and calf depict the grave sin which the transgressor would commit, exactly equal to taking away the cow from the calf. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Kuruspāl inscription has a representation of an ass associating with a pig, the imprecation being explained in the text thus, *Jō (yō) anyathā karōti tasya pitā gardabhaḥ śūkarī mātā* (he who acts otherwise has for his father an ass and for his mother a pig.)

From these inscriptions it would appear that Bastar, which has been held to have always been the home of wild animals, with almost wilder tribes, was once ruled by a people whose civilization is sufficiently evidenced by the remains of temples, some of which are of great architectural beauty. These inscriptions carry the history of Bastar back to the eleventh century A.D., when at least the central portion of the State was ruled by the Nāgavaṃśī kings. They apparently belonged to the Sinda family of Yelburga, whose titles are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar Nāgavaṃśī kings. Dr. Fleet states³ that there appear to have been more branches than one of this family. One of these was that of Bastar, which has been hitherto unknown. These inscriptions disclose the names of five or six different kings, *viz.*, Dhārāvarsha, his son Sōmēśvaradēva, and his grandson Kanharadēva, Jayasimhadēva, Narasimhadēva, and a possible Sōmēśvara II. In view of the fact that half the inscriptions relating to these kings have not yet been deciphered owing to their incompleteness or want of proper impressions, I reserve a fuller discussion of the history of these kings for another occasion.

II.—THE KĀKATĪYA INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are modern ones, the oldest being those of the Dantēśvarī temple at Dantēwārā written by the *rājaguru* of the present family, who was a Maithilī Paṇḍit. One of these is in Sanskrit and the other is a Maithilī rendering of the same with some additions. Col. Glasford has given a very defective transcript of both in his report. They are dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1760, or 1703 A.D. on the 3rd day of Baisākh, dark fortnight. They record the pilgrimage of Rāja Dikpālādēva to the Dantēśvarī shrine when 'so many thousands of buffaloes and goats were sacrificed that the waters of the Saṅkhinī river became red like *kusuma* flowers and remained so for five days.' The Kākatiyas are stated to be Sōmavaṃśīs,⁴ born of the

¹ Elliot's *Report on the Bastar and Kharonde Dependencies*, 1861, p. 13.

² As read by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

³ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 572.

⁴ In the Ekāmranātha inscription of Gaṇapati (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 200) they are stated to belong to the solar race to which 'Sagara, Bhagiratha, Raghu and Rāma' belonged. This apparent contradiction is, however, capable of being explained. The Kākatiya king Gaṇapati had no male issue. He had a daughter named Rudrāmbā, who succeeded him on the throne. Apparently she also had no male issue and had therefore to adopt her daughter's

Pāṇḍava Arjuna. The genealogy begins with Kākati Pratāparudra, who was king of Warangal. His brother Annamrāja was the first to come to Bastar, and the genealogy is continued to Dikpālādēva, nine successors being mentioned. The present Bastar family is the representative of the old Warangal family, who, having been defeated by Musalmāns, fled to Bastar. Combining the information hitherto available, the following list of Kākatiya kings may be made up.

1.—Predecessors of Annamdēva, from Professor Kielhorn's *Southern List*, above, Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 18.

- 1 Durjaya.
- 2 Bēta (Betmarāja) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 1.
- 3 Prōla (Prōlērāja, Prōḍarāja) Jagatikēsarin, son of 2; made the Western Chālnkya Tailapādēva prisoner; defeated Gōvindarāja and Guṇḍa of Mantrakūṭa; conquered but reinstated Chōḍōdaya; put to flight Jagaddēva.
- 4 The *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* Rudradēva, son of 3; subdued Dōmma; conquered Mailigidēva; burnt the city of Chōḍōdaya. A.D. 1163-[and 1186].
- 5 Mahādēva (Mādhava), brother of 4.
- 6 Gaṇapati (Gaṇapa) Chhalamattigaṇḍa, son of 5; defeated the Dēvagiri Yādava Singhapa, the kings of Chōḷa, etc. A. D. [1199-1200 to 1260-61].
- 7 the *Mahāmāṇḍalachakravartin* Pratāparudra of Ēkaśilānagarī, i.e. Warangal. His general Muppiḍi entered Kāñchi and installed Mānavira as governor. A.D. 1316.

2.—Successors of Annamdēva down to Dikpālādēva according to the Dantēwārā inscriptions.

- 1 Annamrāja, brother of Pratāparudra.
- 2 Hāmīradēva.
- 3 Bhairava (Bhai Rāj) dēva.
- 4 Purushōttamadēva.
- 5 Jayasimhadēva.
- 6 Narasimhadēva; his queen Lachhamī-dēi dug many tanks and planted gardens.
- 7 Jagadīśārāyadēva.
- 8 Viranārāyaṇadēva.
- 9 Virasimhadēva, married Vadanakumārī, a Chandēlla princess.
- 10 Dikpālādēva, married Ajabakumārī, of the Chandēllas, visited the Dantēśvarī temple in Sāmvat 1760, A.D. 1703.

son Pratāparudra. It is possible that Pratāparudra's father may have belonged to the lunar race, and, while Pratāparudra became by adoption a Kākatiya of the solar race, his brother Annamdēva, the founder of the Bastar family, must have remained what his father was, that is, of the lunar race. Strictly speaking Pratāparudra himself does not seem to have a very strong claim to be a solar Kākatiya. He was adopted by his grandmother, whereby he became a member of her (or her husband's) race, but it can be urged in his favour that he succeeded to the Kākatiya throne, and that adoption of females was valid in ancient times (see *Dattakamīmāṇsā* VII § 30-38 as quoted by Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, sixth edition, p. 130), whereby Gaṇapati's daughter, whom her father had called his 'son' and had given a male name of 'Rudra' (on which account she was called Rudrāmba; see *Ind. Ant.* XXI. p. 199) became incorporated with her parental race of solar Kākatiyas. The commentator of the *Pratāparudrīya*, who was no less a personage than the great Mallīnātha's son, explains the word thus:—*Kākati nāma Durgā Saktir Ēkaśilānagar-ēśvarānām kuladēvatā sđ Śaktir bhajanty-asy-ēti Kākatiyah*. It is in this sense alone that the Bastar family could be classed as Kākatiya. This would not affect their true lineage, viz., the lunar race. All this however would apply if Annamdēva was a brother of the Pratāparudra of our list I. But list II with 10 kings for a period of about 400 years postulates the existence of another Pratāparudra, who probably ruled a hundred years later and 'lost his kingdom and his life in the battle with Ahmad Shāh Bahmani' in 1424 A.D. This Pratāparudra was also probably engrafted from another family like his predecessor, in all likelihood from the lunar race to which his brother Annamdēva as a matter of natural course continued to belong.

3.—Successors of Dikpālādēva down to the present ruling chief, according to records kept in the Rāja's family.

- 1 Rajpālādēva.
- 2 Dalpatādēva.
- 3 Daryāodēva : his brother Ajmēr Singh rebelled against him in Samvat 1836, A.D. 1779.
- 4 Mahipālādēva.
- 5 Bhūpālādēva.
- 6 Bhairamadēva.
- 7 Rudrapratāpādēva, the present chief.

The family records place another Pratāparājādēva between Narasimhadēva and Jagadīśarāyādēva, Nos. 6 and 7 of List 2. Pratāparudradēva, the brother of Annamrāja, is stated to have had three eyes ; his army was composed of nine lac archers,¹ and during his time golden rain fell. Pratāparudra I. was a great patron of learning, and Vidyānātha wrote a work on Alankāra, which he called after him *Pratāparudrayasōbhāṣaṇa* or *Pratāparudriya*.²

The other three inscriptions are at Dōngar ; they are written in Hindī. Two of them are dated in Samvat 1836, or A.D. 1783, and refer to a visit of Rāja Daryāodēva in order to quell a local rebellion. The third is dated in Samvat 1928, or A.D. 1871, and records the *paṭṭī-bhish'ku* ceremony of Bhairamadēva, the father of the present ruler.

III.—MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are unimportant and give no historical data. Six belong to Chapkā and are engraved on *sati* memorial stones and, with one exception, in Nāgarī characters. Most of these have the usual marks of the sun, the moon and the outstretched hand with figures of husband and wife. Some have got temples engraved, with the couple in the act of worshipping the *linga* represented there. One is found at Bārsūr on the pedestal of a goddess and is fragmentary.

No. 20.—KANKER COPPER PLATES OF PAMPARAJADEVA

[KALACHURI] SAMVAT 965 AND 966.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

These are two copper plates which were found in an old well in the Village **Tahankāpār**, 18 miles from Kanker, the capital of the state of the same name in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. They are now in the possession of the chief of that state and were sent to me by his Divān Paṇḍit Durgāprasād. Ink impressions were kindly taken for me at Nāgpur by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plate.

There are two different records issued at an interval of a year. Both the plates are $7\frac{1}{8}$ " long, but they differ in height and weight, one measuring $3\frac{3}{4}$ " and the other $3\frac{1}{4}$ ", the bigger one

¹ This may be true in the sense that he ruled over so big a population, who, as subjects, could at any time be called out for military service. In Bastar and adjoining tracts almost every man knows the use of the bow and arrow, with which they even kill tigers. The probability, however, is that 'nine lac' was a conventional term for the highest number. In the Hottūr inscription (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 433) the Chalukya king Satyāśraya is stated to have put to flight a Chōla king who had collected a force numbering nine lacs, indirectly insinuating that he defeated the biggest army that could be brought in the field. Similarly it has become idiomatic to speak of *Bāvangarh* (52 forts), 700 *chēlas* (disciples), 108 *śris*, etc.

² *Ind. Ant.* xxi. p. 198, and Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 213.

weighing 6 oz. and the smaller 6 oz. 10 drs. The former has an oblong hole at the top, measuring $\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{1}{16}''$, apparently for stringing it with other plates. It is uniformly and sufficiently thick, and is in a good state of preservation. The smaller one is thick in the middle but very thin at the ends, so thin indeed that the commencement *Om svasti* has cut through the plate leaving holes in the engraved portion, and, similarly, at the diagonally opposite end, a portion is exceedingly worn-out leaving irregular holes there. The corners of this plate were rounded off. It has at the end an ornamental figure representing the moon. This was probably the family crest.

The average size of the letters in the bigger plate is $\frac{3}{16}''$ and in the smaller $\frac{1}{8}''$. The former appears to be a palimpsest. Both the sides contain minute scratches of letters of almost double the size, which are altogether illegible.

The characters in both the plates, which were written at an interval of a year only, are Nāgarī, and the language in both is corrupt Sanskrit prose. Both the plates were engraved by Sēthi or São Kēsava, who apparently lived at Pāḍi (town).

There is very little to note about orthographical peculiarities. The letters *dha*, *ra*, *na*, *ksha*, *bha*, *jña*, and the figures 9 and 5 appear in a somewhat antiquated form, and the usual indifference to the use of *s* for *ś* is conspicuous. Spelling mistakes there are many; they have been noticed in the footnotes under the text.

The bigger plate, which is the older of the two and was issued from the Kākaira residence, is a state document conferring a village with a fixed revenue on the village priest Lakshmidharaśarma. This refers to Jaiparā village, but Chikhali is also incidentally mentioned. The smaller plate records the gift of two villages, Kōgarā and Āṇḍali, to the same person on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. These transactions were made by the Mahāmaṇḍalika Pamparājadēva of the Sōmavamśa (lunar race) in the presence of his queen Lakshmidēvi, prince Vōpadēva and eight Government officials including the minister. In the village document these officials appear as witnesses. The recipient of the villages was himself one of them.

The village document is business-like and contains abbreviations which were no doubt very well understood at that time, but are now difficult to make out. It does not indulge in genealogies. In the gift, however, we are told that Pamparājadēva meditated on the feet of Sōmarājadēva, who meditated on the feet of Vōpadēva. I take this Vōpadēva to be identical with that of the Kanker stone inscription of the Śaka year 1242 (see above, page 124). I shall discuss this question in another paper on the Sihāwā inscription, which also gives a genealogy of this family.

The bigger plate is dated in Saṁvat 965, in the Bhādrapada month, in the Mṛiga lunar mansion, on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight, and the smaller one in the Īśvara-saṁvatsara, in the month of Kārttika, in the Chitrā lunar mansion, on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, the year being given in figures at the end as 966. It is not stated to what era these dates belong, but Professor Kielhorn, who has kindly calculated them for me, has conclusively proved that they refer to the Kalachuri era. The reader is referred to the postscript added by him at the end of my article on the Kanker stone inscription (see above, pp. 128 and ff.), where he has fully discussed the question. The English equivalents of these dates, as calculated by him, are Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, and Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, respectively.

The towns and villages mentioned in the plates are Kākaira, Pāḍi, Kōgarā, Āṇḍali, Jaiparā, Chikhali and Vanikōṭṭa. Kākaira is the modern Kanker, where the present chief of the state resides. It is 88 miles from Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgarh Division, in which the Kanker state is included. Kōgarā has now been corrupted into Kōngērā. There are two villages of this name in the state, and for distinction one is called Dēo Kōngērā (8 miles

south-east of Kanker), and the other Hât Kôngêrâ (6 miles north of Kanker). The former is associated with gods, and the latter with a market, which is held there. In the inscription Kôngêrâ is said to be close to the shrine of Prânkêśvara, which has now disappeared, but has apparently left its reminiscence in the suggestive adjunct *Dêo* which Kôngêrâ now bears. I therefore identify our Kôngêrâ with Dêo Kôngêrâ. Jaiparâ is the modern Jêprâ (Indian Atlas, quarter sheet 92, N. W., Long. 81° 31', Lat. 20° 28'), a village 15 miles north of Kanker, and Chikhali is about 21 miles in the same direction just on the borders of the state. It is now included in the Dhamtari tahsil, which formerly formed part of the Kanker state. Âṇḍali is probably represented by the present Âṇḍni (Âṇjñi), 10 miles east of Kanker. Pâḍi cannot be identified. The same is the case with Vanikôṭṭa about which it is doubtful whether it is the name of a village at all.

Plate I.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Kākaira-samāvāsê rājādhirāja-paramêśvara-paramamâhêśva(śva)ra-Sô-
- 2 ma-vams(ê)-ânvaya-prasûta-Kâtýa[ya*]ni-vara-lavdha-paṇcha-savd¹-âbhinamḍita-nija-bhuj-
- ôpârjita-
- 3 mahāman[ḍ*]alika-simat.² Pamparâjadêva-vijaya-râjyê tat-samnihitâ-râjñi Lakshmi-
- 4 dêvi kumara³ Vôpadêva pradhâna Bhôga râra | vaipâtha | asû⁴ êtê nija-
- vyâpâram kurvâm ti-
- 5 shṭhâ(a)m̐ti Jaiparâ Vanikôṭṭa maryâdi-kṛitya grâma-patrô-yam gaitâ-
- Lakshmidharâyam(ya) pradattam
- 6 prathama sarâha gaja bhâma âchhu 130 vijaya-râja⁵ ṭṭamka 140 halav-
- ârdha-paṭṭam-
- 7 tarê | tathâ Chikhali-grâma-patrê vijaya-râj[y*]a-ṭṭamka 150 pralavâ-pau-
- ṇa-paṭṭamtarê | Asmim arthê sâkshipañ bhaṭṭarâ[ṇaka*] (I) Gôvinda gai(n)tâ
- Lakshmidhara | gai[tâ*] Ma-
- 9 hêśvara⁶ | nâ[yaka*] | Chhamṭû | nâ[yaka*] | Dâmôdara | sâ[o*] | Pâlatû |
- samvat (I) 965 Bhâdrapada vadi 1[0]
- 10 mṛiga-rikshê⁷ sôḍma-dinê⁸ | pañ | Vishṇuśarmmaṇâ likhitam sêṭhi Kêśavêna
- utkirṇam Pâḍi-
- 11 pattanê [I*] subham⁹ bhavatu ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail! At the Kākaira residence, in the victorious reign of the illustrious Mahāmaṇḍalika Pamparâjadêva, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the great worshipper of Śiva, (who is) born in the lineage of the family of the Moon, who is hailed as having obtained the 5 sounds as a boon from Kâtýayani, who has acquired (his country) by (the force of) his own arms, with him the queen Lakshmidêvi and Prince Vôpadêva (sitting) by his side, and while the eight¹⁰ officials

¹ Read °lavdha-pañcha-savd.² Read śrīmat.³ Read kumâra.⁴ Probably ashṭa.⁵ Read râjya.⁶ Read Mahêśvara.⁷ Read mṛigarikshê.⁸ Read sôḍmadinê.⁹ Read subham.

¹⁰ These eight officials seem to have included the minister, the village priest, who in the present case is a party to the transaction, the Râj Pandit, who wrote out this document, and five others, whose office is probably expressed by five letters *Râ, Râ, Vai, Pâ* and *Tha*, which perhaps stand for *Râṇaka* (chief counsellor), *Râjavallabha* (court favourite), *Vêtrika* (chamberlain), *Pârsika* (aide-de-camp), and *Thakkura* (lord-in-waiting). See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1905, Vol. I. p. 10; Vol. XVII, 1878, pp. 405 and 408; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, pp. 244 and 337. In the last, which is a Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, the following occurs: *ṭṭair-ashṭâbhir gôshṭhikair ... sârd* written only six years after the one referred to above, and it would seem that at that time eight was considered an adequate number of persons as witnesses or trustees, etc., in connection with transactions of at least landed property.

I.

[Kalachuri] Samvat 965.

2 म वंशाच्छाप्रसूतकात्तानी वनल दृपवयशसिनिजितवज्रजो 2
 ममामललीकस्यामपेपचा ऊदेवनि ऊयना डेतन्येता मे तनाही लला 4
 4 देविकुम्भनवोपदेवप्रकाशरौमनाना वैषाठा ऊसप रेनऊव्या चानेकु वीत 4
 6 प्रोतकैपचा वल्लोहमयीदीकृत्पयाम पत्रोयगै तालली व नाय पदत्र 6
 6 प्रोमसनाठगऊमयाकु १३० विऊयगोऊदंक १४० मलवाइपद 6
 8 तनेतथासि च्वलीगमि पत्रे खऊध चाऊदंक १५० मल वा 8
 8 ल पदुतने। अस्मिं अये शास्त्रे लः न ऊनागो वेदगै मालली व वागेम 8
 10 तस्वप। ना। कं दाना। यामीदप। सा। पाली। सुवत। २६५ नाद पदे वीत 10
 10 मृग। नके। सा। दान। पं। वि। रा। म। लालि। ख। तं। साठके। खेव। उकी। म। पा 10
 प्र। तने। म। त। वतु॥

II.

[Kalachuri] Samvat 966.

2 म ललीकजीमहोपदेवपादाठमातपनम दुष्टाकमरुमललीकजीमहोमया 2
 जदेवपादाठमातपनम तद्वचकमराभालो कजीमसंपराह देवमदी प्रव द्रीमान क 2
 4 लाली ऊयमा जो तल्लिह तमाही लला देविकुम्भनवोपदेवप्रकाशरौमनाना वैषाठा 4
 4 प्रोतकैपचा वल्लोहमयीदीकृत्पयाम पत्रोयगै तालली व नाय पदत्र 4
 6 प्रोमसनाठगऊमयाकु १३० विऊयगोऊदंक १४० मलवाइपद 6
 6 तनेतथासि च्वलीगमि पत्रे खऊध चाऊदंक १५० मल वा 6
 8 ल पदुतने। अस्मिं अये शास्त्रे लः न ऊनागो वेदगै मालली व वागेम 8
 8 तस्वप। ना। कं दाना। यामीदप। सा। पाली। सुवत। २६५ नाद पदे वीत 8
 10 मृग। नके। सा। दान। पं। वि। रा। म। लालि। ख। तं। साठके। खेव। उकी। म। पा 10
 प्र। तने। म। त। वतु॥

(headed by) the minister Bhôga (?) are present on duty, this document of the village, making Jaiparâ Vanikôṭṭa the limit,¹ is given to Gaitâ² Lākshmidhara. First³ (the revenue was payable) at 130 (in former coins, now) 140 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for half the Halbâ⁴ paṭṭi (share). Similarly in the document of Chikhali village, 150 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for the $\frac{2}{3}$ Pralavâ (Halbâ) paṭṭi (share). The witnesses for this purpose (are) Bhaṭṭarâṇaka Gôvinda, Gaitâ Lākshmidhara, Gaitâ Mahēśvara, Nāyaka Chhaṇṭū, Nāyaka Dāmôdara, Śrî Pālātū. Saṁvat 935, Bhādrapada (month), in the Mṛiga lunar mansion (riksha), on Monday, the 1[0]th of the dark fortnight. Written by Paṇḍit Vishṇuśarman and engraved by Sēṭhi Kēsava in the Pāḍi town. Let good fortune attend.

Plate II.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm⁵ Svasti Pāḍi-samāvāśē samasta-rāj-āvali-maṇālamkṛita⁶-sōmavaṁ[sānvaya-
prasū]ta-mahā-
2 maṇ[d*]alika-śrīmad-Vôpadēva-pād-ānudyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahamaṇ[d*]alik a⁸ -
[śrī]mat-Sōmarā-

¹ This is another ambiguous phrase capable of various interpretations. It is possible that the executors meant to convey that the boundaries of Jaiparâ Vanikôṭṭa were duly marked out on the spot before the document was given to Lākshmidhara. Vanikôṭṭa is another troublesome word. It may have been the name of a village in the vicinity of Jaiparâ and may have been used as an adjunct to distinguish it from other villages of the same name. Similarly people talk of Dēori Nāharman, meaning that Dēori which is near the village Nāharman, to distinguish it from another Dēori. There is a village in Kanker called Pharaskōt, which is probably a corruption of Paraśukôṭṭa, and on this analogy, it may fairly be asserted that there is nothing extraordinary in the name Vanikôṭṭa as denoting a village. It is, however, equally probable that it was no village, and that Jaiparâ had this adjunct because there existed in that village a *vanik-kôṭṭa*, or "traders' fortress," that is, a fortified place probably made by Banjārās for storing grain purchased for transport. In olden times the Banjārās are known to have carried even guns for protecting themselves from plunder. Jaiparâ may have been one of their central depôts, which they fortified, and the village therefore came to be called Jaiparâ Vanik[k*]-kôṭṭa. It is not necessary that the Banjārās alone should have done this. There may have been other traders who might have built a fortified place, but as this part of the country has been and is a favourite resort of these wandering traders, it is more likely that they should have built such a depôt. Numerous examples of such adjuncts may be cited. Thus, there is a village Barâ in the Saugor district. It has got Hindû tombs called *Surai* and hence people call it Barâ Suraisaon. In fact the adjunct has gained such prominence that the real name Barâ is almost elbowed out, and only Suraisaon is regularly used. Similarly, Hirdēnagar-Garhākôṭṭa, well known as Garhākôṭṭa, derives its name from the construction of a fort and rampart, the original principal village being Hirdēnagar, which a Bundelâ chief Hirdē-Shāh founded in his own name.

² The village priest is still called *Gaitâ* in Kanker and Bastar States.

³ Lines 4 and 5 are so obscure as to make their translation extremely doubtful. There can be little doubt, however, that they relate to the fixation of revenue of the villages mentioned, in the coins of the reigning prince. Whether the old revenue in respect to the village to which the transaction refers, was 130 *ṭankas*, and on revision on the present occasion, was enhanced to 140 *ṭankas*, or the old 130 *ṭankas* were equal to 140 new coins is not clear. While executing the present document opportunity was taken to revise the revenue of another village, Chikhali, for which another *grāmapatra* or document existed, and the revenue was fixed at 150 new *ṭankas*. It appears that the Chikhali document was not near at hand, and that seems to be the reason why blank space enough to fill up 3 figures was left out between the words *Chikhali-grāmapatrē* and *Vijaya-rājyaṭṭanka* to be filled up afterwards. But once omitted nobody cared to fill it in, the matter not being of great importance, as the old rental was superseded by the revised amount which was thenceforth payable to the State. The fact that this record is a palimpsest seems to show that the fresh transaction was a matter on revision under the new régime of Pamparājadeva, and apparently the old record, which had become useless, was beaten out and the new one was inscribed instead. The words *sarāha goja bhāma āchhu* appear to be some local technical term, which was used in fiscal matters and was well understood at the time, but so far as my enquiry from local sources goes, it has not survived and it is not now used in State transactions. The matter, however, is not of great importance and does not affect the historical information inferable from the record.

⁴ *Paṭṭi* are plots of land in a village and the Halbâ or Halbâ paṭṭi was apparently one cultivated by the Halbâs, an aboriginal tribe chiefly found in Kanker (see above note 5, page 124).

⁵ Expressed by a symbol. ⁶ Read *°many-alamkṛita*. ⁷ Read *°vamsānvaya*. ⁸ Read *°mahāmaṇḍalika*.

- 3 *jadēva-pād-ānudhyōta*¹-*paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahāmaṇḍalika-śrīmat-Pamparājadēva-madi* - ²
*pravaddhīmāna*³-ka-
 4 *lyāṇa-vi(vi)jaya-rājyē tat-saṁnihita rājñi Lashmādēvi*⁴ *kumara*⁵ *Vōpadēva*
*pradhāna Vāghu | ṭhāktri*⁶ *aṣṭa Vi[shṇu]-*
 5 *sarmma*⁷ | *Nārāyaṇa | bhaṭṭarāṇa[ka*] Gōvinda | gai | Mahēśra*⁸ | *nā |*
*Chhātū | nā | Dāmōdra*⁹ | *sā | Paltūai*¹⁰ | *ētē nija-vyāpa(pā)-*
 6 *raṁ kurvaṁ tishṭhanti | Gṛitakaūsika-gōtr-ānvaya-prasūta sama[sta*]-dvija-varyy-*
ō[d]dyōta-kāraka-gaitta(ā)-Madhavasarmma*¹¹
 7 *pautrā[ya*] gaittā-Gadādhara-putrāya sakala-guṇ-ālaṁkṛi[ta*]-gaittā-*
*Lakshmadharasarmmanē*¹² *yajurvēd-ādhyāyinē Īsvara*¹³
 8 *saṁvatsarē kār[t*]tika-māsē chitrā-rikshē*¹⁴ *ravidinē suryāparāgē*¹⁵ *śrī-*
*Prāmkēśvara*¹⁶-*saṁn(saṁ)nidhāna-Kōgarā-grāmō-*
 9 *yaṁ chatu-simā-payaṁtam*¹⁷ *pāda-prakshālanaṁ kṛitvā asmābhi[h*] pradattam*¹⁸ ||
*Tat-kāla-samayē visaya*¹⁹-*madhyē [srī]-kumara*²⁰
 10 *Vōpadēvena pāda-prakshālanaṁ kṛitvā Āṇḍaligrāmō=ya[m*] pradattam*²¹ |
saṁvat 966 sāvu Kēsavē-
 11 *na*²² *utkinuam[|*] subham*²³ *bhavatu ||*

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! At the Pāḍi residence, in the augmenting, prosperous and victorious reign on this earth of the illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāmaṇḍalika Pamparājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāmaṇḍalika Sōmarājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalika Vōpadēva*, who was born of the family of the moon and who was adorned by the gems of the row of all the kings. In the *Īsvara-saṁvatsara*, in the month of *Kārttika*, in the *Chitrā* lunar mansion (*riksha*), on *Sunday*, at the solar eclipse, with the queen *Lakshmidēvi* and Prince *Vōpadēva* (sitting by us, and while the eight officers *Vishnuśarma*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Bhaṭṭarāṇa(ka)* *Gōvinda*, *Gai(tā)* *Mahēśvara*, *Nā(yaka)* *Chhātū*, *Nā(yaka)* *Dāmōdara*, *Sā(o)* *Paltū*, (headed by) the minister *Vāghu* are present on duty, the village *Kōgarā* near *Śrī Prāmkēśvara*, to the extent of its four boundaries, has been given by us, after having washed our feet (ceremoniously), to *Gaitā Lakshmidharasarma*, a student of the *Yajurveda*, adorned with all virtues, the son of *Gaitā Gadādhara* and the grandson of *Gaitā Madhavasarma*, who was born in a family (belonging to) the *Gṛitakaūsika* *gōtra*, the best of all twiceborn, and the author of the *Uddyōta*. At the same time and in the same country, the *Āṇḍali* village was given by the illustrious prince *Vōpadēva*, after having washed his feet. *Saṁvat 966*. Engraved by *Sāo Kēsava*. Let good fortune attend.

21.—KHARIAR COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

BY STEN KONOW.

These plates were sent to me in March 1907 by the Commissioner of Raipur, who stated that they had been dug up at Khariār in the Raipur District, Central Provinces. The name of the

¹ Read *dyōta*.⁴ Read *Lakshmidēvi*.⁷ Read *Vishnuśarmma*.¹⁰ Read *Paltū*.¹³ Read *Īsvara*.¹⁴ Perhaps a corruption of *Prāmkēśvara* or *Prīnakarēśvara*.¹⁵ Read *pradatta*.²¹ Read *pradatta*.² Read *-mahī*.⁵ Read *kumāra*.⁶ Read *Mahēśvara*.¹¹ Read *Madhavasarmmanah*.¹² Read *chitrarikshē*.¹⁶ Read *chitrarikshē*.¹⁹ Read *vishaya*.²² Read *Kēsavēna utkinuam*.³ Read *-pravaddhīmāna*.⁸ Perhaps *ṭhakkura aṣṭa*.⁹ Read *Dāmōdara*.¹² Read *Lakshmidharasarmmanē*.¹⁵ Read *suryōparāgē*.¹⁷ Read *chatu-simā-payaṁtam*.²⁰ Read *śrī-kumāra*.²³ Read *subham*.

place occurs as **Karial** on the Indian Atlas sheet 92 N. E., Lat 82° 50' and 20° 17'. The plates have now been deposited in the Nâgpur Museum.

There are three copper plates, each measuring $5\frac{5}{8}'' \times 3\frac{1}{8}''$. The first is inscribed on one side only. Traces on the other side show that the plate has formerly been used for another inscription. The plates are quite smooth, and their edges have neither been fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. They are in an excellent state of preservation. About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about $\frac{7}{16}''$ in diameter, for the ring on which the plates are strung. This ring is oval, $3\frac{3}{8}''$ long and $2\frac{1}{8}''$ broad. It had not been cut when the plates were sent to me.

The ends of the ring are secured in a circular seal, about $3\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter. It is identical with that described by Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 196. Its upper part shows a representation of a standing **Lakshmi** facing full front; on each side of her an elephant is standing on a waterlily, with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is an expanded waterlily, in the proper left corner a *śaṅkha*.

The seal has been subjected to fire, and the legend could not be made out when I received the plates. It has, however, proved possible to clean it, so that it can now be read with certainty. It therefore also makes it possible to decide what the legend must have been on the corresponding seal published by Dr. Fleet, which is quite illegible.

The weight of the three plates is 1 lb. $2\frac{3}{4}$ oz.; and of the ring and seal 1 lb. 2 oz., total 2 lb. $4\frac{3}{4}$ oz.

The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The character is the same box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as in the copper plates of the same king published by Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff. The long variety of *i* is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting *i*, and usually not in the centre of it as in the **Âraṅ** plates of **Mahā-Jayarāja**,¹ nor in the right side of it as in the **Raipur** plates of **Mahā-Sudēva**.² The separate sign of the cerebral *ḍ* occurs in *chūḍāmaṇi*, l. 1, and the final form of *t* in *dadyāt*, l. 18, and *vasēt*, l. 19. Note also the use of one and the same sign to denote a stop in l. 5 and the visarga in l. 4, etc. The compound *nyh* occurs in *Drōṇasiṅghēna*, l. 23, and *ñch* in *kāñchanam*, l. 17; *mahimatāñchchhrēṣhā*, l. 21, and, falsely, in *dīnāñch=chhrēyō*, l. 22.

The numerical symbols for 2, 20, and 9 occur in l. 22.

The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory stanzas, here attributed to **Vyāsa**, are in verse, the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

As regards orthography we have to note the doubling of *k* before *r* in *vikkrama*, l. 1; the similar doubling of *dh* before *y* in *anuddhyāt*, l. 3; the doubling of a consonant after *r* in *svarggē*, l. 18; *visarjjiṭō*, l. 8; *suvarṇnam*, l. 16; *dharmmēshu* and *dharmma*, l. 13; *sūryya*, l. 16; *sarvva*, l. 8; *hētur=vvasu*, l. 3; *bhūr=vvaishṇavī*, l. 16; *bahubhir=vvasudhā*, l. 19; the form *savvatsara*, i.e. *saṁvatsara*, l. 22; the use of the *jihvāmūliya* in *yak=kāñchanam*, l. 17 (but *-rājah kshiti-*, l. 4); of the *upadhmāniya* in *-pradaḥ parama-*, l. 3; *Śāmbilakayōḥ prativāsi-*, l. 5, etc. The visarga is usually replaced by *s* before hard dentals. Before the stop, however, we find *bhūmiḥ tasya*, l. 20; *-śriṣhṭaḥ tē*, l. 10. A superfluous *anuvāra* has been added in *bhūmipāmn*, l. 12. *Tri* and *tri* have been interchanged in *pītri-*, l. 3, and *tridaṣa-*, l. 6. Note finally the forms *tāmbra-*, ll. 10 and 23; *Drōṇasiṅghēna*, l. 23, and the use of the genitive in *Vishṇusvāminas*, l. 10.

The inscription is one of the **Rāja Mahā-Sudēva**, and it is dated in the second year of his reign on the 29th day of **Śrāvaṇa**. The engraver was **Drōṇasiṅgha**, who also occurs in

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 191 and ff.

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff.

Mahā-Sudēva's Raipur plates.¹ Like this latter inscription and the Âraṅg copper plates of Mahā-Jayarāja,² our inscription was issued from Śarabhapura, and it states that the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest jewels in the tiaras of the *śimantas* who have been subjugated by his prowess; who is the cause for the removal of the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies; who is the giver of riches, of land, and of cows; who is a devout worshipper of Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, issues the following order to the householders living in Navannaka and the neighbouring Śāmbilaka, in the Kshitimaṇḍa āhāra: Be it known to you that these two villages, which assure the happiness of the abode of the king of gods, have been bestowed by a copper charter on the Vājisanēyin Viṣṇusvāmin, of the Kauśika gōtra, for as long a time as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of sun, moon, and the stars; together with their treasures and deposits, not to be entered by district officers³ and soldiers, free from all taxes; for the purpose of increasing the spiritual merit of our parents and ourselves.

The date of our inscription cannot as yet be settled. Mahā-Sudēva is the same who has issued the grant published by Rājendralāla Mitra⁴ and Dr. Fleet.⁵ According to the legend of the seal he was the son of a certain Mānamātra, who in his turn had risen from the Prasann-ārṇava, i. e. who was descended from Prasanna, probably his son.

Neither Mānamātra nor Prasanna are elsewhere known. Mānamātra can perhaps be identified with Mānāṅka, "the ornament of the Rashtrakūṭas," who is mentioned in the copper plates of Abhimanyu of Mānapura edited by Professor Hultzsch.⁶ This Mānāṅka had a son, Dēvarāja, who might be identical with Sudēvarāja. In support of this hypothesis it may be mentioned that *mātrā* and *āṅka* are both stated by lexicographers to mean ornament. On the other hand, the alphabets of the two inscriptions differ, and this, in addition to the difference in the names, makes the identification very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura also recurs in the two other grants by Mahā-Sudēva and in the Âraṅg plates of Mahā-Jayarāja. Navannaka may be the present Nahnā, the Nainā⁷ of the maps, three miles south of Khariār. We do not know anything about the location of the remaining geographical names of our inscription, Kshitimaṇḍa and Śāmbilaka. They should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Khariār.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [†] Śarabhapurād=vikram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makūṭa-chūḍāmaṇi-
- 2 prabhā-prasēk-āmbu-dhōta⁹-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsini-simant-ōddharana-
- 3 hētur=vvasu-vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ=paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitri¹⁰-pād-ānuddhyā-
- 4 taś=śrī-Mahā-Sudēva-rājāḥ Kshitimaṇḍ-āhāriya-Navannaka-état-prāvēśya-
- 5 Śāmbilakayōḥ=prativāsi-kuṭumbinas-samājñāpayati || Veditam=astu

¹ Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 196 and ff.

² Ibid. pp. 191 and ff.

³ For the meaning of *chāṭa* compare Dr. Vogel in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902-03*, p. 247.

⁴ J. Beng. A. S., Vol. xxxv, Part i, 1867, p. 195 and ff.

⁵ Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 196 and ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. viii, p. 163; compare Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxx, p. 509.

⁷ The Commissioner of Raipur now informs me that the plates were actually found in Nahnā, and that the local authorities are inclined to identify Śāmbilaka with the present San Doil or Sandohal, a village adjoining Nahnā.

⁸ From the original plates.

⁹ Read -dhāuta-.

¹⁰ Read -pātri-.

16 16
 18 18
 20 20

22 22



Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 vò yath=âsmâbhir=êta¹=grâma-dvaya^m tridaśa²=pati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭhâka¹⁰
yâva-
7 d=ravi-śasi-târâ-kirâṇa-pratihata-ghôr-ândhakâra^m jagad=avatishṭhatê tâvad=upa-
8 bhôgyas=sanidhis=sôpanidhir=achâṭa-bhâṭa-prâvēśya-sarvva-kara-visarjji-
9 tō mâtâpitrôr=âtmanâś=cha puny-âbhivṛddhayê Vâjisanēya-Kôśika³=sagôtra-
10 Vishṇusvâminas=tâmbraśâsanâ=âtisṛishṭah [I*] Tê yûyam=êvam=upalabhy=âsy=â-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 jñâ-sravana-vidhēyâ bhûtvâ yathôchitam bhôga-bhâgam=upanayantas=sukham prati-
12 vatsyatha [I*] Bhavishyataś=cha bhûmipân⁴=anudarśayati [II*] dâna⁵=
viśishṭam= anupâ-
13 lana-jam⁶ purâṇâ dharmmêśhu niśchita-dhiyah=pravadanti dharmma[III*]
II (I) tasmâ[d*] dvijâ-
14 ya suvisuddha-kula-srutâya dattâm bhuvam bhavatu vò matir=êva
gôptu[m*] II
15 Tad=भवद्भविर=अप्य=êśhâ dattir=anupâlayitavyâ [I*] Vyâsa-gîtâmś=ch=âtia
ślôkân=u-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 16 dâharanti II Agnêr⁷=apatya[m*] prathamam suvarṇam bhûr=vvaishṇavi
sûrya-
17 sutâś=cha gâvah [I*] dattâs=trayas=tēna bhavanti lôkâ yah=kâñchanam gam
cha mahim cha da-
18 dyât [II*] Shashṭi⁸=varsba-sahasrâpi svarggê môdati bhûmidah [I*] âchchhêtâ
19 ch=ânumentâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ
râjabhi-
20 s=Sagar-âdibhiḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalam II

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 Svadattâm⁹ paradattâm vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhisṭhira [I*] mahim=mahimatâñ=
chchhrêshṭha
22 dâna(ñ)ch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam=iti [II*] svamukhâjñayâ savvatsara¹⁰ 2 Śrâvana
di 20 9
23 utkirṇam tâmbraśâsanam Drôṇasinghêṇa.

Seal.

Prasann-ârṇava-sambhûta-Mânamâtr-êndu-janmana[h*] Śrîma[t-Sudê]varâjasya sthiram
jagati [śâsanam].

¹ The engraver originally wrote =âsmâbhir=aya-, but corrected it to =âsmâbhir=êta-. The gender in the following is wrong.

² Read tri-.

³ Read =kaufika-.

⁶ The na in anupâlana- has been added below the line.

⁸ Metre: Ślôka.

⁴ Read bhûmipân=.

⁹ Metre: Ślôka.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

⁷ Metre: Indravajrâ.

¹⁰ Read savvatsara.

No. 22.—NOTE ON BHUJABALA MAHARAYA.

By R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (Retired).

In Vol. VIII. 122 ff. Mr. H. Kṛishṇa Śāstri, B.A., publishes an inscription of the Kalaśa chief Bhairava II. at Kārkaḷa in the South Canara district of the Madras Presidency, and in the course of his discussion¹ on the history of the family quotes Mr. Rice's Mūdgere Taluq inscription of A.D. 1516 (Mg. 41). His comment on this is as follows—"This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara. Bhujabala-Mahārāya led a campaign against the Tulu-rājya, and was encamped at the *bhuvana-sāle* in Maṅgalūru Bhujabala-Mahārāya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Kṛishṇarāya's elder brother 'Busbalrao' mentioned on p. 110 of Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, etc."

There seems to be a mistake here. Firstly, I note that Mr. Rice does not consider the word *Bhujabala* in the passage in question to be a proper name. The passage² runs—*Vijayanagarada bhujabala mahārāyaru Tulu rājyalu mīle danḍu bandu*, and is translated by Mr. Rice—"The mighty (*bhujabala*) Mahārāya of Vijayanagara having come against the Tulu kingdom with an army." Here there is no ruler or leader named "*Bhujabala Mahārāya*." Secondly, the leader of the army could only have been Nuniz's "*Busbalrao*," elder brother of Kṛishṇadēva Rāya, if the date of this expedition to the Tulu country were referred to a period at least seven years earlier than the date of the inscription, because "*Busbalrao*" had died when Kṛishṇadēva was placed on the throne in A.D. 1509. It is possible that the expedition did take place before Kṛishṇadēva's accession, and it is equally possible that it may allude to Kṛishṇadēva Rāya's own exploit shortly after he came to the throne, when he, or his generals, reduced the Gaṅga Rāja of Ummatūr in Mysore. The mention in "Mg. 41" of Kṛishṇadēva Rāya's supreme sovereignty over the Kalaśa country during the chieftainship of Immaḍi-Bhairarsa-Oḍeyar gives us no clue to the date of the Vijayanagara army's march to Mangalore, for this may have taken place at any period before the date of that chief's grant, *viz.*, Sunday, July 13, A.D. 1516. But what is quite certain is that the leader of the army referred to could not have been Kṛishṇadēva Rāya's elder brother, whom Nuniz called "*Busbalrao*," *during*, as stated by Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstri, the reign of Kṛishṇarāya; for it was "*Busbalrao's*" death, according to Nuniz, that placed Kṛishṇadēva on the throne.

At the date of the grant Kṛishṇadēva was conducting his decisive campaign in the east, and had captured Koṇḍaviḍu three weeks earlier, *viz.*, on June 23rd, A.D. 1516.

No. 23.—RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVA.

[ŚAKA] SAMVAT 987.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

The discovery of this first copper plate inscription in the wild Bastar State of the Central Provinces is the result of the zeal with which Rai Bahadur Baijnath, B.A., the Superintendent

¹ Page 127, note 2. Will some one tell us whether the name should be spelt *Kaḷaśa* or *Kalasa*. It appears to be spelt either way in the original inscriptions. Thus in Mg. 40 (the inscription preceding the one in question), the Kanarese text has *Kaḷaśa* in line 11, and *Kalasa* in line 12. On p. 68 of his translation Mr. Rice gives us three times *Kaḷaśa* and five times *Kalasa*; on p. 69 we have four times *Kalasa* (not *Kaḷaśa*) and three times *Kalasa*. This last form is certainly wrong, for the second akṣara is always *ḷa* in the original. The variation is only in the third syllable. Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstri, in the *Epigraphia* spells the word consistently *Kaḷaśa*.

² See *Ep. Carn.* VI. 155-262, lines 1-2.

of the State, set himself to make a search for the antiquarian remains in that little known and remote quarter, at my request. Mr. Baijnath has been richly rewarded for his efforts, for, in addition to the present copper plates, he has discovered more than twenty new inscriptions in Sanskrit and Telugu characters, of most of which he has sent me ink estampages and tracings. I have deciphered several of them and they will in due course appear in this Journal. I begin with the copper plates, as this is perhaps the most ancient Sanskrit inscription yet found in Bastar. Mr. Baijnath found the plates in the possession of a Brāhmaṇ named Gaṅgādhar Pārhi of Kāwadgaon close to Rājapura. Gaṅgādhar received them from his sister-in-law, who found them buried in a field at Nāharni, sixteen miles from Rājapura.

There are three copper plates, held together by a ring, soldered into what was apparently the lower portion of a seal, which had been broken off. Each plate is about $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$ and they weigh 29 $\frac{1}{2}$, 30 and 35 *tolas*, respectively, the weight of the ring being 26 *tolas*. The plates are smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on both sides, except the first one, which is inscribed on one side only. Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Secretariat Press, Nāgpur, kindly took for me impressions, which are reproduced in the accompanying plate. The plates are numbered 1, 2, 3, on the margin, which was apparently left to prevent the ring holes from coming in between the written lines. The word *śrī* has been engraved in the upper margin of the first plate, over the figure 1.

The second side of the third plate is inscribed with benedictive and imprecatory figures, viz., 12 hands in a row at the top, beneath which there is to the proper left a cow with a bell attached to her neck, and a dagger and a shield beside her feet, a florated *liṅga* in the form of a *svastika* in the middle, and a woman pursued by a donkey to the proper right, with the figure of the sun and the moon over it. My interpretation of these figures is as follows:—The hands are uplifted, apparently as an expression of benediction on the donor, and they are twelve, probably because there were 12 *pātras* or donees referred to in the inscription. The cow is apparently drawn to remind us that whosoever appropriates the gifted land, will have to reap the same consequences which a cow's curse can produce, or will fall into the same calamity as a cow is in when deprived of her calf. Śiva is shown as the protector against aggression on the spiritual side, and the ruling king's dagger and shield on the temporal. The sun and the moon indicate that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Lastly the obscene figure of an ass associating with a woman is a vulgar imprecation implying that the transgressor of a gift should be so low-born.¹

The inscription is in the Nāgarī character. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{16}''$. They are well formed and clearly written.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit, and except the benedictive and imprecatory verses, which are inserted in a somewhat disconnected manner, the remainder of the inscription is prose. In fact, the whole composition is disjointed, and there are several grammatical slips and spelling mistakes.

The most noteworthy orthographical peculiarities are the representation of the initial *i* with two dots and a stroke underneath, resembling the Nāgarī figure 2 (ll. 13, 16, 23 and 30). The anusvāra is put at the side of the letter and is represented by a dot with a *hala* underneath (ll. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27), but in several instances it is also represented in the ordinary way by a dot on the top of the letter (ll. 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31 and 32). One top stroke representative of the *mātrās*

¹ Compare my remarks, above, p. 164.

of *é*, *ai*, *ô* and *au* is exhibited by a vertical stroke placed before the letter to which it is attached—a practice which is still followed in the Bengālī and Oṛiyā writing, but exceptions may be found side by side, where it is placed on the top of the letter according to the practice now followed in writing. Thus, in line 12, the *dé* of *Madhurāntakadēva* has a top, while the very next *dē* of *Kanhuradēva* has a vertical stroke preceding the letter *da*. The latter form, however, predominates, the exceptions being found as regards *é* in ll. 2, 4, 10, 11, 12, 21, 26, 29 and 31 and of *ô* in ll. 1, 19, 31, and 32. *Ai* has been used only once, in line 8, and *au* twice, in lines 11 and 26, and in each case one of the top *mātrās* has been represented by a vertical stroke preceding the letter to which it is attached. The letters *bha*, *dha*, *ra* and *ksha*, invariably appear in their antiquated forms. The letter *v* is used throughout for *b*, and *s* for *ś*, except in the solitary instances of *daśa* in l. 3 and of *śrī* in ll. 12 and 29. *Ja* is used for *ya* (ll. 20, 24, and 27), *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in l. 8, and *na* for *ṇa* in l. 6. In line 8 *kamrala*¹ for *kamala* is a spelling which occurs in other inscriptions. It represents the actual pronunciation of the vernacular word—a pronunciation still kept up in the Chhattisgarh division, of which Bastar forms part.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of Rājapura village, situated in the Bhramarakōṭya maṇḍala, to one Mēḍipōta or a Chhurikāra Mēḍipōta and his descendants, together with 70 *gaḍyānaka*² gold. The grant was made by the king Madhurāntakadēva, who belonged to the Chhindaka family of the Nāga (Cobra) race. The inscription is dated in the [Śaka] year 987, in the Parābhava samvatsara, on Wednesday of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month. Although the *tithi* has not been given, there is a most minute description of the moment of the grant, the *nakṣatra* being stated to be Anurādhā, the *yōga* to be Saubhāgya and the *karana* to be Gara. From these data the exact date has been kindly calculated for me by Professor Kielhorn who says:—

“The date for Śaka 987 expired corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika ended 9 hours 17 minutes after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was Anurādhā and the *yōga* Saubhāgya. The second half of the *tithi* was the *karana* Gara. But the Jupiter's year is not quite correct. By the southern system it should have been Viśvāvasu and by the northern luni-solar system Plavaṅga and by the northern mean sign system Kilaka. The mistake is the same as in the first Kanker³ plates.”

The purpose for which the grant was made is somewhat obscure. I take it to be a compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. Before proceeding to show how I arrive at this conclusion, it may be stated that in Bastar and the adjoining tracts human sacrifices were rampant about seventy years ago. It is notorious that human victims were offered to the goddess Dantēśvari, enshrined at Dantēwārā in the Bastar State. Colonel Macpherson of the Madras Army, who was appointed agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices and female infanticide in the hill tracts of Orissa, which Bastar adjoins, says⁴:—“In the worship of Tari Pennu or Earth Goddess the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes both at social festivals held periodically and when occasions demand extraordinary propitiation, such as the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease or by tigers, or should very many die in child-birth, or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease or from wild beasts, or should the greater crops threaten to fail, or the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the tribal chiefs. Victims are called Meriah and are acceptable only when they have been acquired by purchase or were born as such, that is. of a victim father. Victims are generally supplied to the Khonds by men of the two races called Panwā and Gahingā, who are attached in small numbers to almost every Khond village for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The Panwās purchase the victims without difficulty or kidnap

¹ Compare Dr Grierson in *J. R. A. S.* 1907, p. 1057.

² *Gadyānaka* is a weight = 32 *gūṇja*. See Yājñavalkya iii. 258.

³ Above p. 129.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.* Vol. XIII. (1852), p. 243 *et seq.*

them from the poorer classes of Hindûs, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds or on speculation, and they moreover constantly sell as victims their own children and children of whom as relatives they are the guardians. Khonds when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims, considering the beatification of their souls certain and their death for the *benefit of mankind*, the most honourable possible. The Meriah grove, a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, usually stands at a short distance from the village by a rivulet which is called the Meriah stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is avoided by the Khonds as *haunted ground*." Bearing these remarks in mind, I now proceed to examine in how far they can throw light on our inscription. The italics in the above extract are mine, and they should be borne especially in mind, while considering what follows. In ll. 26 to 28 it is stated that "no body enters the *chhuriprabandha*. There is no place for the preceptor of *yôginis*. For this purpose this village is taken with a view to do good to all living beings." From this it is plain that the grant was not made for any spiritual purpose such as the increasing of the religious merit of the king and his ancestors, but with a practical earthly aim, *viz.*, in order to secure the welfare of the general public including cattle and other animals. The grant was not made to a Brâhmaṇa but to a Mēḍipôta (ll. 12 to 14) who is styled "Pâtra 12," and to whom 70 *gaḍyâṇaka* gold were given in addition to the village, with the mutual consent¹ of the king, the queen, the prince and officers of State as stated in the grant, evidently in order to make the transaction an out-and-out purchase. Had the donee been a Brâhmaṇa, we should have expected a mention of his parentage, *gôtra* and caste, but no such information is forthcoming in this grant. In l. 25 Mēḍipôta is called *chhurikâra*, which is probably used in a technical sense having reference to the *chhuriprabandha* referred to above, and not in the ordinary sense of a knife-maker (blacksmith). I am unable to say what *chhuriprabandha*² really means, but from the context it appears to stand for something like *narabaliprabandha*, apparently on account of the great importance of the *chhuri* or knife in the sacrifice.

With regard to the epithet "12 pâtra" I am inclined to believe that Mēḍipôta, whether this word is a proper name or the name of an office, was the head of the 12 persons employed in the work of procuring victims. So late as 1884 A.D., when an investigation was made in Bastar in connection with kidnapping persons for sacrifice, it was believed that there were 12 villages given rent-free to kidnappers of 12 families, with whom the stipulation was that in case they could not procure victims from elsewhere, they must supply them from their own family in consideration of the free grant they enjoyed. Of course the existence of a grant for such a purpose could not be proved, as the sacrifices had been stopped long before the institution of the investigation. But the tradition of 12 families of *melliahs* or kidnappers of victims is significant and points to a practice which evidently existed in the days of these sacrifices.³ I am further inclined to think that Mēḍipôta was an office, *Mēḍi* being the same as *Mēli* or *Melli* vulgo *Melliah* or *Malia*,⁴ the word *pôta*, which in Telugu means a sacrificial victim, being dropped for

¹ The *Kālikā Purāṇa* says:—

If a human sacrifice is performed without the consent of the prince, the performer incurs sin (see *Rudhirādhyāya* in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V. p. 383).

² [The text has *chhuriprabandha*, which might perhaps be translated "killing with a *chhuri*."—S. K.]

³ [The passage in question (l. 14) can also be translated,—“Receivers 12 Mēḍipôtas, in their hand property was received.” The *Chhurikâra* of l. 25 would then be a special Mēḍipôta.—S. K.]

⁴ Capt. MacVicar says:—

“The Meriah offering, whether so called Toki Poojah or Noroboli (Narabali), is essentially the same in object as the *bolî* (bali) of the Doorga Poojah, and to this day the ritual of the Khond is annually celebrated by the Borisooloo or *Melliah Pater* (Pâtra) at Pooramari, the capital of Chinna Kimeri, on the conclusion of the Dasserah festival—a goat now being substituted for the more precious victim.” Mark the italics, which are mine. (See Report by Capt. MacVicar, 1851, in the *History of operations for the suppression of human sacrifice in the hill tracts of Orissa*, 1854). It would appear that Melliah (the procurer) and Meriah (the victim) were identical terms, the procurers being regarded in

the sake of brevity. It will now appear that the grant gives sufficient indications pointing to the procuring of a human victim. The village is secured as the residence of the preceptor of the *jôginis*, who of course dwell in a haunted place, which is naturally avoided by others. The victim is obtained by purchase, with the mutual consent of the king and his subjects, the grant is made to non-Brâhmanas, the likely persons to take part in such a ceremony, and all this is done for the purpose of *dayâ* and *dharma* to all living creatures. Having referred to these main points, I pass over the minor ones which lead to the same conclusion, that this grant was made in favour of procurers of victims for human sacrifices. If therefore the purpose of the grant is really what it appears to be, then I fancy this is a unique record and no similar inscription has hitherto been discovered.

Some remarks about the dynasty of the king mentioned in this grant will be found above on pp. 161 and ff., where I have dealt with the inscriptions of the Nâgavaṃśi kings found in Bastar, most of which are not yet published and which I propose to edit in due course as intimated before. The dynasty is clearly related to the Sinda family of Yelburga. Though styled "Lord of Bhôgâvatî, the best of cities," Madhurântakadêva appears to have been a *Maṇḍalika* (feudatory chief), as the verse in ll. 24-25 shows that his *râj* was limited to Bhramarakôtya, which is described as a *maṇḍala* in l. 15. He belonged to the Chhindaka family, one of the 36 Agnikulas¹ mentioned by Chand Bardai, the court poet of Prithvirâja.

With regard to the localities mentioned in the record, Râjapura is identical with the present village of the same name, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur (the capital of Bastar), on the bank of the Indrâvatî river. There are ruins of a fort there, and it is believed that it was once a royal capital. The present Râja family also dwelt there for some time. Chakrakôtya is, I feel little doubt, the town mentioned by the Kashmirian poet Bilhana in his *Vikramâdikadêvacharita*, in which he records that Vikrama as *yuvârâja* set out on a series of warlike expeditions, with the permission of his father. He repeatedly defeated the Chôlas and plundered Kâñchî. He assisted the king of Mâlavâ in regaining his kingdom and carried his arms as far north as Gauda and Kâmarûpa. He attacked also the king of Simhala or Ceylon, destroyed the sandal wood forests of Malaya Hills and slew the lord of Kêrala. He finally conquered Gângakunḍa (IV. 21) Vêṅgî (IV. 29) and Chakrakôṭa (IV. 30). After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards, and, on coming as far as the Kṛishṇâ, he was suddenly disquieted by the news of his father's death. Dr. Bühler² remarks that "Bilhana's rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars. Only so much may be considered certain that his last exploits were performed in the south as he came on his homeward march to the Kṛishṇâ." There can be no doubt about these exploits of Vikrama. They were, as related above, the conquest of Gângakunḍa, Vêṅgî and Chakrakôṭa, and at least these seem to have been conquered in the order in which they have been mentioned. Gângakunḍa was the Chôla capital, situated in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly district,³ whence Vikrama proceeded north to Vêṅgî, the country between the Kṛishṇâ

the same light as the victims, as they had themselves to become victims in the absence of a procured one. The sacrificers paid the Melliahs, who thus became purchased victims, and they did not care whence the victim was procured so long as one was supplied to them when wanted. Thus to the sacrificers, the procurer and the victim would mean the same thing, but the terms came to be differentiated when a class of procurers grew up and the real victim happened to be a substitute for themselves. A parallel instance of such differentiation in the same word may be found in Kôtwâl and Kôtwâr in the Saugor district, where in spite of the officials regarding them as identical, a social distinction is made out. The Kôtwâl is generally of a higher caste than the Kôtwâr and considers himself the proper village watchman, other menial duties being taken as the proper function of the Kôtwâr.

¹ *Prithvirâja Râsô*, Canto 1, page 54 (Nâgari Prachâriṇi Granthamâlâ series).

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 319 footnote.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 339.

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122 a.

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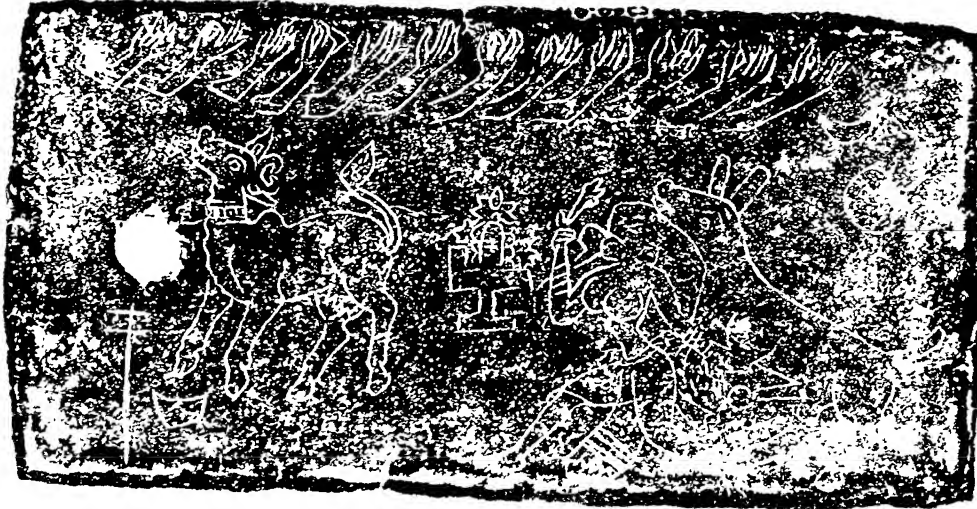
गामेष्ट दी तं दुयाव मयवे जेउ उपका ना घेहउ ॥ वज्रको
दम डलमये साकि नय कथ ॥ अनिष्टनः सुवसि लीनार
क्षिति कनण दामि आ ॥ लिखितं कायक अतः कनः ३३
नमः ॥ ३३ ॥ नमः ३३ ॥ नमः ३३ ॥ नमः ३३ ॥ नमः ३३ ॥
नामिना ३३ ॥ सादानामा ३३ ॥ वी ३३ ॥ तत्त्वो ३३ ॥ यम ३३ ॥ तत्त्व ३३ ॥
ति ॥

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121 b



and the Gôdâvarî. He apparently crossed the latter and raided the country of Chakrakôṭa and then wended his way homewards. This occurred just a few years after the present grant was made (1065 A.D.), in as much as Vikrama became king in 1076 A.D. Many a southern king¹ likewise raided this somewhat weak power, which must accordingly have been situated near to their kingdoms. Therefore Chakrakôṭa was not near Dhârâ, as some scholars have supposed, but was contiguous to Vêngî, being situated in the present Bastar state. I think the confusion with Dhârâ is due to the fact that Chakrakôṭya had a king named Dhârâvarsha (which has been apparently wrongly interpreted to mean 'king of Dhârâ'²). In an unpublished inscription found at Kuruspâl, a place close to Râjapura, there occurs *Chakrakûṭḍhîśvarānām kulam=alam karishṇuḥ samabhavad Dhârîvarshanāmō narêśvaraḥ*. The Nârâyanpâla inscription also mentions Dhârâvarsha, whose widow Guṇḍa-mahâdêvî gave away the Nârâyanapura village in her grandson's reign in the year 1111 A.D.³ The name Chakrakôṭya probably survives in the present Chitrakûṭa or Chitrakôṭa, 8 miles from Râjapura. Bhramarakôṭya was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakôṭya, which seems to survive in Ghumara, a name given to the fall of the Indrâvatî at Chitrakôṭa.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ôm⁴ svasti [I*] Sahasra-phaṇāmaṇi-kirapa-nikar-âvabhâsura-⁵Nâgavams-ô-
- 2 dbhava-Bhôgâvati-pura-var-ôsvara⁶ visada-jaya-paṭu-paṭaha-gâm-
- 3 bhâ(bhî)rya-dhvani-lamkârîta⁷-(||)daśa-dis-âmtarâldhanu⁸-(||)vyâghra-lâm-
- 4 chhana-(||)Chhîmdaka-kula-tilaka-kamala-bhâskara (||) mahâ-mahê-
- 5 svara(śvara)-charapa-kamala-sêvi-kinjalka-pumja-pi[m*]jarita-bhra-
- 6 marâyamâna(ṇa) (||) surapati-vinirjita-dumdubhi-tûrya-rav-ô[t*]trâ-
- 7 sit-âri-chakra chirâ-lavdha-jyêṭa⁹ (||) ôrâvat-ôpari-lavdha-lamva¹⁰.
- 8 kamvala-kadalâ(li)-dhvaja¹¹ samkh-aika-savd-âbhinaṁdita | svasti nri-¹²
- 9 pa-kâl-âtita-sa[m*]vat 987 nava-sata-satâsi-sapta-¹³

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 varshasa¹⁴ parâbhava-samvatam-abhyamtarah-kârtika-mâsa-sukla-pakshê¹⁵ vudha-
- 11 dinê nakvatra anurâvê¹⁶ saubhâgya-jôgê¹⁷ | karaṇa-gajê¹⁸ | sarvê¹⁹ mahû-

¹ The first raid so far as is known appears to have been made by Vijayâditya III. of the Eastern Châlukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A.D. He burnt Chakrakôṭa (above, Vol. IV. p. 226). Then the Chôla Râjendra-Chôla I. (A.D. 1011-33) took Sakka-kôttam (*South. Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 108), while one of his successors, king Virarâjendra I., claims to have crossed the Gôdâvarî, passed through Kalinga, and advanced against Chakrakôṭa (*ibid.* Vol. III. p. 70). Next the Chôla king Kulôttunga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in battle by storming Chakrakôṭa. This happened prior to 1070 A.D. and is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kalingattu Parani* (X 24), and also in inscriptions (see e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 286). Vikrama was probably the fifth raider, the sixth being Vishnuvardhana Hoysala in the 12th century (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 396).

² I would therefore, instead of 'Râjakêsarivarman (i.e. Kulôttunga Chôla I.) conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakôṭa' read 'Râjakêsarivarman conquered king Dhârâ(varsha) at Chakrakôṭa' (see Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 756).

³ See above, page 161.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read -ramê-ôdbhava.

⁶ Read -êsvara viśada-.

⁷ Read -lamkârîta.

⁸ Read -dis-âmtarâld dhanu-.

⁹ Read -labdha-jay-ôpêta.

¹⁰ Read airivat-ôpari-labdha-lamba-kamala-.

¹¹ Read samkh-aika-êabd-.

¹² Read śaka-nri-.

¹³ Read -sata-sapt-âstî-.

¹⁴ Read varshasya.

¹⁵ Read samvatsar-âbhyamtarâ-kârttika-mâsa-sukla-pakshê vudha-.

¹⁶ Read anurâdhâ-nakshatrê.

¹⁷ Read -yôgê.

¹⁸ Read gara-karaṇê.

¹⁹ Read sarva-muhûrttêshu.

- 12 tram śrī-Madhurāntakadēva || kumara¹ Kanharadēvaḥ rājñi Nāgala-mahā-
 13 dēvi | kumara ²Nāikah nāyaka Sūdrakah³ kumāra Tumgarājah srē-⁴
 14 shṭhi Pulīama || ēkāmati⁵ -bhūtvā pātra 12 mēdipōta hastē dravyam
 15 grihitam suvarṇa-gadyāpaka 70 Bhramarakōṭya-maṇḍala-madhyē
 16 Rājapura-grāmaṁ pāda prakshāla[y*]itvā hastē dhārām pradatā(ttam) ||
 ā-chandra-
 17 tāraka-prabhṛiti siva-nirmālyam⁶ vaditam kāla-kāl-antarē grihnā-⁷
 18 mam vadati || Vāṇarasyām sahasra-līnga bhagnē | sahasra-taṭāga⁸ bhagnē

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 sahasra vrāhmaṇa⁹ | gō-sahasra-ghātām kṛtvā | tasyasyōpi¹⁰ phalam bhavati ||
 sva-
 20 da[t*]t[ā*]m paradat[tā*]m vā jō(yō) harēd(rēta) vasumdharam [l*] shashtir¹¹-
 varishaha-sahasrāṇi
 21 vishṭhāyām jāyatē krimi[h*] || sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētum(tur)=nṛipāṇām
 kālē kā-
 22 lē (yō) pālaniyam(-yō) bhavadbhiḥ [l*] sarvān=yōpētām¹² bhāginah
 pārthavēndrō bhū-
 23 yō yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ [l*] Ākās-ōtpati¹³ nidhi gaja da[t*]tam iti
 grāmya
 24 vāhyam rāja-dravyam || ¹⁴jāva chadras=cha sūrjas=cha jāva tishṭhati mēdinī ||
 (l) jāva-
 25 tu Bhramakōṭya rājavamsa tāvatu || chhuri-kāra mēdipōtasya putra-
 26 pautrē sāsanam¹⁵ pālaniyam || grāma-mēdhyē¹⁶ chhuri-pravadham¹⁷ kō=pi na
 pravi-
 27 sati¹⁸ || kulāyani¹⁹-jōgini-āchāryasya(h) sthalam n=āsti || ētaḍ=arthē

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 grāmaṁ grihitam dayā-dharma-sarva-jamtu-(l)upakār-ārtha-hētum || Chakrakō-
 29 ṭya-maṇḍala-madhyē sākshi nāyaka śrī-Dhārēsvaraḥ(śvaraḥ) Mudhasēli Nāga-
 30 hasti | karaṇa Dārīā | Likhitam kāyastha-Dhānūkēna(h) iti
 31 lekha[ni] dhritam kumara²⁰ Tumgarāja Dhāmadēva Gōvardhanah
 Danārdanah²¹ pātra
 32 Gāgirā sādhu Sāhāraṅga(-su ?) | Maṇavridhi²² svahastō=yam matam=ārōpaya-
 33 ti ||

¹ Read *kumāra*.

² Read *kumāra Nāyakaḥ*.

³ Read *Sūdrakaḥ*.

⁴ Read *srēshṭhi*.

⁵ Read *ēkānumati*; cf. *ēkamattbhūtvā* in ll. 29, 30, and 33 of the Siyadoni inscription (above, Vol. I. p. 177).

⁶ Read *siva-nirmālyam=uditam*.

⁷ Read *grihnām=īmam*.

⁸ Read *-taṭāga*.

⁹ Read *brāhmaṇa*.

¹⁰ Read *tasy-asy=āpi*.

¹¹ Read *shashtim varsha-sahasrāṇi*.

¹² Read *sarvām=ēvām bhāvinah pārthivēndrān bhāyō bhā-*.

¹³ Read *ākās-ōtpatti*.

¹⁴ Read *yāvach=chandraś=cha sūryas=cha ydvat=tishṭhati mēdinī ydvat=tu Bhramarakōṭyō rāja-vamēd=pi tāvatā*.

¹⁵ Read *sāsanam*.

¹⁶ Read *-mēdhyē*.

¹⁷ Read *-pravadham*.

¹⁸ Read *°sati*.

¹⁹ Read *kulāyini-yōgini*.

²⁰ Read *kumāra*.

²¹ Read *Jandardana*. In Bastar and the adjoining Ōṛiyā country this name is commonly pronounced *Danārdana*, and I have found a Tahsildar of Kālāhandi who actually writes his name so. All these names should properly be in the instrumental.

²² Read *Manavridhi*.

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail ! (In the reign of the king) born of the race of the Nāga (Cobra), which is resplendent with the mass of rays (proceeding from) the jewels in (its) thousand hoods ; who is lord of Bhogāvati, the best of cities ; while the space between the ten quarters is resounding with the deep sound from the shrill drums (proclaiming his) brilliant victories ; whose crest is a bow and a tiger ; who is (as it were) the sun to the lotus (-like) crest jewel of the Chhindaka family ; who resembles a bee which is rendered yellow by the mass of the pollen served to the lotus feet of the great Mahēśvara ; whose circle of enemies is terrified by the sound of the *duṇḍubhi* (drum) and *tūrya* (musical horn) won from Indra ; who is endued with victories gained since a long time ; whose banner is the lotus and plantain (leaf) supported on (the back) of Airāvata (white elephant) ; and who is hailed by the sound of conches only ; in the year of the (Śaka) king 987 expired, in the month of Kārttika, during the currency of the Parābhava-saṁvatsara, in the bright fortnight, on Wednesday, in the Anurādhā lunar mansion, in the Saubhāgya yōga and Gara karaṇa, in all these auspicious moments, the illustrious Madhurāntakadēva, Prince Kanharadēva, Queen Nāgala Mahādēvi, Prince Nāyaka, Nāyaka Śūdraka, Prince Tuṅgarāja and Śrēṣṭhin Pulama, having unanimously agreed, the village Rājapura (situated) in the Bhramarakōṭya maṇḍala is granted, after washing the feet and (accompanied) with pouring streams (of water), (and) 70 gaḍyānaka gold are received in the hand of (by) Mēḍipōta, (who is the head) of the twelve pātras (persons worthy of receiving gifts). The gift is declared as Śivanirmālya (as sacred as a gift offered to Śiva and therefore inviolable), as long as the moon, the stars, etc., endure. If any one from time to time says : "I take it," the result for him also (will be the same as in the case of) breaking a thousand liṅgas in Bāṇāras, breaking a thousand tanks, and killing a thousand Brāhmins and a thousand cows.

"He who resumes land given by himself or given by another becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years."

"Common is this religious bridge to princes, and it should be guarded by you from age to age. Thus does Rāmachandra again and again conjure all future lords of the earth."

The produce from the heavens, deposits (in the earth) and (wild) elephants¹ are given, but other things outside the village are the State property. So long as the sun and the moon and the earth and the royal race of Bhramarakōṭya endure, so long (must this charter be observed). This charter is to be respected in the case of Chhurikāra Mēḍipōta's sons and grandsons.

Nobody enters the *chhuriprabandha* at the village sacrifice. There is no place for the preceptor of the resident (local) *jōginis*. For this purpose this village is taken, for the benefit of all creatures, for the purpose of (showing) kindness and (performing) virtue. In the Chakra-kōṭya maṇḍala the witnesses are :—Nāyaka Śrī Dhārēśvara, Mudhasēli, Nāgahasti, (and) Karaṇa Dārīā. Written by Dhānūka Kāyastha.

The pen (engraving stylus) (was) touched by Kumāra Tuṅgarāja, Dhāmadēva, Gōvardhana, Danārdana, Pātra Gāgirā (and) Sādhu Sāhāraṅga (Sāhārasu ?). This is in Maṇavri-dhi's hand(writing) (which) sets up (expresses) the (general) opinion.

¹ In Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. page 122, the following occurs :—

"Elephants are chiefly found in the Sūbah of Agrā, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar as far as Berār, in the Sūbah of Allahābād, in the confines of Pattah and Ghoraghāt and Ratanpur, Nandanpur, Sargachh and Bastar."

No. 24.—SIHAWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNARAJA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1114.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

This inscription is on a slab built into the wall of the *Karnēśvar*, *vulgo* *Kanēsar*, temple at *Sihāwā*, the principal village of the tract of that name in the *Dhamtarī* *taḥṣīl* of the *Raipur* District in the Central Provinces. It was first noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 505, and it is referred to by General Cunningham in his *Reports*, Vol. VII. p. 145. The place does not seem to have been visited by any archæologist. The inscription was brought to notice by the District officials, who thought it sufficient to ascertain the date, and the full contents of the record have hitherto remained unknown. I therefore edit it from an ink impression supplied by Mr. Gokul Prasād Išvardās, *Taḥṣildār* of *Dhamtarī*, from which a reduced facsimile is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

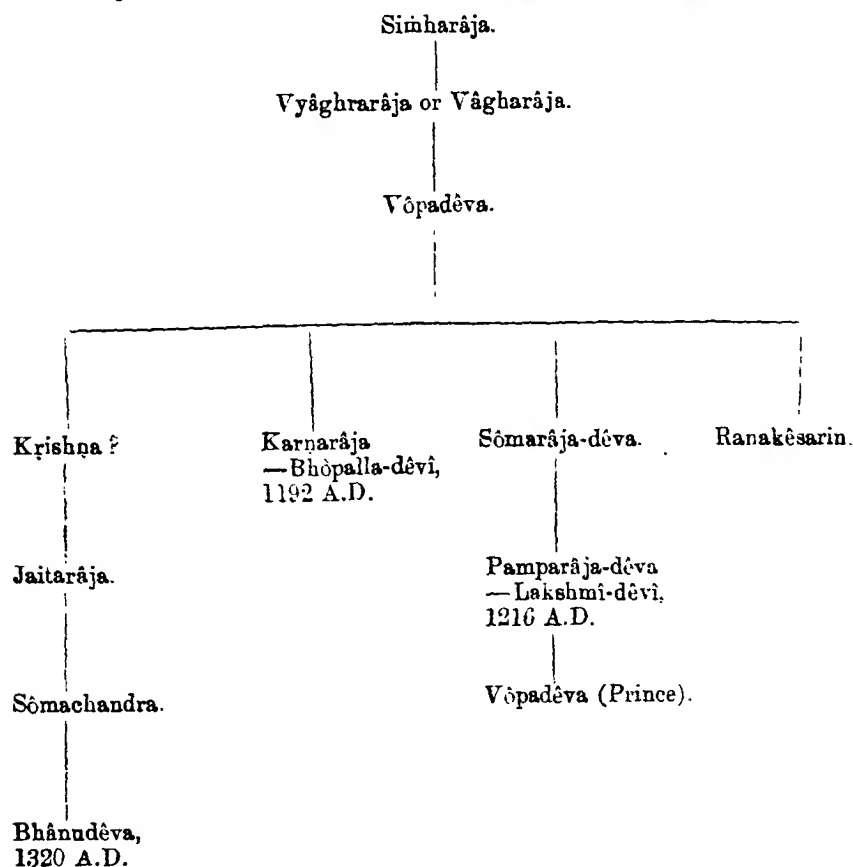
The inscription contains 16 lines covering a space $22'' \times 13\frac{1}{2}''$. The letters are bold and well formed. They are all intact excepting one which is broken off in line 2. Their average size is about $\frac{1}{2}''$. The script is *Nāgarī*, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the invocation in the beginning, *Om namaḥ Śivāya*, and the name of the *sūtradhāra* at the end. There are altogether 13 verses, 4 in the *Vasantatīlaka* metre, 8 *Anuṣṭubhs* and one *Upajāti*.

The following are the principal orthographical peculiarities :— *s* is almost invariably used for *ś*. The sign of the *avagraha* is not used at all (see lines 3, 4 and 15). Letters following an *anusvāra* changed from a nasal are doubled (lines 2, 10, and 13). Letters with a *rēpha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not. Instances of doubling may be seen in lines 1 and 15, and of non-doubling in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11, while lines 8, 9, 10 and 14 afford instances of both. In conjunct letters *n* has been used instead of the proper nasal as in *pañcakam* and *punyataḥ* in lines 12 and 15. *Siṃha* is spelt throughout as *siṃgha*, following the usual vulgar pronunciation, and, finally, in line 1 the vowel *ṛi* is used instead of the *ri*, *trīṭaya* being written as *trīṭaya*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of five temples, two in his parents' name, two in his own, and one in his issueless brother's, by king *Karṇarāja* of *Kākaira*, and of one by his wife, queen *Bhōpalla-dēvi*. These were all built at the sacred place *Dēvahrada*. The date of the inscription is given in the last verse as *Śaka 1114*, without any other details as to the day or month, etc. The inscription was accordingly written in the year A.D. 1191-92, apparently after the completion of the whole group of temples, and it was put up in one of the king's own temples, in which *Śiva* was enshrined. The other one of those which he had built for himself was dedicated to *Kēśava*, who apparently occupied a secondary place in his estimation. The temple in which the slab is found, is still called *Kanēsar* or *Karnēśvara*, after the king's own name. The writer was the *sūtradhāra* *Sūpā*, and the composer of the *prastāvi* *Nṛisimha*.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the three-eyed *Śiva*, and in the second verse the moon, as the progenitor of the dynasty, is praised. Then begins the genealogy of the king, commencing with *Siṃharāja*, whose son was *Vāgharāja*, from whom was born *Vōpadēva*, the father of *Karṇarāja*, who married *Bhōpalla-dēvi*, and who, having conquered all the neighbouring

princes, assumed the title of a paramount sovereign. Combining the information from the other two Kākaira inscriptions¹ of these Sômaśāsi kings we get the following genealogical tree :—



It would appear that Vôpadêva had four sons, but the probability is that he had only three, the doubtful Kṛishṇa of the Kanker *prâsasti* being probably identical with Karpa of our inscription. Evidently the three brothers were all ruling chiefs, who appear to have divided the state between them and selected their residences in different places, though always keeping in touch with the ancestral capital at Kākaira and recognising one amongst themselves as over-lord. Karpa seems to have had a predilection for a site near the older capital, viz., Sihâwâ, and was probably living in Dhanôrâ, now in the Bastar State, at a distance of about 28 miles from Sihâwâ. In this village my friend Rai Bahâdur Pandâ Baijnâth, B.A., Administrator of the Bastar State, has recently discovered ancient remains, there being about 20 tanks and 25 mounds, one of which he excavated and found in it a huge Siva *linga* with beautiful carvings. Dhanôrâ is enclosed by hills on three sides, and is a likely place selected by a Râja for his residence. There is a local tradition that a Râja Karpa ruled there, although the people of that place do not even now know of the existence of any inscription mentioning his name. Sômarāja and his son Pamparāja favoured Pâdi-pattana, which I cannot identify. It was possibly somewhere towards Dhamtari side. Ranakêsarin was issueless, as our inscription informs us, and he was probably wholly dependent on his brother Karnarāja, as we find the latter building a temple in his name to perpetuate his memory—a thing which he would perhaps have done himself had he been his own master. If he was ruling as a chief subordinate to his brother, we have no information as to

where he had selected his residence. There can be little doubt that all these branches of the Kākairā family owed allegiance to some other power, which was very probably represented by the Haihaya kings of South Kōśala, as the use of the Kalachuri era by Pamparājādēva would indicate. Karṇarāja was apparently more ambitious than the rest. He subdued the neighbouring princes, as our inscription relates, and probably set himself up as an independent ruler in the out-of-the-way jungles; that is perhaps the reason why he used the Śaka era in his inscription instead of the Kalachuri era, thus intimating that he did not acknowledge the Haihaya domination, unless it was customary to use the Kalachuri reckoning in official documents involving disposal of property, etc., while the older Śaka era was used for other religious and general purposes.

The earliest date¹ of this line of kings is that which we get from the present inscription, viz., 1192 A.D., and the latest is that of Bhānudēva, 1320 A.D., there being thus a difference of 128 years between Karṇarāja and Bhānudēva. Karṇarāja stood in the same relationship to Bhānudēva as did the first ancestor Simharāja to Karṇarāja. Simha was great-grandfather of Karṇarāja, the latter being great-grandfather (or great-granduncle) of Bhānudēva, and if a similar interval is allowed between Simha and Karṇarāja, Simha's time would be about 1064 A.D. According to this calculation the generations would be very long-lived, about 42 years each on an average, which is hardly probable, though in sporadic cases there would be nothing extraordinary about it. The present Rāja family, according to its traditions, believes its first ancestor to have come from Orissa about Vikrama Samvat 1150 or 1093 A.D., and this curiously fits in well with the evidence afforded by the inscriptions under consideration. Apparently, then, Simharāja was the first emigrant, and he came about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. The Rāja family story² as related before (above, page 124) is to the effect that a Puri king, having become a leper, quitted that place and came to Sihāwā, which was merely a dense jungle, where he found a spring of water in which he took a bath which removed his leprosy. He was then installed king of that place, and it is possible that the locality was named after him, being called *Simha + avah* = *Simhāwah* (the comfort of Simha) which finally was corrupted into Sihāwā. From our inscription it appears that it was also known as *Dēvahrada tirtha* or the holy lake of the gods, and there was certainly ample reason³ for calling it so. In fact a large portion of the Sihāwā tract seems to have been regarded as a piece of holy land. Local tradition avers that it was the hermitage of the *rishi* Śringin, who is still worshipped there. Five miles from this place is the village Ratāwā where Āṅgāra (Āṅgiras) *rishi* used to live, and Muchukunda had his *āśrama* in the village Mechakā 22 miles from Sihāwā. About 10 miles west of Sihāwā there is *Dēvakūṭa* (the hillock of the gods), which also

¹ It is perhaps more than a coincidence that a king Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, who must have held sway in the same neighbourhood, is mentioned as early as the fourth century in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 6 ff.

² A variant of the same story is that a Puri king having appointed an illegitimate son of his as his successor, the others took offence and quitted the place. They came over to the wilds of Chhatīsgarh and became the leaders of the local tribes, who installed them as their kings. That there is some truth in this story is evident from the fact that the installation of most of these chiefs is considered complete when it is confirmed by a particular tribe, by way of expression of gratitude on the part of the Rāja family. Thus the Kanker family seems indebted to the Halbās, the Kalāhaudī family to the Kandhs, the Bairākhōl to the Butkā Sudhā, the Bāmra to the Bhuiyās, and so on.

³ Besides the healing power of the spring, which in itself is sufficient to cause the place to become a *tirtha*, Sihāwā is the source of the Mahānadi or Chitrōtpalā, of which it is said:—

Suvarṇākṣayā purī punyā punyō Mārjārakṣarī, Kōśalāyām trayāḥ punyāḥ punyā Chitrōtpalā nadī. Suvarṇapuri is the present Sōnpur, capital of the state of the same name, and Mārjārakṣarī is another name of Narasiṃhanāth in Borāsāmbhar Zamīndārī of the Sambalpur District. A visit to that place is held to wipe out all sins. *En passant* it may be noted that the apparent mistake of a sculptor in carving out a cat-lion instead of a man-lion has metamorphosed the statue of the latter kept in the Narasiṃhanāth cave, into a new incarnation of the God, to account for which there has been no lack of imagination on the part of the local Brāhmaṇas.

contains ruins of old temples.¹ At Sihāwā there are two old temples close together in a pretty fair state of preservation. One of them, in which our inscription was found, is dedicated to Mahādēva, and it is certainly identical with one of the two mentioned in line 12. The other is dedicated to Rāmachandra, but the people say that it was also formerly a Śiva temple and that the present statues of Rāma and others in it were brought from the ruined temple (about 300 yards away) near the Amṛita Kund, a bath in which is reputed to have cured the leprosy of the first Kankar king. One of these must be the temple dedicated to Kṛṣṇa. There are three other temples close by, which may possibly be those constructed by Karnarāja in his parents' and brother's name. In the village Bhītarrās, which means 'the interior' and which probably formed the interior of the Sihāwā town in its days of glory, there is another old temple containing idols not easily distinguishable but stated by the people to represent Rāmachandra, etc., and this may possibly be the temple which Bhōpalla-dēvi built. It cannot, however, be confidently identified, the probability for such a conjecture being based on another supposition, viz., that Bhōpalla-dēvi was a Vaiṣṇavi, while her lord was a Śaiva. It appears that it was in deference to her that Karnarāja dedicated one of his temples to Kṛṣṇa. And as one temple erected in her name was thus built on the holy spring, it seems reasonable to suppose that she should have selected a site for another which she built independently, in the interior of the town.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री नमः शिवाय ॥ ²तत्पातु ³वस्तुतयमीश्वरलोचनानामग्न्यर्कसोममयमूर्ति-
धरं स-
- 2 मन्तात् । 'यत्नोक्तदुःखदहनप्रतिभासनादि[स्वा]प्यायनानि कृपयानुदिनं करोति ॥१॥
⁵कन्दर्पवा-
- 3 णगणसाणसिलामनोद्दिक्कामिनोवदनदर्पणमण्डलसीः* । देवः संसी विजय
तेजि-
- 4 तपः पयोधिमु[क्ताफलं] हरसिरोमुकुटैकरत्नं⁸ ॥२॥ ⁹पुरुषःप्रभृतिभिः सुदैर्यो-
वदधन्वयः । त-
- 5 स्व तस्मिन्मूढूपः ¹⁰[सि]धराजो नृपाग्रहीः ॥३॥ ¹¹तस्मादजायत महीपतिमौ-
लिसंघर्षघृष्ट-¹²
- 6 चरणः क्लिप्त वाघराजः । ¹³राजन्वती समभवज्जगती समस्ताद्येन प्रजासपि
दृतां भजता नृपेश ॥
- 7 ॥४॥ ¹⁴वोपदेवोभवत्तस्मात्सिधः¹⁵ सिंघादिवापरः । येन विचासिता जग्मु-
द्विसः¹⁶ सन्नुत्पदिपाः ॥५॥

¹ Mr. Gokul Prasad visited these temples lately (November 1907) and has sent me a copy of a small inscription found in one of them, in which I read the name of Śrī Vāgharāja. Thus the Devakṛta temples appear to be older than those of Sihāwā, having been built in the times of Karnarāja's grandfather.

² Metre: Vasantatilaka.

³ Read वस्तुतयमीश्वर°.

⁴ Read वलीक

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilaka. Read कन्दर्पवाणगणसाणसिलामनोद्दि°.

⁶ Read °योः.

⁷ Read श्री. I am indebted to Paṇḍit Hirananda Śāstri, M.A., for pointing out that the moon is Atri's son who comes out of the Ocean in the form of his penance.

⁸ Read शिरो°.

⁹ Metre: Anuṣṭubh. Read °भिरूपैर्यो ववधे न्वयः.

¹⁰ Read सिध°.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

¹² Read °संघर्षघृष्ट°.

¹³ Read राजन्वती.

¹⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁵ Read सिधः सिंघा°.

¹⁶ Read °द्विसः सन्नु°.

- 8 ¹तस्माद्भूतपतिमण्डलमण्डनस्रीः श्रीकर्षराजनृपतिर्विदितप्रतापः । ²यन्वायवर्त्त-
नक्षपाचम-
9 याववेष्टुं ³काकैरदेसममलं न कलिः समर्थः ॥६॥ ⁴तस्य भोपञ्जदेवीति
महिषी वरवर्षिनी । ⁵वभूवः
10 मेने यांज्ञोको सखीं क्षितिगतामिव ॥७॥ ⁶स्ववाहुवीर्येण विजित्य सर्वानु-
पान्तदेशाधिपतीन्सम-
11 ज्ञात् । सेवाकरोपायनदानसीलांश्चकार⁷ सामान्यपदं दधानः ॥८॥ ⁸तीर्थे
देवञ्जदे तेन कृतं प्रासा-
12 दपञ्चकं⁹ । स्वीयं तच्च ह्यं जातं यच्च शंकरकेसवी¹⁰ ॥९॥ ¹¹पितृभ्यां प्रददौ
चान्दस्करयित्वा¹² ह्यं नृपः ।
13 सदनं देवदेवस्य मनोज्ञारि त्रिसूदनः(शूलिनः) ॥१०॥ ¹³रणकेसरिणे प्रादांश्चपायैकं¹⁴
सुरालयं । ¹⁵तद्वंसचीर-
14 तां ज्ञात्वा भ्रातृज्जेहेन कर्षराट् ॥११॥ ¹⁶भोपञ्जदेव्या तत्रैव प्रासादः कारितः
सुभः¹⁷ । भर्तुः संक्षेप-¹⁸
15 मिहृत्वा देहतः ¹⁹पुन्यतस्तथा ॥१२॥ चतुर्हसोत्तरे²⁰ सेयमेकादसे सते
सके । वर्षतां सर्वतो नित्यं
16 नृसिंहे²¹ कृतिना कृता ॥१३॥ सूचधा[रः*] स्रुपा

TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to Śiva.

(Verse 1.) Let that triad of eyes of Śiva, consisting of fire, sun and moon, protect you on all sides—(that triad) which out of kindness burns the miseries of this world (and) illuminates and pleases it daily.

(V. 2.) May the god moon be victorious—(the moon) who is a good whetstone for sharpening the arrows of Cupid, who is (the embodiment of) the splendour on the orb of the mirror (-like) faces of the maidens of the (various) quarters of the sky, who is a pearl from the ocean (emanating in the form of) Atri's penance, and (who is) the only jewel on the crest of Śiva's head.

(V. 3.) In that (moon's) family which prospered through Purūravas and other kings there was a king Simharāja who was the leader of (other) kings.

¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka. Read तस्माद् °श्रीः श्री°.

² Read °देव°.

³ Metre: Upajāti. Read स्ववाहु°.

⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Read पञ्चकं.

⁶ Read °स्कारयित्वा.

⁷ Read तद्वंस°.

⁸ Read सुभः°.

⁹ Metre: Anuṣṭubh. Read चतुर्हसोत्तरे सेयमेकादसे सते सके.

¹⁰ Read यन्वाय°.

¹¹ Read वभूव°.

¹² Read °श्रीः°.

¹³ Read °केसवी°.

¹⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁵ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁶ Read पुन्यत°.

¹⁷ Read नृसिंह°.

१. ...
 २. ...
 ३. ...
 ४. ...
 ५. ...
 ६. ...
 ७. ...
 ८. ...
 ९. ...
 १०. ...
 ११. ...
 १२. ...
 १३. ...
 १४. ...
 १५. ...
 १६. ...

(V. 4.) From him was born Vāgharāja, whose feet were indeed scratched by the friction of diadems (adorning the heads) of (other) kings (prostrating themselves before him). By (this) king, who was devoted to his subjects like a father, the world came to be well-ruled on all sides.

(V. 5.) From this lion as it were was born Vōpadēva, another lion, frightened by whom the elephant like hostile kings went (i.e. retired) to the (various) cardinal points (of the compass).

(V. 6.) From him was born the illustrious Karnadēva (who was) the splendour (adorning) the assembly of kings, whose glory was (well) known, and through fear of whose sword in the form of dispensation of justice the Kali (age) was unable to enter the spotless Kākaira country.

(V. 7.) His queen was the beautiful Bhōpalladēvi, whom the people considered as if she were Lakshmi (goddess of wealth) come to this earth.

(V. 8.) Having completely conquered the lords of all the neighbouring countries by the force of his arm and having secured paramount sovereignty (over them), (he) caused them to become devoted to his service, to pay tribute and presents and to become charitable.

(V. 9.) In the holy place Dēvahrada five edifices were built by him. Two of them were his own, where Śaṅkara and Kēśava (are enshrined).

(V. 10.) The king, having caused two other temples of the god of gods, the holder of the trident,¹ to be built bestowed them on (i.e. dedicated them in the name of) his parents.

(V. 11.) One temple Karparāja gave to (i.e. dedicated in the name of) king Raṇakēśarin, through fraternal affection, knowing that his lineage was to become extinct.

(V. 12.) There, an auspicious temple was also caused to be built by Bhōpalla-dēvi, who wished for the union with her husband (both) in body as well as in meritorious acts.

(V. 13.) This (was done) in the Śaka year eleven hundred increased by fourteen. Let prosperity daily attend. Composed by the clever Nṛsiṃha.

The Sūtradhāra (architect) was Sūpā (?).

No. 25.—VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF VARMALATA;

[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 682.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

Last year a summary of this inscription was published by Prof. Kielhorn,² with a promise to publish the full text on some future occasion. The impressions sent by Paṇḍit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur were not sufficiently clear for that purpose. During the touring season ending March 1906, my work chiefly lay in the Sirohi State. I was thus able to inspect the original stone in person and take the best possible impressions. When the summary was afterwards published on my return to head-quarters, I sent my impressions to Prof. Kielhorn. But, as circumstances arose which prevented him from publishing them, the impressions were

¹ In the original the word is *tridāṇaḥ* which I originally read as *tridāṇaḥ*. Dr. Konow has suggested the correction adopted in the text.

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returned to me. This is, indeed, to be regretted, as no other scholar could have done better justice to this important inscription.

The inscription was originally discovered at Vasantgaḍh, about five miles to the south of Pindwārā, which is the principal town of the district of the same name, Sirohi State, and which is also a station on the Rājputānā-Mālwa Railway running from Ahmedābād to Ajmer. The stone was lying utterly neglected outside the shrine of Khimel *mātā* recently repaired, of which, I was told, it originally formed part. Vasantgaḍh itself is now desolated, but many people of the Sirohi State come there to pay their homage to the goddess. The shrine is looked after by the Bhils of the adjoining hamlets, and they had for a long time utilised the stone for sharpening their implements. As soon as the news of the find of this ancient inscription stone reached the ears of Paṇḍit Sukhānandjī, an antiquary of Sirohi, he hastened to the spot, took it into his possession, and brought it to Sirohi. It is now lying in safe custody in his house.

The inscription contains 17 lines of writing, which covers a space about 1' 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 1' $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The writing is, on the whole, well-preserved, but the proper right portion of it is a little worn, which is doubtless due to its having been used for whetting weapons. Again, there are two or three cracks running horizontally across the inscription and injuring a few of the letters in lines 1, 2, 10 and 11, but, with care, nearly the whole of the inscription can be made out with certainty on the original stone.

The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, which was prevalent during the 7th and 8th centuries. The chief peculiarity of this type is the representation of the medial vowels *ā*, *i*, *ī* and the four diphthongs far more frequently by superscript signs placed above the letters than by vertical strokes attached to the sides of the letters to which they belong. This is clearly noticeable e.g. in the Udaipur inscription of the Guhila prince Aparājita, the Jhālrapāṭaṇ inscription of Durgagapa, and the Kānsuvām inscription of Dhavala; and this characteristic is exhibited by our inscription also. The characters of our record are, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, almost identical with those of the Udaipur inscription. As in the latter, we have the tridented form of the letter *y* and a distinct separate sign for *b*. The letter *y* occurs in the present record no less than thirty times, and, in all these cases except one, the tridented form alone is employed. In this exceptional case (in *yojanitā*, l. 1) like that in the Udaipur inscription, the letter is indicated by the old sign occurring, e.g. in the Maukhari inscriptions. We also have special forms for final *k*, *t*, and *n*. In the Udaipur epigraph, final *t* and *m* are represented by ordinary signs for those letters with a small horizontal stroke placed above each. Here, on the other hand, final *k*, *t*, and *n* are denoted by their usual signs, but with the tops a little curved towards their proper right (e.g. in *vanik*, l. 10, °*sakṛit*, l. 3, and *gunān*, l. 6). The sign for the *upadhmanīya* occurs three times in °*nṛpatih-puṇi*, l. 4, and *priyaḥ=priyaiḥ=praśray-ādi*°, l. 7. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs only once, in *vachana-vatāḥ=kā[rya]*°, l. 4. Again, our inscription shows a tendency to use some signs with a little ornamentation. Thus, the *anusvara* is often represented, not by a simple dot but by something like an asterisk (e.g. in *sataṭam*, l. 3). The superscript signs of medial vowels are also sometimes ornamentally engraved (e.g. *au* in °*vasy-ājav*, l. 3.) We further find the somewhat rare signs for *ñ*, *dh*, *th* and *ph*. With regard to *th*, it deserves to be noted that it is exactly like *dh* (e.g. in *brāhmaṇ-ātithi*°, l. 8), and can only be distinguished by having regard to the sense of the word wherein it occurs.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *ōm namaḥ* at the commencement and the list of the names of the *gōsthikas* contained in lines 13-17, the text is in verse. Solecisms are not infrequent. I need only point out the verse (11) which specifies the date, the language of which is anything but grammatical. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. Consonants are, as a rule, doubled after *r*; *visarga* followed by *s* is changed to that letter; *ri* has once been substituted for *ṛi*, in °*śringa*°, l. 1; on the other hand,

ri stands for *ri* in °*kriyā*°, l. 3; lastly, *t* has at least twice been doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, in °*rātrī*°, l. 2, and °*mātrai*°, l. 4.

The inscription opens with two verses, the first invoking the blessings of Durgā and the second of Kshēmāryā,¹ who is ordinarily supposed to be a form of Durgā, and who here, in particular, is to be identified with Khimel *mātā*, outside whose temple the inscription stone was lying before it was removed to Sirohi, and of which it originally formed part. Verse 3 speaks of a king named Varmalāta, on whom the next verse bestows nothing but conventional praise, comparing him to a sorcerer, as pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn. Verse 5 informs us that Varmalāta had a feudatory of the name of Vajrabhaṭa-Satyāśraya, who was devoted to the worship of *mātā*, i.e. doubtless Kshēmāryā, and able to guard 'the son of Himavat,'² i.e. Mount Ābū. His son was Bājijla (v. 6), who behaved like Vaiśravaṇa, i.e. Kubēra, the god of riches, in Vafa, by lavishing wealth on Brāhmapas, personages deserving hospitality, subordinates, and men skilled in arts (v. 7). While this chief (*rājan*) was governing, the temple of the goddess (Kshēmāryā) was caused to be made by the *gōshthī*³ at Vatakarasthāna (v. 8). The *kārīpuka*⁴ selected by the *gōshthī* to see this work through was Satyadēva, the son of Pitāmaha, who was a merchant by birth (v. 9). Then follows a verse expressing a wish for the endurance of the temple as long as the mountain Mēru, the rivers, the sun and the moon last. Then follows the verse which contains the date. The language of it, however, to quote Prof. Kielhorn, is 'curiously ungrammatical.' Making allowance for the solecisms, the year intended appears to be 682. As almost all the dates of the inscriptions found in Mālwa and Rājputānā, the era of which is not specified and which are capable of being verified, have been shown to belong to the Vikrama era, our date may be taken to be a Vikrama year, and may, therefore, be supposed to be equivalent to A.D. 625. It was in this year, as verse 11 informs us, that the temple of *mātā* was erected. The *prasaṣti* was composed by the Brāhmana Dhūrtarāśi, the son of Divākara, and incised by Nāgamunḍin (v. 12). Then follows a list of the individual members of the *gōshthī* who built the temple, their names occupying lines 13-17. Of these, three deserve some notice. The first is that of the only woman who was a member of the *gōshthī*. Her name is Būṭā, and she is spoken of as a courtesan (attached to the temple) of *Śrī-mātā*,⁵ i.e. undoubtedly the

¹ In the verse the words *Kshēmāryā* *Kshēmakārī* occur, of which the latter is taken by Prof. Kielhorn to be the name of the goddess. And this appears no doubt to be supported by the fact that *Kshēmakārī* or *Kshēmāmkārī* is actually the name of a goddess. But then the remaining word *Kshēmāryā*, which cannot be an adjective, remains unexplained. The final *āryā*, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of *ai*, mother, frequently applied to goddesses, shows that *Kshēmāryā* is the name intended. Moreover, *Kshēmā* is as much a name for Durgā as *Kshēmakārī*.

² In addition to the verse referred to (viz., above Vol. I. p. 234, verse 5) by Prof. Kielhorn in support of Mount Ābū (Arbuda) being called "son of Himavat," it may be mentioned that, in the *Arbuda-māhātmya* also, a copy of which exists in the *Pustakaprakāśa* at Jōdhpur, Arbuda has been spoken of as a son of Himālaya and as being put by the latter at the service of the sage Vasishṭha to fill up a deep wide chasm, into which his cow had fallen.

³ The word *gōshthī* no doubt signifies, by itself, a *pañch* or committee entrusted with the management of the religious endowments, as was first pointed out by Prof. Bühler (above, Vol. I. p. 190, n. 50), though in compound words, such as *paṇḍita-gōshthī*, *pāna-gōshthī*, and so forth, it has the general sense of "an assembly."

⁴ The proper sense of this word was first shown by Prof. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 62, n. 53). This meaning was not known to me when I edited the Ēklingji inscription, where I have wrongly translated the word by "those who caused the temple to be constructed" (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXII. pp. 152-3) instead of "persons appointed to look after the construction of the temple."

⁵ The inscription says that the temple of Kshēmāryā was built by the *gōshthī* of Vata or Vatakarā, i.e. Vasantgadh, and that Būṭā was one of the members of this *gōshthī*. Būṭā, as we have seen, was a courtesan of the temple of Kshēmāryā, and she could only acquire this position after, and not before, the erection of the temple. Nobody would appoint a courtesan to a temple to do the duties of dancing and singing before the deity, before it was constructed, and much less would she be raised to such a dignified position as the membership of the *gōshthī* prior to the actual building of the temple itself. I am, therefore, somewhat inclined to think that the temple was not built, but *rebuilt*, by the *gōshthī*, and that the word *kārīta* in verse 8 has to be taken in the latter sense. Instances of a similar use are not wanting.

to whom the temple was dedicated. The second name is Pratihāra Bōṭaka, the first of which words I think signifies the race. Bōṭaka was thus a Pratihāra, i.e. Paṭiār, and this is the earliest instance of the denomination Pratihāra occurring in an inscription. The third name is rājasthāniya Ādityabhāṭa, the first part of which is unquestionably an official designation, meaning the foreign secretary.¹

Prof. Kielhorn thinks that the name of Varmalāta spoken of in our inscription as paramount sovereign settles the date of the poet Māgha. It would be impossible not to agree with him when he says, that, out of the numerous forms found in the manuscripts of the Śiśupālavadha, of the name of the king at whose court Māgha's grandfather Suprabhadēva is stated to have held the office of prime-minister, the variant Varmalāta is to be selected as the most likely one. But to the identification of this prince with the Varmalāta of our inscription, supposing the date V.E. 682 to be correct, it is possible to raise an objection. As every student who has read the Śiśupālavadha knows, Māgha in his work distinctly alludes to the two grammatical treatises, the Kāśikāvṛitti and its commentary called Nyāsa. The former is the joint production of Jayāditya and Vāmana, and, with regard to the former author, the Chinese traveller I-tsing informs us in unmistakeable terms that he died about A.D. 661-662. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the author of the Nyāsa was Jinēndrabuddhi, who like Jayāditya was a follower of the Buddha.² And it is inconceivable that I-tsing, one of whose principal objects in coming to India was to collect information about Buddhist authors, could have passed him over in silence, if the latter had flourished before A.D. 695 when the Chinese traveller's departure from India took place. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the author of the Nyāsa could not have lived before the first half of the 8th century. Māgha, therefore, has to be assigned to the latter part of the 8th century. This line of argument adduced by Prof. Pathak³ appears to me to be worth considering. Dr. Konow, however, informs me that he does not think it convincing. He says, "the *argumentum ex silentio* is always unsafe, and, even if we admit that Jinēndrabuddhi cannot have written before A.D. 695, that does not disprove Professor Kielhorn's identification of our Varmalāta with the king whose minister Māgha's grandfather was. Our inscription may very well date from a time previous to his appointment as minister, and it does not, at any rate, make it impossible to bring Māgha down to the first twenty years of the 8th century. There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that Jinēndrabuddhi flourished about A.D. 700. The alleged reference to his work in the Śiśupālavadha would, I think, be more intelligible if we suppose it to have been a new work at the time when Māgha wrote his poem."

I quite accept Dr. Konow's main conclusions. But I agree with Professor Pathak that the *argumentum ex silentio* carries some weight in this particular instance. One of the chief objects I-tsing had in view was to gather all available information about Buddhist authors in India. And, when we consider that he has even mentioned his own contemporaries, it is very unlikely that he should have failed to notice Jinēndrabuddhi, if the latter had actually achieved fame in his time. As pointed out by Dr. Konow, there is, however, nothing to prevent us from considering Māgha and Jinēndrabuddhi as contemporaries. The mere fact that one author quotes another one, only shows that he knows him, and not necessarily that he belongs to a later time. Māgha and Jinēndrabuddhi can, therefore, very well both have lived at the beginning of the eighth century, and Professor Kielhorn's identification of the two Varmalātas remains unaffected by Professor Pathak's argument.

¹ History of Gujarat in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 82.

² It might perhaps be doubted whether Jinēndrabuddhi was a Buddhist. But there are no reasonable grounds for this doubt. A Deccan College manuscript (No. 33 of 1881-82, leaf 90b) has the following: *Iti bōdhisattvādāśīyachārya-Dvijā(Jinēndrabuddhi(dhī)-virachitāyām Kārikā-vivaraṇa-pañchikāyām dvitīyādāhyasya chaturthaḥ pādaḥ*. I am indebted to Prof. Pathak for this reference. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 57.

³ *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XX, pp. 305-6.

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The place *Vaṭa*, where the feudatory prince Rājīla was reigning, is doubtless VasantgaḬh itself. This will be seen from the fact that the temple to Kshēmāryā, said in the inscription to have been built by the *gōshthi* of *Vaṭa*, is no other than the temple of Khimel *maṇḍ* in VasantgaḬh of which the inscription stone originally formed part. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the temples dedicated to the Sun and Brahmā mentioned as existing in *Vaṭapara* in the inscription of Pūrṇapāla dated V.E. 1099, are still existing at VasantgaḬh. A slightly different name for the place, *viz.* *Vaṭākara*, occurs in l. 9. We have a similar instance of a certain old place called both *Ārāsana* and *Ārāsapākara*. The remains at VasantgaḬh have been fully described and the question regarding the name *Vaṭa* and *Vaṭākara* is fully discussed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the months July 1905 to March 1906, inclusive. pp. 49 ff.¹

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री³ नमः ॥ धातुर्या योगनिद्रा [जलन] — ८ ८ [नस्या]कृतिर्विश्व
योनेः 'कैलासोच्चाङ्गश्चिह्नप्रतिनियतमुदावासिनोर्डाङ्गसक्ता [1*] या
- 2 राक्षिस्सर्वलोके स्मृतिरपि च सतां या श्रुतिर्ब्रह्मगीता सा देवी दुर्गमेषु
प्रदिशतु जगते मङ्गलानोह दुर्गाः⁵ ॥ [१*] नियतमतिप्रणतिप-
- 3 रस्याजौ यागे 'कृयाफलेष्वसक्तत् [1*] क्षेमार्था क्षेमकरी विदधतु शिर्वर्गि
नक्षततं' ॥ [२*] जयति जयलक्ष्मलक्षितवत्स्थलसंश्रितश्रियाधारः⁷ [1*] श्री-
- 4 वर्मलातनृपतिः पतिरवनेरधिकबलवीर्यः ॥ [३*] केचित्सन्देशमाक्षरतिविशदपदं
मुद्रया पारगर्चा¹⁰ केचिच्चान्ये प्रकामं प्रतिवचनयुतैः [1]
- 5 [र्य]जापैरजसं [1*] अन्ये वै मण्डलान्ते कृतवलिकुहकैर्भूतिदानेन चान्ये
तेनेत्यं सन्नरेन्द्रव्रतमनुचरता शासिता भूमिपालाः¹¹ ॥ [४*] तस्याशेषविशि-
- 6 [ष]दोषरहिताम्पुष्पाति भक्त्या गुणान् (i) नाम्ना वचमटेति भृत्यपदवी-
माश्रित्य सत्याश्रयः [1*] ख्यातः कीर्त्तिमतामलघ्यचरितः¹² 13 श्रीमातु-
रप्यर्जने¹⁴ किञ्च
- 7 [आ]तगुणः प्रभुर्हिमवतस्सूनोश्च संरक्षणे¹⁵ i(ii) [५*] तस्य सूनुरधिकं प्रियः
प्रियैः प्रश्रयादिसकलैर्भ्रातृगणैः¹⁶ [1*] राजिलोभवदशेषराजकव्याप्तकी-

¹ In l. 9 of the VasantgaḬh inscription of Pūrṇapāla, *Vaṭa* is also spoken of as the name of a country. In verse 17 of the *mātā-kt-sāl* inscription found at Ghatiyālā (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 518), the expression *Vaṭa-nānaka-maṇḍala* occurs. This is doubtless identical with *Vaṭa-Nānaka-maṇḍala*. Here the country or district is not called simply after *Vaṭa* (VasantgaḬh) but also after *Nānaka* which evidently is the present Nānā, about thirteen miles north-east of it.

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read कैलासीच्चाङ्गश्च.

⁵ Read दुर्गाः metre Sragdhara.

⁶ Read क्रिया.

⁷ Metre: Āryā; and also of the verse following.

⁸ Wrong for 'श्रियाधार' which would not have suited the metre.

⁹ Read 'पदैर्मुद्रया.

¹⁰ Read 'गुण्य.

¹¹ Metre: Sragdhara.

¹² Read 'मलघ्य.

¹³ The letter य is not in the same line with र and ञ् but is engraved exactly below between these two letters and two vertical strokes are added one above and one below between them to draw attention to the omission.

¹⁴ Read, probably 'र्ज' instead of 'र्ज'.

¹⁵ Metre: Sragdhara.

¹⁶ Read 'गुणैः.

- 8 तिरमले कुले नृपः¹ [॥*] [६*] ब्राह्मणातिथिभृत्यादिकलावत्सु विशेषतः² [॥*]
 सोधिकं³ द्रविणै⁴ शश्वटे वैश्वणायते⁵ ॥ [७*] तस्मिन्नाजनि
 देव्याश्चासति रान्यं
- 9 वटाकरस्थाने[॥*] गोष्ठ्या कारितमेतद्भवनं भुवनस्य चिह्नमिव⁶ ॥ [८*]
 कारापकस्तु सूनुः पितामहाख्यस्य सत्यदेवाख्यः [॥*] गोष्ठ्या प्रसादपरया
 निरूपितो ज-
- 10 [स्म]ना स वणिक् ।(॥) [६*] यावन्मेरोस्तटानि प्रचुरहिमकणोत्तुङ्गशैलाधिपस्य
 स्यन्दि[न्यो] यावदु[च्चा] अपगतक[लु]षा — ७ — — ७ — — [॥*]
 यावच्चन्द्रार्कभास-
- 11 [स्म]तरलजलधे[रू]र्मयो यावदुच्चैस्ताव[हे]वालयं [निस्थि]तमिह भवतु⁷ श्रेयस
 पौरजानां⁸ ॥ [१०*] हिरणीत्यधिके काले षण्णां वर्षशतोत्तरे [॥*]
 जगन्मातु-
- 12 ¹⁰[रिदं] रु[थ]ानं स्था[पि]तं [गो]ष्ठिपुङ्गवैः¹¹ ॥ [११*] दिवाकरसुतस्येयं
 धूर्तराशेद्विजम्बनः¹² [॥*] पूर्वातिमृदुभिर्वर्णैः प्रोत्कीर्णा नागमुण्डिना
 [॥] [१२*] ॥ ॐ ॥
- 13 [गो]ष्ठिकाश्च¹³ [॥] राजिल । बकट । चन्द्रक । प्रतीहारबोटक ।
 राजस्थानीयादित्यभट । जा(?)ब(?)र्ण । मातृदासबङ्गदेव । कुलवर्धन ।
 धनदत्त[ब]सु [॥]
- 14 घुघक । धोन्वकपुत्रसत्यदेव । ककिलक । धनदत्त । गोमिक । हरि-
 गुप्त । [ब]पक । पपोट । सत्यदेव । रेभिलाक । रतिदास ।
 तरण । — — — दत्त
- 15 दृढगुर । धनगर । बपाणन्दि । — — — । राजक । भद्रदेव ।
 रुद्रक । दत्तभिल्लमालकुय । खिलकु । पार्थदिण्ड । णणु ।
 णण्णरटनाग — —
- 16 तता । भिलमालकु । सत्तमदेव । बङ्गदास — — । श्रीमातागणिका
 बूटानाम्नी ॥ * ॥ एवमेषां गोष्ठिकाराणां¹⁴ ना-
- 17¹⁵

¹ Metre: Rathôddhatâ.² Read विशेषतः.³ Read द्रविणैः.⁴ Read शश्वटे.⁵ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).⁶ Metre: Āryā; and also of the verse following.⁷ The letter य is engraved below the line.⁸ The word *pasuraja* is curious, but it probably means "descendants of the citizens (of Vata)."⁹ Metre: Sragdharâ.¹⁰ The *aksharas* °रिदं° are very indistinct.¹¹ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).¹² Read °राशेदि°.¹³ Read गोष्ठिका च.¹⁴ Read नामानि.¹⁵ About five letters have been incised in cursive form, but I am unable to read them.

No. 26. — DAULATABAD PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA SANKARAGANA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 715.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

These plates were in the possession of a Tongawalla, named Bhau Devram Bhat, a Brahmakshatri by caste, and residing at Daulatâbâd, in the Nizam's territory. They seem to have been preserved as heirloom in his family, and, according to the account given by him, it appears that they were given to his great-grandfather as a *sanad*. The plates were obtained on loan by me from the owner through Maulvi Syed Mohammad Bilgrami, First Tâlukdâr, Aurangâbâd district, who was kind enough to accede to my request promptly.

There are three plates, each of which measures about 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " long by about 5" broad. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the remaining ones on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is, on the whole, in a state of almost perfect preservation. The plates are strung on a circular ring, the ends of which are joined together by means of a knob bearing a roughly round seal, containing, in relief on a countersunk surface, a representation of Garuḍa, squatting and facing full-front; his hands are joined, palm to palm, on the chest, and are turned upwards; his legs rest one upon the other, and two projections at the sides denote his wings.

The characters of the original inscription belong to the northern class of alphabets prevailing in the 8th century. With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *â*, e.g. in *Âstî*, l. 2; to *n*, which looks almost exactly like *m*, e.g. in *°pulina°*, l. 12; to *ṅga* in *bhaṅga*, l. 14; to *ṅka* in *Śrī-Śaṅkaragaṇarāja*, l. 27; to *rya* in *vīryô*, l. 20; and to *ṇcha* in *°pañchabhi°*, l. 35. The alphabet also includes signs for the numerals 7, 1, and 5 in line 41. The last sign is almost exactly like that for 5 given in the Sāmāṅgaḍh grant of Dantidurga, where the date is also expressed in words. No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the correct reading of the date of our inscription. The language is Sanskrit. Up to almost the close of line 24 the inscription is in verse, and two benedictive and imprecatory verses occur in lines 38-40; the rest is in prose. The number of verses at the beginning is 12. Of these, verses 1-9 also occur in other early Rāshtrakūṭa records. The remaining three verses are peculiar to this inscription, and are historically important. The whole of line 31 after the word *vra(bra)hmachārī* and a part of the line following have unquestionably been tampered with. They contained names of the donee and the village granted, which have been cancelled and replaced by new ones by heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved. The boundaries of this new village are specified after about the middle of line 42, where the original inscription really ends, down to line 55. The letters of these lines are as carelessly written and are of exactly the same type as those incised in lines 31-32 just referred to. Lines 42-55 are thus a continuation of the forgery commenced in lines 31-32. In respect of orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*; the *visarga* is often wrongly omitted; the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *bhūpas=trivishṭapa*, l. 5, *Kanakādṛir=iv=Endrarājah*, l. 8, and *prīy-ā[tma*]jah*, l. 24; the letter *gh* is employed instead of *h* once in *rāja-siṅghah*, l. 4; and an *anusvāra* in conjunction with a following *n* is changed to that letter once in *dhvastin=naya°*, l. 2.

The inscription records a grant by Samarāvalōka-śrī-Śaṅkaragaṇa-rāja of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. In the introductory metrical portion, his genealogy is given, beginning with Gōvinda-rāja I. The genealogy set forth as far as Kṛishṇarāja I. is in verses 1-9 which, as already said, are to be met with in many other grants of this dynasty, and which consequently teach us nothing new. It then describes Gōvinda II. in the following words in verse 10, occupying ll. 19-21 and bearing a double *entendre*: "His son was king Gōvindarāja who was like Hari (Kṛishṇa) inasmuch as both were fond of battles, inasmuch as the former was celebrated for

having snatched away the glory of śrī-Pārijāta just as the latter was for having carried off the greatness of the auspicious *pārijāta* (tree), and inasmuch as the prowess of his arms was shown by the former by supporting Gôvardhana just as it was shown by the latter by uplifting the Gôvardhana (mountain)." The mythological sense is clear enough, and, besides, the verse seems to show that Gôvinda II. defeated a king of the name of Pārijāta, and made alliance with, and espoused the cause of, another prince called Gôvardhana.¹ The names Pārijāta and Gôvardhana are new, and have not so far been met with in epigraphic records. Then follows a verse (11) which is as important as it is unfortunately corrupt. But if the emendations proposed by me are accepted, the following appears to be its sense: "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even deprived of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family." What the verse means is that Gôvinda II. was a self-conceited ruler and resorted to bad policy, which resulted in the regal authority being held by a person who had no respect for the Râshtrakûta sovereigns that preceded him, and consequently created disaffection amongst his feudatory chieftains, who deserted him, and that Dhruva-Nirupama fearing that the sovereignty would pass away to another dynasty, was compelled to take the reins of the government into his hands and thus rule over his brother's dominions. The Dêoli and Karhâd grants of Kṛishṇa III., however, give a slightly different account. They record that "sensual pleasures made Gôvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose." The discrepancy in the two accounts is with regard to whether Dhruva-Nirupama was actually entrusted by Gôvinda II. with the management of the kingdom, the Dêoli and Karhâd grants saying that it was so, but our inscription implying that it was not so, as it was left to the care of one who was anything but attached to the Râshtrakûta family.² But the facts, the actual occurrences, mentioned in our charter, which is the earlier of the two and consequently more reliable, could not have been distorted, though the motives might have been coloured and differently expressed; and hence what most probably happened was that Gôvinda II. gave himself up to sensual pleasures and allowed the government of his kingdom to slip into the hands of a person other than Dhruva, and not of Dhruva himself, as the Dêoli and Karhâd grants claim, and whether it was to remove the danger thereby caused to the stability of the Râshtrakûta supremacy, as the motive is stated in our inscription, or, what is more likely, his mind lusted after sovereignty, for securing which a splendid opportunity had presented itself when Gôvinda II. gave himself up to vicious courses, Dhruva-Nirupama was successful in making himself ruler of his brother's dominions.

Verse 12 informs us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-)Nirupama was Śrī-Nanna, brother of Śrī-Kṛishṇarāja and son of Śrī-Kakkarāja. Then follows the preamble of the prose passage which usually precedes the formal part of a copper-plate inscription, and therein the

¹ I have taken the word *uddharana* in the sense of "uplifting, upholding," but it also signifies "eradication, extermination." In that case it would mean that Gôvinda II. slew a prince of the name of Gôvardhana. Or if Gôvardhana is here supposed to denote a province, it would mean that he devastated the province of Gôvardhana. A province and a place of that name have been mentioned in the Nâsik cave inscriptions, and have also been spoken of in the Purâṇas. But whether the name was extant so late as the 8th century is doubtful. A similar play upon the word *Gôvardhana* occurs in the Bagumrâ grants of Indrarāja III. (above, Vol. IX. pp. 32 and 36).

² This discrepancy may perhaps be removed by putting a different interpretation on the words: *guru-bhakti-matô-nyasamsthâṁ*. It might be said that the person who had no respect for the elders, i.e. the Râshtrakûta sovereigns who were dead, and in whose hands the sovereignty lay, was no other than Gôvinda II. himself. It might be argued that the management of the kingdom had actually been entrusted to Dhruva by him on account of his sensual courses, as the Dêoli and Karhâd plates claim, and that the motive put forth by Dhruva and his party in casting Gôvinda II. and completely severing his connection with the Râshtrakûta kingdom was that he had become unworthy of his elders, i.e. the sovereigns who preceded him, by abandoning himself to sensual pleasures and neglecting himself carrying on the administration of his kingdom. In my opinion, this interpretation would be far-fetched and fantastic.

name of the grantor Samarâvalôka-Śrī-Śaṅkaragana-rāja is specified, and he is mentioned as son of Śrī-Nanna just referred to. It is worthy of note that no titles have been coupled with his name. He was thus not even a feudatory chieftain. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is spoken of as issuing the charter with the express consent of Śrī-Kalivallabha Narêṇradêva. The latter was doubtless an epithet of (Dhruva-)Nirupama, who was then the paramount sovereign and whose cousin Śaṅkaragana was. The proper object of the inscription is stated in ll. 28-33, but, as said above, the names of the original donee and the village granted to him which were engraved in ll. 31-32, have been erased, and new ones incised in characters which, though old, are not quite legible. The only particular which has survived of the original grantee is that he had emigrated from Tēnvi, and the expression *tat-pāda-pūjārtham guru-dukṣiṇā*, which occurs in l. 33, shows that he was the preceptor of Śaṅkaragana. Lines 34-36 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might rescind it. Lines 37-40 quote two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the original inscription then concludes thus: "And this charter was written by Chandayika by order of the supreme ruler, when 715 years had elapsed in accordance with the era of the Śaka Kings." The supreme ruler here alluded to is (Druva-)Nirupama, and the Śaka year 715 must consequently refer to his reign. The earliest record—the Paiḥan grant—of his son and successor Govinda III. is dated in Śaka 716. It is thus plain that (Dhruva-)Nirupama could not have lived long after Śaka 715 when our grant was made.

After this commences the second part of the forged record. It has been mentioned above that the names of the grantee and the village granted engraved in the original inscription in lines 31-32 have been erased, and new ones substituted for them by beating in the previous letters. The name of the new grantee cannot be made out, but his *gōtra* specified is Bhāradvāja. Secondly, the name of the new village incised appears to be something like Sāmira. And it is the boundaries of this village that are now specified in lines 42-53 after the completion of the old genuine inscription. The names are written so carelessly and the composition is so full of grammatical inaccuracies that it is not possible to be here definite about anything. In line 52 is given the expression *vala(lla)bha-narêṇdra* which is an epithet generally borne by the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers. The connection of this expression, however, with what precedes and follows is not clear. The forged document ends with *Śrī-Bhaṭaḥ(tā)ṛka-mataḥ* || 800. The name *Bhaṭārka* reminds one of the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes, and if the numerals taken for 800 are correctly read and represent a date, as is highly probable, it must be referred to the Valabhi era, and it thus becomes equivalent to A.D. 1119 which may be taken to be the date of the fabrication of the forged record. Our copper-plate charter, as has been said at the outset, was in the possession of a person from Daulatābād, a Brahmakshatri by caste, and has been preserved in his family as heirloom. As Brahmakshatri in the Dekkan are known originally to have come from Kāṭhiāwār, it is not unlikely that somebody in his family, after securing these plates, tampered with them in order to use them as documentary evidence to strengthen his otherwise disputable claim to the village therein mentioned, and it is but natural that he should engrave the name Bhaṭārka after the manner of the Valabhi plates which he must have either seen himself in Kāṭhiāwār or known about from his forefathers.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

1 श्री² स्वस्ति [॥*] स वोव्यादेधसो³ धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [।*] हरय
यस्य कांतेन्दु-

¹ From the original plates.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read ^{००}देधमा.

- 2 कलया कमलंजतं ॥ [१*] ¹आसोद्वषत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिन्नयं-
 3 अभिमुखो रणशर्वरीषु [१*] भूपः शुचिः पृथुरिवासदिगन्तकीर्त्ति ²गोविन्द-
 4 राज इति राजसु राजसिंहः⁴ । (॥) [२*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विन्धुतदीर्घकीर्त्ति-
 5 रार्त्तीर्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । ⁵भूपस्तृविष्टपट्टपानुकृतिः
 6 कृतज्ञः श्रीकङ्कराज इति गोत्रमणिवर्चभूव⁶ । (॥) [३*] तस्य प्रभिन्न-
 7 करटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तिप्रहारविषमोस्त्रिखितांसुपीठः⁷ ।
 8 क्षमापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकादुरिवेन्द्र-⁸
 9 राजः । (॥) [४*] तस्योपार्जिततपसस्तनयश्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्या⁹ ।
 10 भोक्ता भुवि¹⁰ शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् । (॥) [५*] आसेतोव्विपुलो-¹¹
 11 पलावलिलललोर्ध्ववेलाजलादाप्रालेयकलांकितोमल-¹²
 12 शिलाजालात्तुषाराचलात् । आपूर्वपरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्त-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 13 ¹³प्रसिद्धावधियेनेयं जगती ¹⁴स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपत्रीकृता । (॥) [६*] अभूवि-
 14 भङ्गमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमन्नातमप्रतिहृताक्षमपेतयत्नं [१*] यो व-
 15 क्षमं सपदि दण्डवलेन¹⁵ जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप । (॥) [७*]
 काञ्ची-
 16 ¹⁶सकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं [१*] कर्णाटकं
 17 ¹⁷वलमचिन्त्यमजोयमन्यैः भृत्यै¹⁸ कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा विजिग्ये । (॥) [८*]
 तस्मि¹⁹ दि-
 18 वं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे कृतप्रजापालः [१*] श्रीकङ्कराजसूनुर्महो-
 19 पति²⁰ कृष्णराज[१]भूत् ॥ [९*] त[त्तु]नुराहवरुचिः प्रथितो वभूव²¹ श्रीपा-
 20 रिजातविभवाहर[ण]प्रतीत²² [१*] गोवर्धनोद्धरणलक्षितवाहुवीर्यो²³
 21 गोविन्दराजनृपति ²⁴हरिणा समानः । (॥) [१०*] तस्यानुजो निरुपमस्त-
 मुदीर्णमी-

¹ Read °आसीद्वषत्ति°.

⁴ Read °सिंहः°.

⁷ Read °दन्तिदन्त° and °स्त्रिखितांस°.

¹⁰ Read भुवः°.

¹³ Read °प्रसिद्धावधे°.

¹⁵ Read °काञ्ची°; the latter ल in °केरलनराधिप° was first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved below between र and न, and the omission indicated by a horizontal stroke above.

¹⁷ Read °वल° and °मज्यै°.

²⁰ Read °पतिः°.

²³ Read वाहु°.

² Read °न्नयं°.

⁵ Read °भूपस्त्रिष्टप°.

⁶ Read कनकाद्रि°.

¹¹ Read °सेतोव्वि°.

¹⁴ Read °वले°.

³ Read °कीर्त्तिर्गो°.

⁶ Read °वर्चभूव°.

⁹ Read मालिन्याः°.

¹² Read °कलांकितामल°.

¹⁵ Read °वल्लभ°.

¹⁹ Read तस्मिन्°.

²² Read °प्रतीतः°.

²⁴ Read °नृपतिहरिणा°.

[illegible]

14
16
18
20
22
24

[illegible]

- 22 च¹ त्यक्तं नृपैरपि नयेन विलुप्यमानं । र[1*]ज्यं चभार² गुरुभक्तिव-
तोन्मसंस्थं³
23 मा भूत्किलान्वयपरिच्युतिरत्र लक्ष्माः⁴ [11*] [11*] पितृव्यस्तस्य⁵ गुणवां
श्रीनक्ष इति
24 विद्युतः [1*] श्रीकृष्णराजभ्राता हि श्रीकृष्णराजपृथ्याजः⁶ [11*] [11*] तत्पुत्रः

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 25 प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्तदिक्चक्रो⁷ पात्तानुरागः परच्छिद्रापवादरह-⁸
26 स्पेध्वन्मूकवधिरौ⁹ विरुद्धकामसेवी विमलागाधसलिल¹⁰ कान्तारभू-
27 मौ जलाशय इव प्रणयिनां¹¹ तृट्कोता समरावलोकश्रीशङ्करगणराजः
28 श्रीकलिवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवानुमत्या¹² सर्वानेवागामिनृपतिग्रामकूट-
29 ¹³महत्तराधिकारिदीनसमनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभि-
30 र्मातापितृरात्मनश्चानल्पपुन्ययशोभिहृदये¹⁴ (1) तेन्वीविनि-
31 ¹⁵गर्तव्रजचारी भारद्वाजगोत्राय वासुदे — — — नेयप-
32 ण्डि — — — भुक्त्या सामिराभिधानग्रामः साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिसर्व-
33 देयप्रहीणश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धस्तत्पादपूजार्थ¹⁶ गुरुदक्षिणा दत्ता ।
34 यतोऽस्मदंशैरन्यैर्वा पालनीयो रक्षणीयश्च । यो वाञ्छानतिमि-
35 राहतमतिः¹⁷ ¹⁸आच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं चानुमोदितः¹⁹ स पञ्चभिर्म[हा]-
36 ²⁰पातकै चोपपातकैः संयुक्त²¹ स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्या-
37 सेन ।

Third Plate; First Side.

- 38 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति²² भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
39 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [11*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयांशु²³ शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*]

¹ ईदृश्य seems to have been intended, but is, of course, an ungrammatical form.

² Read वभार ; व and not च must have been in the original draft, and, being similar in formation, च was engraved instead of व.

³ Read °भक्तिमती°.

⁴ Read लक्ष्माः.

⁵ Read गुणवाञ्छी°.

⁶ Read °प्रियात्मजः ; स्म is omitted in the text. The श्री° of श्रीकृष्ण° or, what is more probable, the हि preceding it, is superfluous.

⁷ Read दिक्चक्रः and पात्तानुरागः.

⁸ हि was first incised, and then it was corrected into ह by erasure.

⁹ Read °वधिरौ.

¹⁰ Read °सलिलः.

¹¹ Read तृट्कोता.

¹² Read °देवानुमत्या.

¹³ Read °कार्यादीन्समनुबोध°.

¹⁴ Read °पुण्य°.

¹⁵ Read °गर्तव्रजचारी° ; all letters of l. 31 after °गर्तव्रजचारी° and the first eight letters of the line following are forged ones, put in after effacing the original letters of the charter, which must have contained the name of the grantee and of the village granted.

¹⁶ Read °पूजार्थ°.

¹⁷ Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed.

¹⁸ Read आच्छिद्या°.

¹⁹ Read °मोदित.

²⁰ Read °पातकैश्चोप°.

²¹ Read संयुक्तः.

²² This ought to be मोदते according to the rules of grammar ; but this will not suit the metre.

²³ Read °तीयांशु°.

- 40 कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ।(॥) [१४*] लिखितं
चैतत्सासनं¹
- 41 शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतं पु ७१५ परमेश्वराज्ञया पर-
42 मेश्वराज्ञया चन्द्रयिकेन ॥ पुनरपि 'सिम [१*] पूर्वतः[*]⁵ चिच-
43 ग्राम [दक्षिणतः निबग्रामः पश्चिमतः दधि[वाह]-
44 न ॥ उत्तरतः⁶ पडलावदपटन एवं चतु[र]— —⁷
45 सिम⁸ पूर्वतः⁹ टंकं । खितसिमा¹⁰ पूर्वदरिदरिगहो (?) [पुनः]
46 टोणस्य टोणस्य मस्तके शिलतलं । तोयनरज । नि-
47 बुतटाकं [१*] दक्षिणतः जंबुग्र(?)हरकः [१] दक्षिणतः¹¹ नीबग्राम
48 सती (?)ताविह—रेलाद्रिसंबकः हस्तिनिकगोयहदरीद-
49 धिवाहलतटा[कं] सिलाद्वयं सिबकपलासचिचाव-
50 दरितटाकं ॥ उत्तरतः¹² खाटके हटो क — — —

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 51 यु[न]म(?)णिः । पूर्वदरीर(?)[ल]—वससिमापर्यंत¹³ व-
52 ली—[निब]ड । वलभनरेद्रेण हिरमाल—गांडुड-
53 क उत्तरतः¹⁴ देसिलस्यद्र ॥ ग्रामे भूमी ॥ इयच्चोना-
54 क्षरमधिकाक्षरं वा सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥
55 श्रीभटःकर्मतः ॥ ८००

No. 27.—BUCHKALA INSCRIPTION OF NAGABHATTA ;
SAMVAT 872.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A. ; POONA.

This inscription was first discovered by a *Brahmahatta* of Jôdhpur named Nannurâma whose zeal for antiquarian matters is as unflagging as it is disinterested. It was found at Buchkalâ in the Bilâdâ district, Jôdhpur State. It is incised on a pilaster on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the *sabhâmanḍapa* of what is popularly known there as the temple of Pârvatî. The inscription contains twenty lines of, on the whole, well-

¹ Read चैतत्सासनं.

² This word is repeated unnecessarily.

³ The original inscription ends at चन्द्रयिकेन ; and after that begins again the forged part which goes on till l. 55 at the close. It is engraved so carelessly that I am by no means certain of my reading of it. It is, moreover, so full of grammatical inaccuracies, which, in many cases, are due to local pronunciation, that it is not desirable to correct them all.

⁴ Read सीमा.

⁵ Read पूर्वतः.

⁶ Read उत्तरतः.

⁷ Probably चतुराष्टाटं.

⁸ Read सीमा.

⁹ Read पूर्वतः.

¹⁰ Read सीमा.

¹¹ This दक्षिणतः is probably a mistake for पश्चिमतः.

¹² Read उत्तरतः.

¹³ The reading पुली is also possible.

¹⁴ Read उत्तरतः.

¹⁵ Read श्रीभटःकर्मतः.

preserved writing which covers a space of about 2' 4½" high by 11½" broad. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare forms of *gh* and *ñ* and the numeral figures 8, 7, and 2. Attention may also be drawn to the way in which the letters *ś* and *z* are engraved. With regard to the latter there is no difference between it and *z*, except that the upper vertical strokes in the case of the former are much shorter than in the case of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, but is anything but grammatical and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, *dh* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*; *dhī* is written *ddhī* twice in the word *mahārājiddhīrāja*, and there is a tendency to use the dental sibilant instead of the palatal, though in one case the latter is substituted for the former viz. in *sūtradhūrah*, l. 20.

The inscription is dated Samvat 872¹ the fifth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, and refers itself to the reign of the *P. M. P. Nāgabhaṭṭa-dēva* meditating on the feet of the *M. P. Vatsarāja-dēva*. It is thus clear that Nāgabhaṭṭa is no other person than Nāgabhaṭṭa, son of Vatsarāja, of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty wielding sway over the larger portion of North India. Of the princes of this royal family we have had but few dates earlier than the time of Bhōjadēva I. In fact, we had only one date, viz. Śaka 705 = A.D. 783-84, for Vatsarāja furnished by the Jaina work *Harivamśa-Purāṇa*. And our inscription now supplies the second date, V. S. 872 = A.D. 815 for his son Nāgabhaṭṭa.²

The purport of the inscription, however, is not quite clear. Something is said therein to have been set up (*nivēśitī*), but what that 'something' was is far from evident. This something, we are told, was set up, after building the temple (*dīvagriha*) and worshipping the feet of *Paramēśvara*, in the village of Rājyaghaṅgakam, by the queen Jayāvalī, the daughter of *Paramēśvara*, who himself was a son of the Pratihāra Bapuka, and wife of Bhumbhuvaka, the son of Jajjaka, who himself was a son of the Pratihāra Bapuka, and wife of Bhumbhuvaka, the son of Haragupta of the family called Avāṅgānaka. As Jayāvalī has been spoken of as queen (*rājñī*), her husband must have been some kind of ruler, most probably a chieftain, feudatory to Nāgabhaṭṭa, and reigning at, or, at any rate, holding, Rājyaghaṅgakam, which must be supposed to be the old name of Buchkalā. The name of the *sūtradhūra* or mason is Pañchahsri, the son of Dēiā.

The temple is, as we have seen, said to have been dedicated to *Paramēśvara*, which is usually taken to be a name of Śiva. This, however, does not agree with the sculptural details of the temple. Although it is now-a-days called a temple of Pārvati, there is, truly speaking, no image in the sanctum. But on the dedicatory block on the shrine door and in the principal niche at the back, the images in which enable one to determine to what god the temple is dedicated, is a figure with four hands, doubtlessly representing some form of Viṣṇu, as the mace, discus, and conch-shell can be distinctly seen in its hands. Other images also carved on the inner and outer walls of the temple, show that it was a Vaiṣṇava structure. The word *paramēśvara* must, therefore, be taken in its ordinary sense and as referring to Viṣṇu.

TEXT.³

- 1 श्री [1] संवत्सरशते ८७२
- 2 चैत्रस्य सितपक्षस्य पंचम्यां
- 3 निवेक्षिता⁴ ॥ महाराजाधिराज-⁵

¹ It is worthy of note that, in the copper-plate charters issued by Bhōjadēva I., Mahēndrapāla and Mahipāla alias Vināyaka-pāla, letter-numerals are used to express figures, whereas, in the present as well as other stone-inscriptions belonging to the time of these princes, decimal notation is employed. It will thus be seen that both systems were current in North India about this time. [In the facsimile 892 is a misprint for 872.—S. K.]

² The date has already been given by Prof. Kielhorn in his *Synchronistia Table for Northern India*, col. 9, from information furnished by Mr. Ojha.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ Read निवेक्षिता.

⁵ Read "राजाधिराज".

- 4 परमेश्वरश्रीवत्सराजदेवपा-
- 5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 6 ¹जाद्विराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनाग-
- 7 भट्टदेवस्वविषये प्रवर्द्धमान-
- 8 राज्ये राज्यघट्टकङ्गामे
- 9 राज्ञी जायावली प्रतीहार-
- 10 ²स्वगोक्षश्रीवपुक्षपुत्रश्रीज-
- 11 ज्जकदुहिता ताकुङ्गवोत्पनावा-³
- 12 ज्ञानकस्वगोक्षश्रीहरगुप्त-⁴
- 13 पुत्रभुम्भुवकपत्नी ⁵अक्ष च पर-
- 14 मेखरो निर्वी⁶ कृत्वा अनेकजन्मा-
- 15 ⁷तरस्वसिर्वर्तसंसारदुखाव-⁸
- 16 हरस्य परमेस्वरस्य⁹ पादा¹⁰
- 17 पुजयित्वा¹¹ देवगृहं करा-
- 18 य¹² [I*] पुन ¹³तस्य उपलेपन¹⁴
- 19 देह्यासुतप[ञ्च]हरि¹⁵
- 20 शुचधारः¹⁶ ॥

No. 28.—KENDUR PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN II.

SAKA SAMVAT 672.

By K. B. PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

This inscription was first brought to my notice in May 1902 by Bhṛīṅgārkar bâvâ, a well-known reciter of *kīrtans* at Poona. He was then engaged in a literary controversy about the identity of Jñânêśvara, the well-known saint of Alandi, with Jñânêśvara, the author of the Jñânêśvarî, a famous Marâṭhî commentary on the Bhagavadgītâ, and asked me whether the inscription threw any light on the point he was discussing. When I told him that the grant was issued in Śaka 672, and had nothing to do with the author of the Jñânêśvarî, who was contemporary with Rāmadêva, the last of the Yādava kings of Dêvagiri, Bhṛīṅgārkar bâvâ was kind enough to lend me the plates for the purpose of editing the inscription.

¹ Read °राजाधिराज°.² Read °सगोक्ष°.³ Read °वोत्पन्ना°.⁴ Read °सगोक्ष°.⁵ Here and in the following the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.⁶ The words परमेश्वरी and निर्वी as they stand, make no sense, and I can suggest no correction.⁷ Some such reading as °जन्मान्तरनिवर्ति° might be expected.⁸ Read °दुःखा°.⁹ Read परमेश्वरस्य.¹⁰ Read पादौ.¹¹ Read पूजयित्वा.¹² Read कारयित्वा.¹³ Read पुनस्तस्य.¹⁴ Read उपलेपने. This word seems to have been here used in the sense of "engraving."¹⁵ Read °हरिः°.¹⁶ Read शुचधारः.



The plates were found at Këndûr, a village in the Khêd tâluka of the Poona district. They belong to Mr. Purushôttama Râjapâthak, now residing at Këndûr. There are five plates, the first and the last of which are inscribed on one side only. The plates are equal in size, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. Their edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The ring on which the plates are strung is about half an inch thick and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal on the ring is oval, measuring 2" by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". It has, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a standing boar facing to the proper left. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 225 tolas. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit throughout, and with the exception of the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole is in prose.

The grant is one of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II., and is issued from the city of Raktapura, which is probably to be identified with Lakshmêsvara, in the Dharwar district. It records that on the full moon day of the month Vaisâkha, during a lunar eclipse, in Śaka 672 expired, in the sixth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at Raktapura, Kirtivarman II., at the request of his great queen, granted to a Brâhmaṇa named Râmaśarman, the village of Beppaṭṭi in the centre of the villages of Peṇḇasaṣṭru, Kisumaṅgalam, Suḷḷam and Perbballi, in the district of Veḷvola. The five villages can be easily identified with Behaṭṭi, Hebsur, Kusugalla, Suḷḷa and Hebballi, in the Dharwar district. Veḷvola is a Sanskritized form of Beḷvola or Beḷvala, a name which is applied even at the present day to a portion of the southern Marâṭhâ country.

Before the discovery of the present grant, only three records of Kirtivarman II.'s time were known to scholars. Of these the most important is the Vakkalêri grant, which has been published by Mr. Rice¹ and re-edited by Dr. Kielhorn.² As interpreted by these scholars, the date of that grant is Śaka 679 expired, which is spoken of as the eleventh year of Kirtivarman's reign, while, according to the present grant, Śaka 672 expired was the sixth year of his reign. These two statements cannot be reconciled. It is, however, important to note that the present grant was issued five years earlier, and is perfectly legible throughout. It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore the date in this grant, which admits of verification, is correct. But in the Vakkalêri grant, the first word describing the Śaka year is not legible. Both Mr. Rice and Dr. Kielhorn have proposed to read it as *nava*, nine, and this view has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet. But the proposed emendation does not agree with the present inscription, according to which Śaka 677 expired was really the eleventh year of the king's reign.

The historical information in the present grant may be briefly summarised thus. The first king of the Chalukya line was Polekêśin who performed horse sacrifices. Then came his son Kirtivarman I., who defeated the kings of Vanavâsi and other countries. His brother Maṅga-lîśa being passed over, we are next introduced to Satyâśraya, better known as Polekêśin II., who defeated the famous Buddhist king Harshavardhana, the patron of the illustrious Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang and the hero of Bâṇa's immortal work, the *Harshacharita*. Polekêśin II.'s son, Vikramâditya I., was the next king, who recovered, by means of his horse Chitrakaṇṭha, part of the Chalukya dominions, which had been overrun by the Pallavas, and had obeisance done to him by the lord of Kâñchi, who had bowed down to none other. Vikramâditya I.'s son and successor was Vinayâditya, who broke the confederacy of the Chôlas, Kêralas, Pândyas and Pallavas, and defeated the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Vinayâditya's son Vijayâditya, the next king, had greatly assisted his father and grandfather in their wars. Though suddenly taken prisoner by the enemy, whom he had put

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 23 ff.

² Above, Vol. V. p. 200 and ff.

to flight, he skilfully effected his escape and restored the splendour of the Chalukya empire. He was succeeded by his son **Vikramāditya II.**, who led an excursion into the Tundâka country, defeated his natural foe the Pallava king Nandipôtavarman, and entered the Pallava capital **Kāñchi**, but did not destroy it. He restored to the Râjasimhêśvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Narasimhapôtavarman, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them. **Vikramāditya II.** was succeeded by his son **Kirtivarman II.**, who issued the present grant.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [I*] Jayaty=âvishkṛita[m] Vishṇôr=vvârâham kshôbbhit-ârnavam [I*]
dakship-ônata-damshtr-âgra-viśrânta-bhuvanam
- 2 vapuḥ [II*] Śrimatâm sakala-bhuvana-samstûyamâna-Mânava-sagôtrânam Hâr[i]ti-
putrâpâm sa-
- 3 pta-lôkamâtṛibhis=saptamâtṛibhir=abhivardhitânâm Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâsta(pta)-
kalyâṇa-
- 4 paramparâpâm bhagavan-Nârâyâṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-varâha-lânchhan-êkshaṇa-
kshaṇa-
- 5 vaśi-kṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitân=Chalukyânâm kulam=alamkarishṇôr=aśvamêdh-âva-
- 6 bhṛithasnâna-pavitri-kṛita-gâtrasya śrî-Polekêśi-vallabha-mahârâjasya sù-
- 7 nuḥ parâkram-âkrânta-Vanavâsy-âdi-paranṛpati-maṇḍala-pranibaddha-viśuddha-kîrtti-
śrî-
- 8 **Kirtivarman**-prithu(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâjas=tasy=âtmajas=samara-samsakta-sakalôttarâ-
- 9 pathêśvara-śrî-**Harshavardhana**-parâjay-ôpâtta-paramêśvara-sâbdas=tasya **Sa-**

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 **tyâśraya**-śrî-prithu(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvarasya priyatanayasya
- 11 prajûâta-nayasya khaṭga(ḍga)-mâtra-sahâyasya Chitrakaṇṭhâkhyâ-pravara-turaṅgamên=
aikê-
- 12 n=aiv=ôtsâdit-âśêsha-vijigishôr=avanipati-tritay-ântaritâm svagurô śriyam=
âtmasâ-
- 13 t-kṛitya prabhâva-kuliśa-dalita-Pâmḍya-Chôḷa-Kêraḷa-Kalabhra-prabhṛiti-bhûbhṛid-a-
- 14 dabhra-vibhramasy=ânanyâvanata-Kâmchipati-makuta-chumbita-pâdâmbujasya
- 15 **Vikramāditya-Satyâśraya**-śrî-prithu(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśva-
- 16 ra-bhaṭṭârakasya priyasûnôh pitur=âjñayâ Bâlêndugê(śe)kharasya Târakârâti-
- 17 r=iva daityabalam=atisamuddhatam trairajya-Kâmchipati-balam=avasṭabhya kara-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 18 dikṛita-**Kavêra-Pârasika-Simha**-âdi-dvip-âdhipasya sakal-ôttarâpatha²-nâtha-mathan-
ôpârjit-ô-
- 19 rjita-pâlidhraj-âdi-samasta-pâramaiśvarya-chinha(hna)sya **Vinayāditya-Satyâśraya**-
śrîprithu(thi)vîvalla-
- 20 bha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priy-âtmajaś=sai[sa*]va êv=âdhigat-
âśêsh-âstra-
- 21 **śâstrô** dakshinâśâ-vijayini pitâmahê samunmûlita-nikhila-kaṇṭaka-samhatir=
uttarâpatha-
- 22 vijigishôr=gurôr=agrata êv=âhava-vyâpâram=âcharann-arâti-gaja-ghaṭâ-pâta-

¹ From the original plates² The engraver has originally written "pathê", but corrected it

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- 23 na-viśīryamāṇa-kṛipāṇa-dhāras=samagra-vigraha-āgrēsara[h*] san=sāhasa-rasikah
 24 parām(ā)mukhikṛita-śatruṇaṇḍalō Gaṁgā-Yamunā-pālidhvaja-padaḍhakkā-mahāśabda-
 mā-
 25 pikya-mataṁgaj-ādin=pitṛisāt=kurvvan=paraiḥ palāyamānair=āsādyā katham=api
 vidhivaśā-
 26 d=apanitō=pi pratāpād=ēva viśaya-prakōpam=arājakam=utsārayan=Vatsarāja i-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 27 v=ānapēkshit-āpara-sāhāyakas=tad-avagrahān=nirggatya svabhuj-āvasṭambha-prasādbit-
 āśēsha-viśva-
 28 mbharaḥ prabhur=akhamḍita-śaktitrayatvāt(ch)=chhatru-mada-bhamjanatvād=
 udāratvān=niravadyatvād=yas=sa-
 29 masti bhuvan-āśrayas=sakala-pāramaiśvaryya-vyakti-hētu-pālidhvaj-ādy-u[j*]jvala-prājya-
 30 rājyā Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
 31 ra-bhātārakasya priyaputras=sakala-bhuvana-sāmrajya-lakshmī-svayamvar-ā-
 32 bhishēka-samay-ānantara-samupajāta-mahōtsāhah ātmavamsaja-pū-
 33 rva-nṛpati-chchhāy-āpahāriṇaḥ prakṛity-amitrasya **Pallavasya** samūl-
 ōnmūlanāya
 34 kṛita-matir=atitvarayā Tumḍāka-viśayaṁ prāpy=ābhimukh-āgatan=
 Nandipōtavarmma-ā-
 35 bhidhānam **Pallavam** rāṇa-mukhē samprahṛitya prapalāyya
 kaṭumukha-vāditra-sa-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 36 mudraghōsh-ābhidhāna-vādya-viśēshān(shau)=khaṭvāṁga-dhvaja-pramāṇa-prabhūta-
 prakhyāta-hasti-varā-
 37 a=sva-kirāṇa-nikara-vikāsa-nirākṛita-timiram=māṇikya-rāsīñ=cha hastēkṛitya
 Kalāśabhava-nila-
 38 ya-harid-aṁgan-ānchita-kāmchīyamānām **Kāmchīm=avināśya** praviśya satata-
 pravṛitta-dā-
 39 n-ānā(na)ndita-dvija-dīn-ānātha-janaḥ **Narasimhapōtavarmma-nirmmāpita-silāmaya-**
 40 **Rajasimhēśvar-ādi-dēvakula-suvārṇarāśi-pratyarpṇa-ōpārjit-ōrjita-pu-**
 41 **nyah anivārīta-pratāpa-prasara-pratāpita-Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa-Kēraja-Kalabhra-**
 42 **prabhṛiti-rājanyakaḥ kshubhita-kari-makara-kara-hata-dalita-śukti-mukta-muktāphala-**
 43 **prakara-mar.chi-jāla-vilasita-vēl-ākulē ghūrṇamān-ārṇō-nidhānē dakṣhiṇā-**
 44 **rṇavē śarad-amala-śāsadhara-viśada-yaśō-rāśi-mayam jayastambham=atisht[h*]ipat**

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 45 **Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bha-**
 46 **ttārakasya sūnuḥ(r) bālyē susikshita-śāstra-śāstra[h*] sva-guṇa-kalāp-ānandita-**
 hri-
 47 dayēna pitṛā samārōpita-yauvarājya[h*] svakula-vairiṇaḥ **Kāmchīpatēr-**
 nnigrahā-
 48 ya mām prēshaya ity=ādēśam prārthya labdhvā tad-anantaram=ēva kṛita-
 prayāṇas=sann=a-
 49 bhūmukham=āgatya prakāsa-yuddham kartum=asamartham pravishṭa-durgam
 Palla-
 50 vam amrantatō=bhibhūya bhagnasaktim kṛtvā prabhūta-matta-mataṁgaja-su-
 51 varna-mānikya-kōṭir=ādāya pitrē samarpitavān=ivam kramēṇa prāpta-sā-

- 52 rrvabhauma-padaḥ pratāp-ānurāg-āvanata-samasta-sāmanṭa-makuṭa-mā-
53 lā-rajah-pumja-pimjarita-charuṇa-sarasirhaḥ(ruhaḥ) **Kirtivarn-na-Satyā-**

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 54 śraya-śripithivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakas=sarvān=ēva-
55 m=ājñāpayati [*] Viditam=astu vo=smābhir=dvisaptaty-uttara-shaṭchhatēshu
Śakavarshēshv=stītēshu
56 pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē shashṭhē varttamānē **Raktapuram-**
adhivasa-
57 ti vijaya-skandhāvārē **Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām sōmagrahanē Kāśyapa-gō-**
58 trāya **Vājappaśarmmanah¹=pauṭrāya Mākaya-Vājapō[ya*]-yājinaḥ**
59 putrāya vēda-vēdunga-pāragāya **Rāmaśarmmanē Velvola-visha-**
60 yē **Peṇbasaaru-Kisumangalam-Suḷlam-Perbaḷli-nāma-grāmānām=ma-**
61 dhyē **Beppaṭṭi-nāma-grāmō śrī-mahādēvi-vijñāpanayā dattah**

Fifth Plate.

- 62 Tad=āgāmibhir=asmad-vamśyair=anyaiś=cha rājabhir=āyur-aiśvaryy-ādinām vilasitam=
achi-
63 r-āmsu-chañchalam=avagachchhadbhir=āchandr-ārka-dhar-ārṇava-sthiti-samakālam yasaś=
chiki-
64 rshubhis=eva-datti-nirvviśēsham paripālaniyam=Uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda-
vyāsēna
65 Vyāsēna [*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya
yasya
66 yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalañ [||*] Svan-dātum sumahach=
chhakyam
67 duḥkham=anyasya pālanam [*] dānam vā pālanam v=ētti(v=ēti) dānāch=chhrēyō=
nupālanam [||*]
68 Svadattām paradattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [*] shashṭh(t)im
varsha-saha-
69 srāṇi vishṭhāyām jāyatē kri(kṛi)mir=iti [||*] **Dhanamjaya-Puṇyavallabhēna**
likhita-
70 m=idam.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Hail! victorious is the body of Vishṇu, manifested in the form of a boar on whose uplifted right tusk rests the world, and who has agitated the ocean.

(Lines 2 to 6.) The great king, the prosperous **Polekēsi-vallabha**, whose body was purified by the *avabhiṭha* bath terminating a horse-sacrifice, and who adorned the family of the prosperous **Chalukyās**, who belonged to the family of Mānavya praised by the whole world, who were the sons of Hārīti, who were reared by seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds, who had acquired a series of benefits through the protection of Kārttikēya, and who had subdued in an instant all kings at the sight of the sign of the boar acquired through the favour of the revered Nārāyaṇa.

(Ll. 6 to 8.) His son was the prosperous **Kirtivarman**, the great king, and the lord of the earth, who had achieved spotless fame by the conquest of **Vanavāsi²** and other countries of hostile kings.

¹ [Looks like *Vājapaśarmmanah*.—S. K.]

² Also called Banavāsi or Banavase.

iii b.

36 36
38 38
40 40
42 42
44 44

iv a.

46 46
48 48
50 50
52 52

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(Ll. 8 to 9.) His son was he who had acquired the title of *Paraméśvara* by defeating the prosperous *Harshavardhana*, the lord of all the north, and addicted to war.

(Ll. 10 to 16.) The dear son of that¹ asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the great lord, was *Vikramāditya*, well versed in politics, whose companion was his sword alone, who had destroyed all rivals only with his excellent horse called *Chitrakaṇṭha*, who retrieving the fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by the confederacy of the three² kings, had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the *Pāṇḍyas*, *Chōlas*, *Kérajās*, *Kaḷabhras* and others with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt,³ whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crest of the lord of *Kāñchi* who had not bowed down to others, and who was the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the venerable emperor.

(Ll. 16 to 20.) His dear son, who reduced to the condition of tributaries the kings of *Kavēra*, *Pārasika*, *Siṃhala* and other countries after vanquishing the proud army of the confederacy of the three⁴ kings and the lord of *Kāñchi* at the command of his father, just as *Kārtikēya*, at the command of Śiva defeated the very insolent host of demons, who had acquired all the symbols of sovereignty such as a lofty *pāṇḍhva*⁵ and others by subjugating the king of all the north, was *Vinayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 20 to 30.) His dear son, who while still a child, had mastered all the sciences and the use of arms, who when his grandfather conquered the southern region had uprooted the multitude of all his foes resembling thorns, conducting warlike operations in the very presence of his father who was desirous of conquering the north, who had the edge of his sword blunted by destroying the group of hostile elephants, who took the lead in all fighting, fond of meeting danger, who caused the multitude of his enemies to turn their backs, delivering to his father the variegated *pāṇi*-banner,⁵ the *ḍhakkā*, the great musical instruments,⁶ rubies and intoxicated elephants, who, though taken captive through the force of circumstances by the flying foe approaching with some difficulty, put an end to anarchy and popular commotion by his prowess alone, and like *Vatsarāja*, expecting no help from others, escaped from the peril and conquered the whole earth by dint of his arm, who was an emperor, the asylum of truth, through his three powers being uninterrupted, through his breaking the pride of his enemies, through his liberality and blamelessness, whose vast empire was resplendent with a *pāṇḍhva* which was a symbol of universal sovereignty, was *Vijayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 31 to 45.) His dear son, who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his anointment at the self-choice by the goddess of universal sovereignty, who resolved to uproot the *Pallava* king, his natural foe, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line, who on coming to the *Tuṇḍāka*⁷ district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing *Pallava* king named *Nandipōtavarman*,

¹ *Tasya* means "of one who is well-known or referred to above."

² Compare the expression *avanipatitritaya* with *trairājya* in line 17. *Ātmasāt-kṛitya* should be **kṛitā*.

³ *Vikramāditya* is compared to *Indra*.

⁴ *Trairājya* is used by *Jinasēna* in the following verse (*Ādipurāṇa*, XXX. 35), and is explained by the commentator to mean *Chōla*, *Kérala* and *Pāṇḍya* :—

prasādhya dakṣiṇām=āśām vibhū trairājyapālakaṁ |
samam prañamayām=āśa vijitya jayasādhanaḥ ||

⁵ For the explanation of *pāṇḍhva*, see my paper in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV. p. 104.

⁶ The expression *mahāśabda* is frequently used in this sense in *Pampa Bhārata*, p. 211.

⁷ *Tuṇḍāka* or *Tuṇḍai* is a name of the *Dravida* country. *Kāñchi* or *Conjeeverum* was the capital of it.

took¹ possession of particular musical instruments, called *kaṭumukhavāḍitra* and *sanu-draghōsha*, the *khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja*, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies, which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays, who entered, without destroying it, the city of *Kāñchi*, which was, as it were, a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south, who had rejoiced *Brāhmaṇas*, and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted liberality, who acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of *Rājasimbhēśvara* and other gods, which had been caused to be built by *Narasimhapōtavarma*n, who distressed *Pāṇḍya*, *Chōḷa*, *Kēraḷa*, *Kaḷabhra* and other kings by the extent of his valour which could not be withstood, and who erected a pillar of victory² in the form of his great fame, as bright as the cloudless autumnal moon in the southern ocean, full of rolling waves, the shores of which were shining with the multitude of rays of numerous pearls dropped from shells struck and broken by the trunks of excited elephants resembling whales, was *Vikramāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 46 to 54.) His dear son, who was trained in science and the use of arms in his childhood, was appointed heir-apparent by his father whose heart was delighted with a multitude of his virtues; who having asked for and obtained an order to put down the lord of *Kāñchi*, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the *Pallava* king in every quarter, who, unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his father; who thus gradually attained to the position of an emperor, and whose lotus-like feet were rendered yellowish by the mass of pollen on the numerous crests of all feudatory kings, who bowed to him through love of his heroism, *Kirtivarman*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord, thus commands all;

(Ll. 55 to 61.) Be it known to you, when six hundred and seventy-two years of the *Śaka* era had passed away, and the sixth year of [our] increasing prosperous reign was current, when our victorious camp was located at *Raktapura*, on the full moon of *Vaiśākha* during a lunar eclipse, the village named *Beppaṭṭi* surrounded by the villages named *Penbasaaru*, *Kisumaṅgalam*, *Suḷḷam* and *Perbbaḷli*, in the district of *Veḷvola*, was granted by us at the request of the prosperous great queen to *Rāmaśarma*n, well versed in the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*, who was the son of *Mākaya*, a performer of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, and the grandson of *Vājappaśarma*n of the *Kāśyapa* gōtra.

(Ll. 62 to 64.) This should be preserved, as though it were their own gift, by future kings of our own family or others, knowing the flash of life and other things to be as changeful as lightning, and desirous of achieving a fame lasting as long as the moon, the sun, earth, and ocean will endure.

(Ll. 65 to 70.) And it is said by the venerable *Vyāsa*, the arranger of the *Vēdas*. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including *Sagara*. Whoever is the owner of the earth, reaps its fruit. It is very easy to give what is one's own; it is difficult to preserve what is given by others. Of the two things—a gift and preservation—preservation is the better. He who takes away land, whether given by himself or others, is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. This is written by *Dhanañjaya*³ *Punya*valabha.

¹ The expression *hastē-kṛitya* is not wrong; compare *Dhanañjaya*, *D 'sandhanakāvya* XIII. 36, and *Bhaṭṭōji* *Dikshita's* remark on *Pāṇini* I. 4, 77: *scikāramātram=ity=anyē*; *hastē-kṛitya mahāstrāṇi*. See *Padamañjari*, p. 224 (Benares edition).

² *Vikramāditya* II. did not set up a pillar of victory; only his fame, which spread to the shores of the southern ocean, is compared to such a pillar.

³ This must be the same person who composed the *Vakkalēri* grant five years later. A relative of his, perhaps his father, was *Anivāritapunya*valabha, who wrote the *Kāñchi* inscription of *Vikramāditya* II. (above, Vol. III. p. 359 f.).

No. 29.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 274.)

From the materials supplied to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I publish here, with the results of my calculations, twenty-two more dates of Chôla kings (Nos. 137-158), and two dates (Nos. 159 and 160) of the king Peruñjiṅgadvēva, "who claims to be a Pallava and who subverted the Chôla sovereignty about A.D. 1231-32."¹ Five of these dates (Nos. 145-149) belong to the king Rājādhirāja [II.] Rājākēsarivarman, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163. The other dates in general merely confirm the correctness of the results previously found for the commencement of the reigns of the kings to whom they belong; but No. 142 reduces the period, during which Rājārāja II. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 8th April to the 11th July A.D. 1146.²

I am still keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttuṅga-Chôla II. Rājākēsarivarman in the hope that more dates of this king may be discovered before long.

At the end of this article I give a list of all published dates of Chôla kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A.— RAJARAJA I.

137.— In the Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruviśālūr.³

- 1 Svasti śri [|| —] Kō-Rājārājākēsarivarmmakku yāṇḍu 5 āvadu ivv-āṭṭ[ai]
[Dha]nu-[u]āyarru Nāyarru-kk[i]lamaiyum Mūlamum pakka-
2 m ⁴prathipadamum kūṭiṇa vara-yōgatt[i]ṇ pōdu.

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Rājārājākēsarivarman,— on the day of the auspicious yōga which was combined with the first tithi of a fortnight,⁵ (the *nakshatra*) Mūla and a Sunday in the month of Dhanu of this year."

I have previously found⁶ that Rājārāja I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985. This date of the 5th year of his reign corresponds to Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the first tithi (of the bright half of Pausa) commenced 5 h. 6 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system for 16 h. 25 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

For dates with the auspicious yōga— also called *amṛita-yōga*⁷— of a Sunday with the *nakshatra* Mūla, see above, Vol. VI. p. 21, No. 33, and note. Compare also Hēmachandra's *Śabdānuśāsana-vṛitti*, end of Adhyāya II. Pāda 2: *Mūlārkaḥ⁸ śrūyatē tūstrē sarvakalyāṇa-kāraṇam | adhunā Mūlārājas=tu chitraṁ lōkēshu gīyatē ||*.

¹ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1906-07, p. 89.

² Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 264.

³ No. 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

⁴ Read *pratipada*°.

⁵ It is not stated whether it was the bright or the dark fortnight.

⁶ See above, Vol. VII. p. 6.

⁷ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 114, No. 10.

⁸ I.e. *Mūla-nakshatrēṇa yuktō'rkaḥ sūryaḥ*.

138 and 139.—In the Amṛitaḡhaṡṡvara temple at Tirukkaḡaiyūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] [Tiru-ma]ḡa śrī-kōv=Irājarājakēsaripanmaḡku yāḡḡ[u]
 2 16 vadu āḡum yāḡḡu Pi-
 3 [ra]ṡṡādi=tti[ḡa]! piḡ=pakkattu=[p]pakkam [8 ettu]=kki[la]mai² Tīḡaḡ nā.
 Pu[ḡa]rpūsam
 9 i[v*]v-[āḡḡēy] Tulā-nāyaḡu pū[rva-bha]kshat[tu]
 dvā[da]śiyum Nāya[ḡ]u-kīla[m]ai[yum] peḡḡa Iraivadi . . .³

"In the year which was the 16th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarājakēsarivarman,—on the day of Punarvasu, the week-day (being) Monday, (and) the day of the fortnight being [8—eight—] of the second half of the month Purattādi on [the day of] Rēvatī which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā in this year."

The first of these two dates regularly corresponds to Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000, which was the 29th day of the month Purattādi (i.e. the month of Kanyā), and on which the 8th tithi of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 0 h. 55 m., while the nakshatra was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.

The second date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000. This was the 18th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the 12th tithi of the bright half (of Kārttika)⁴ ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise; but as the nakshatra was Rēvatī only from 11 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise, I should have expected the day to be described as the day of (the preceding nakshatra) Uttara-Bhadrapadā.

140.—In the Śiva temple at Pēraḡgiyūr.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] śrī-Rāja-Rājarājadēvaḡku yāḡḡu
 2[4]āvadu i-yāḡḡu⁶ Mṡiūchika-nāyaḡḡu pū[r]vva-
 pakshattu=P[pudāḡ]-kīlamaiyum paḡḡamiyum peḡḡa Ti[ru]vō[ḡa]ttiḡ nā[||].

"In the 2[4]th year (of the reign) of the glorious Rāja-Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śravaḡa, which corresponded to the fifth tithi and to a [Wednesday] of the first fortnight of the month of Vṡiśchika in this year."

For the given week-day (Wednesday) and the nakshatra Śravaḡa the date would be wrong for all the ten years from the 20th to the 29th year of Rājarāja's reign. Irrespectively of the week-day, the date for the 24th year would correspond to Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008, which was the 12th day of the month of Vṡiśchika, and on which the 5th tithi of the bright half (of Mārgaśīrsha) ended 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, while the nakshatra by all systems was Śravaḡa the whole day. I have little doubt that this Saturday is the proper equivalent of the date and that the week-day, if not misread, has been wrongly given in the original.

¹ No. 27 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² The letter *la* is engraved below the line.

³ Read *Rēvatī-nāḡ*.

⁴ I.e. the *utkāḡa-dēḡḡat-tithi* (the tithi of the awakening of Viḡḡḡu).

⁵ No. 203 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁶ Read *Vṡiśchika*.

B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

141.—In the Amṛitaghaṭṭēśvara temple at Tirukkaḍaiyūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pû-mālai m[i]ḍaindu
 16 kô=Pparakēsaripatmar-ā[na] Tribhuvana-
 chchakravatti-
 17 ga! śrī-Vikrama-Śôḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 6 ā[ā]vadu V[ri]śchi
 ²[y]aiyum [Bu]ḍaṅ-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Mṛigaśīrshatti=nāḷ.

"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Mṛigaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [second?] *tithi* of the
 [of the month of] Vṛiśchi[ka]."

The reign of Vikrama-Chōḷa has been found ³ to commence on the 29th June A.D. 1118, and this date of the 6th year of his reign undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123. This was the 11th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on it the second *tithi* (of the dark half of Kārttika) ended 4 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—RAJARAJA II.

142.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pû maruviya Tiru-māḍum
 13 kô=Pparakēsarī[pa]tmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakravar-
 14 tiga! śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu ⁵ [1]5[vadu] ⁶ Mā-
 15 sha-nāyaṅṇu pūrvva-pakshattu aṣṭami[ya]m Budan-ki-
 16 ḷamaiyum peṇṇa Pūṣatti-nāḷ.

"In the [1]5th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

With the result previously obtained ⁷ for the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja [II.] Parakēsarivarman, this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161, which was the 13th day of the month of Mēsha and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 12 h. 54 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

143.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.⁸

- 4 kô=Pparakēsaripatmar-āna
 [Tri]bu-
 5 vanachchakravattiga! śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 1[7]vadu Dha[nu-nāya]ṇu
 [a]para-pa-
 6 ksha[t*]tu navamiyum Nāyaṅṇu-ki[la]maiyum peṇṇa A

¹ No. 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.² Perhaps *devityaiyum* is meant.³ See above, Vol. VII. p. 8.⁴ No. 140 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.⁵ The letter *ṣ* is engraved below the line.⁶ The letters *vade* are written in a group.⁷ See above, Vol. VIII. pp. 2 and 264.⁸ No. 129 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

"In the 1[7]th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of A¹ which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162, which was the 7th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgaśīrsha, ended 16 h. 56 m., while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

The result shows that the *nakshatra*, of the name of which only the initial vowel *a* remains in line 6 of the original, was Attam (Hasta).—The date is the latest one hitherto examined of the reign of Rājarāja II.

144.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādam kō=
 8 P[p]ara[k]ēsaripatmar=āna Tribhuvana[ch]chakra[r]tiga! śrī-Rājarājadēvaṛku
 yāṇḍu 15[vadu]³ M[i]na-
 9 nāyaṛru p[ū]rvva-pakshattu paṇ[jami]y[u]m Tiṅga-kilamaiyum perṛa
 M[ri]gaśi[r]shatti=nā].

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Mṛigaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina."

In accordance with the previously obtained results, this date should fall in A.D. 1161, some time before the 24th March (the first day of the month of Mēsha); but with the actual reading of the original it would be incorrect. In my opinion, the fifth *tithi* (paṇ[jami]yum) has here been quoted erroneously instead of the seventh (*saptamiyum*), and the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161, which was the 12th day of the month of Mina, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 3 h. 41 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

Of the three dates, the date No. 142 would show that the reign of Rājarāja II. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th April A.D. 1146.⁴

D.—RAJADHIRAJA II.

145.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁵

- 1 Svasti śr[i] 6. Kaḍal sūṇḍa pār-mag[a]ṇu[m]
 2 kō Rājakēsaripa[nma]r=āna Tribhuvanachcha[k*]karavattiga! śrī-
 Rājadha(dhi)rājadēvaṛku yāṇḍu 2[avadu]⁶ Mēsha-nāyaṛru pūrvva-pakshattu
 shashthiyun=Diṅga-kilamaiyum perṛa Puṇarpūsatti=nā].

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājadhirājadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

¹ The name of the *nakshatra*, which is lost in the original, may be Aśvati (Aśvini), Attam (Hasta), Avittam (Dhanishthā) or Anuḷam (Anurādhā).

² No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ The letters *vadu* are written in a group.

⁴ Compare the date No. 106, above, Vol. VIII. p. 264.

⁵ No. 538 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁶ The word *avadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the figure 2.

The five dates Nos. 145-149 are of the reign of a king **Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman**, and are taken from inscriptions every one of which begins with the words *kaḍal śūḷnda*. The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163. With such a commencement of his reign :—

This date, No. 145, corresponds to **Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164**, which was the 7th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first **Vaiśākha**) ended 19 h. 3 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** from 7 h. 13 m., according to **Garga** from 9 h. 51 m., and by the equal space system from 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.—This equivalent of the original date might perhaps be objected to on the ground that the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** only from 7 h. 13 m. (or later) after mean sunrise; and in the case of the date No. 106, above Vol. VIII. p. 263, where also the *nakshatra* was found to be **Punarvasu** from 8 h. 32 m. (or later) after mean sunrise, I have myself stated that that *nakshatra* in the original date might have been quoted erroneously instead of the immediately preceding *nakshatra* **Ārdrā**. But the two dates together now seem to me to show that in either case there was some special reason for quoting the *nakshatra* **Punarvasu**, instead of the *nakshatra* **Ārdrā** in which the moon was at the commencement of the day.¹

146.—In the **Kapardiśvara** temple at **Tiruvallaṅjuḷi**.²

- 1 Svasti [śri] [||*] Kaḍal śūḷnda pār-mādarum
 5 [kō] Rājakēsari[vanma]r= ā[ṇa] Tribhuvanachchakrava[tti]-
 6 gaḷ śri-R[ā]jādhirājadēvaṅku [y]āṇḍu [Sā]vadu Sim[ha]-n[ā]yaṅ[ru] [a]para-
 pakshattu [dv]āda[siyu]m [Ti]-
 7 [ṅa]ṭ-kilamai[yu]m peṅṅa [Puṇa]r[pū]ṣat[tu] nā[li].

“In the [s]th year (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājādhirājadēva**,—on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Simha**.”

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170**, which was the 14th day of the month of **Simha**, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Śrāvaṇa**) commenced 2 h. 3 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**,³ by the equal space system and according to **Garga** for 17 h. 44 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

147.—In the **Tyāgarājasvāmin** temple at **Tiruvārūr**.⁴

- 1 [Sva*][sti] śriḥ ||— Kaḍal śūḷnda pār=ā[ḷu]n=diśai
 7 . . kōv=Irājakēsariṇaṅmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravattigaḷ śri-Rājādhirājadēvaṅku
 yāṇḍu 10[āvadu]⁵ Miṇa-nā[yaṅ]u pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyuṇ=Jevvāy-kkilamai-
 yum peṅṅa Magattu nāḷ.

“In the 10th year (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsariivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājādhirājadēva**,—on the day of **Maghā**, which corresponded to a **Tuesday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mina**.”

¹ For other dates with *nakshatras* which also, if I may say so, commenced some time after sunrise, compare e.g. Nos. 23, 47, 66, 105, and 121 of this series.

² No. 627 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ A 12th *tithi* joined with the *nakshatra* **Punarvasu** is called *jayanit*; it is a *mañd-doddast*. This may be the reason why the 12th *tithi* has been quoted in the original date (as a current *tithi*).

⁴ No. 540 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁵ The word *dada* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the symbol for ten.

The date corresponds to **Tuesday, the 27th February A.D. 1173**, which was the 5th day of the month of **Mīṇa**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of **Phālguna**) ended 10 h. 50 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Maghā**, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

148.—In the Darbhāranyēśvara temple at Tirunaḷḷār.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī[h] [||*] Kaḍal sūl[ṇ]da [pā]r-mādarum
 [k]ōv=Irā[śa]kēsar[i]paṇmar=ā[ṇa] Tiribuva[ṇa]ch[chakkarava[t*]tiga] śrī-Ir[ā]-
 j[ā*]d[i]ra[ja*]dēvaṇku yā[u]-
 2 du padin-ṇāṇadu Siṇṇa-nā[ya]r[ru] pū[r]va-pasha(ksha)ttu paṇjamiyu[m]
 Budan-kilamai[y]um p[e]r[ra] Sōd[i]-nāḷ.

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājādhirājadēva**,—on the day of **Svāti**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Simha**."

The date corresponds to **Wednesday, the 15th August A.D. 1173**, which was the 19th day of the month of **Simha**, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of **Bhādrapada**) ended 13 h. 53 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Svāti**, by the equal space system for 17 h. 44 m., according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

149.—In the Vṛṣabhapurīśvara temple at Mēl-Śēvūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kaḍal sūl[ṇ]da pā[r]-m[ā]darum
 2 kō Irāśakē[śa]ripatmar=āṇa
 Tribhuvanachchakkaravattiga] śrī-Rājā[dhirā*]jadēvaṇku yāṇdu l3āṇadu
 Kaḷkaḍaga-nāyaru=ppadinmu(mū)ṇṇān=di(di)yadiy=[ā]-
 3 na Budan-kilamaiyum=apara pakshattu ēkāda[ś]iyum per[ra] R[ō]ṣaṇi-nāḷ.

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājā[dhirā]jadēva**,—on the day of **Rōhiṇi**, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to a **Wednesday**, the thirteenth solar day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

In the three hundred years from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1300 there are only two days which would satisfy the requirements of this date, viz. **Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1097**, and **Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181**.

In A.D. 1097 the **Karkāṭaka-samkrānti** took place 17 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of **Thursday, the 25th June**; the first day of the month of **Karkāṭaka** therefore was **Friday, the 26th June**, and the 13th day of the same month was **Wednesday, the 8th July**. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Āshāḍha**) ended 5 h. 36 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rōhiṇi**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

In A.D. 1181 the **Karkāṭaka-samkrānti** took place 10 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday, the 26th June** which was the first day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was **Wednesday, the 8th July**. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Āshāḍha**) commenced 4 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Rōhiṇi**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 394 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² No. 222 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

It is clear that if, as was assumed above, the reign of Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman commenced between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163, neither of the two Wednesdays given above could have fallen in the 13th year of his reign. On the other hand, I may state that if either of the two days really fell in his 13th year, the other dates would be incorrect. In these circumstances, and assuming that, with the exception of the regnal year, the details of the original date have been given correctly, I can only suggest that the year 13 (which is given in figures¹ only) has been quoted erroneously instead of the 19th year, and that the proper equivalent of the date therefore is really Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181. It might of course be objected that this day would fall in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. Parakēsarivarman, which commenced between the 6th and the 5th July A.D. 1178. But I have already shown that we have a similar over-lapping of two reigns also in other cases. A date (No. 94) of the 39th year of Kulōttuṅga III. corresponds to the 25th January A.D. 1217, while the reign of his successor Rājārāja III. commenced in June-July A.D. 1216; and of this king again we have two dates (Nos. 96 and 97) of the 7th February and the 22nd April A.D. 1248, whereas the reign of his successor Rājendra-Chōla III. commenced in March-April A.D. 1246.

From the materials available I therefore infer that Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman, i.e. Rājādhirāja II., commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

150.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.²

1 Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Vīra[r]ājēndira-Śōladēvaṅk[ku] yāṇḍu 6vadu
Magara nāyaru pūrvva-pakku[li]ttu³ dvit[i]yaiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kiḷamai[y]um pe[r]ra
A]viṭṭatti=nā].

"In the 6th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śravisṭhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1184, which was the 22nd day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 5 h. 36 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Śravisṭhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 10 m., after mean sunrise.

151.—In the Amṛitaghaṭēśvara temple at Tirukkaḍaiyūr.⁴

1 Svasti śrī [li*] Puyal vāyppa
5 kō=[Ppa]rakēsaripaṇmar-āṇa
Tibuvāṇachchakkaravattiga! Madu[r]aiyum Pāṇḍi[ya]ṇaiyum muḍittalai-
koṇḍ-aruliya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku yāṇḍu 16 vadu Mēsha-nāyaru pūrvva-
pakshattu [a]ṭṭamiyu[m]
6 Viyāla-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Pūśatti=nā].

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the

¹ Mr. Venkayya has informed me, about three years ago, that the figures undoubtedly are '13.' I would suggest that 'the thirteenth' solar day, which is mentioned closely to the regnal year, may have misled the writer to put down '13' also for the latter.

² No. 158 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁴ No. 43 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ Read -pakṣattu.

⁵ Read Triḍāṇ.

crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of **Pushya** which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mēsha**.¹

The date corresponds to **Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194**, which was the 7th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 10 h. 50 m., while the *nakṣatra* was **Pushya**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

152.—In the Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruviśālūr.²

1 Svasti śrī ||— [Pu]yal vāppa kō=P[pa]ra-
16
17 k[ēśa]ri[pa]rmar=[ā]ṇa T[i]ribuva[ṇa]chcha[kka]ravattigaḷ Ma[du]rai[yu]m [P]āṇ[ḍi]-
18 yan muḍi-ttalaṇṇu-gonḍ-aruli[na] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śō[ḷa]-
19 dēvarkku yāṇḍu paḍiṇe[t]tāva[du] Kum[bha]-nāya[r]ru pūr[va]-pakṣa[ttu]
20 tri(tri)tiyaṇṇu Śaṇi-kkilaṇṇu p[er]ra [Pū]rattu nā[ḷ].

"In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha**."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong because on the third *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Kumbha the *nakṣatra* could not possibly be Pūrva-Phalgunī; and the probability would seem to be that either has the first fortnight been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Pūrva-Phalgunī (Pūrattu) instead of Pūrva-Bhadrpadā (Pūrattūdi).³ In my opinion, the date corresponds to **Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1198**, which was the 10th day of the month of **Kumbha**, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h. 40 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Pūrva-Bhadrpadā, by the equal space system for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

153.—In the Vatāraṇyēśvara temple at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu.⁴

1 [Sva]sti [śrī] [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ Maduraiyu[m] I]lamum
P[āṇ]ḍi[ya]n muḍittalai[yu]ṇ-go-
2 [ṇ]d-aruli[na] [śrī]-Kulōttuṅga-Śō[ḷa]d[ā]va[r]kku yāṇ[ḍu] 2]3 vadu
4 Kanni-nāya[r]ru=ppadinā[rāṇ]di[yadi[y]=ā[ṇa]
Śevvāy-kka(kki)[ḷa]mai[ya(yu)]m pū[ru]va-[pa]kṣa[t]-
5 tu [tri]tiyaṇṇu p[er]ra Śittirai-nā[ḷ].

"In the [2]3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight and to a **Tuesday** which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of **Kanyā**."

The date corresponds to **Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200**. The preceding Kanyā-saṁkrānti took place 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th August; the first day of the month of Kanyā therefore was Monday, the 28th August, and the 16th day of

¹ Another inscription of the [1]6th year of the same king with apparently the same astronomical details is found in the same temple (No. 42 of 1906). But the portion, where the fortnight, the *nakṣatra* and the *tithi* may be expected, is damaged. What is actually found is [pū] miyūm
Viśāḷa-kka[ḷa]mai[ya] p[er]ra Pū[ḷa]ttu nā[ḷ].

² No. 14 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

³ Compare the date No. 50, above, Vol. VI. p. 283.

⁴ No. 456 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

the same month was Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of *Âśvina*) commenced 7 h. 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was *Chitrâ*, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.—There seems no reason why the second *tithi* (*dvitīyāyum*) should not have been quoted in the original date instead of the third (*tritīyāyum*).

F.—RAJARAJA III.

154.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.¹

1 Svas[ti] śr[ī] [||*] [Tri]bhuvanachchakravattiga! śrī-²Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
24[āvaḍu³] Mid[u]ṇa-nāyaṛṛu pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum
Śaṇi-kkilamaiy[u]m peṛra [Ś]ōdi-nāḷ.

“In the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna.”

The reign of Rājarāja III. has been found to commence⁴ between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216. This date of the 24th year corresponds to Saturday, the 2nd June A.D. 1240, which was the 9th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of *Jyāishṭha*) ended 3 h. 37 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

155.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.⁵

1 Svas[ti] śr[ī] [||*] Tribhu[va]ṇachchakravartiga! śrī-⁶Rājarājadēvaṛku yāṇḍu
2[9⁷ āvaḍu⁸] Tulā-nāyaṛṛu=ppūrvva-[pa]kshattu prathamaiyum [Ś]ēvṛāy-
kilamaiyum peṛ-
2 ra Śōdi-nāḷ.

“In the 2[9]th⁷ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

The date, for the 29th year, regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244, which was the 7th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the first *tithi* of the bright half (of *Kārttika*) ended 12 h. 58 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 15 h. 46 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.—For the 26th year of the reign of Rājarāja III. the date would be incorrect.

156.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.⁹

1 Svas[ti] śr[ī] [||*] Tribhu[va]nachcha[kra]vattiga! śrī-¹⁰Rājarājadēvaṛku yāṇḍu
2[9¹⁰ āvaḍu¹⁰] Tulā-nāyaṛṛu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Śēvṛāy-
kka(kki)[la]maiyum peṛra [Ś]ōd[i]-nāḷ.

“In the 2[9]th¹⁰ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

¹ No. 508 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁴ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 260.

⁵ No. 501 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

⁷ The second figure of the date might also be 6.

⁸ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁹ No. 502 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

¹⁰ See the notes on the preceding date.

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to **Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.**

157.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly.¹

1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḥ śr[i]-²Râjarâjadêvaṛku
[y]âṇḍu 2[9âvadu]³ Kumbha-nâyaṛṛu ppû[r]vva-pakshattu navamiyum
Tiṅgaṭ-kila[m]aiyum peṛra Urôśaṇ[i]-nâḥ.

"In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Rôhiṇi, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha**."

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245**, which was the 14th day of the month of **Kumbha**, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phâlguna) commenced 1 h. 12 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rôhiṇi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhânta* for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

158.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly.⁴

1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḥ śr[i]-²Râjarâjadê[va]ṛku
[y]âṇḍu 2[9âvadu]³ Kumbha-nâyaṛṛu ppû[r]vva-pakshattu navam[i]yum Tiṅgaṭ-
k[i]la[m]aiyum peṛra Urôśaṇ[i]-nâḥ.

"In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Rôhiṇi, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha**."

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to **Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245.**

G.—PERUNJINGADEVA.

159.—In the Jambunâtha temple at Jambai.⁵

1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] Śa[galabu]vanachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-kô-Pperu[n̄]jīngadêva[ḥ]ku
yâṇḍu 16vadu Daṇu-nâyaṛṛu pû[r]vva-pakshattu trayôdaś[i]yum Tiṅgaṭ-
k[i]lamaiyu[m*] peṛra Urôśaṇ[i]-nâḥ.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king **Peruñjīngadêva**,—on the day of Rôhiṇi, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first [fortnight] of the month of **Dhanus**."

Above, Vol. VII. p. 165, I have found that the reign of **Peruñjīngadêva** commenced between (approximately) the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243. This date, of his 16th year, corresponds to **Monday, the 9th December A.D. 1258**, which was the 14th day of the month of **Dhanus**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of *Pausa*) commenced 7 h. 48 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rôhiṇi, by the *Brahma-siddhânta* the whole day, according to Garga from 1 h. 19 m., and by the equal space system from 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.—Instead of the 13th, I should have expected the 12th *tithi* to have been quoted, especially as, joined with Rôhiṇi, this *tithi* is a *mahâ-dvâdaśi* (*pûpa-nâsini*).

¹ No. 500 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *râja* placed side by side.

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁴ No. 62 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

⁵ No. 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁶ The syllables *śaṇ[i]* are repeated by mistake in the original.

160.— In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śagalabuvanachchakkaravattigal
 śrī-kō=²Pparuñ-
 2 jūṅgādēvarkku yāṇḍu muppadāvadu Tulā-nāyaṇṇu apara-pakshattu
 3 tri(tri)tīyaiyum Tiṅga[1]-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Kāttigai-nā].

“In the thirtieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king **Peruñjīṅgādēva**,— on the day of **Kṛittikā**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Tulā**.”

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 10th October A.D. 1272**, which was the 13th day of the month of **Tulā**, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of **Āśvina**) commenced 6 h. 40 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Kṛittikā**, by the equal space system for 13 h. 47 m., by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 0 h. 39 m., and according to **Garga** for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

A LIST OF THE DATES OF CHOLA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Parāntaka I. Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.)

- No. 101 (Vol. VIII. p. 261).—Year 36, **Kaliyuga 4044** (current): Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943.
 No. 55 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 40: Saturday, the 25th July A.D. 946.

B.—Rājarāja I. Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.)

- No. 137 (Vol. IX. p. 207).—Year 5: Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989.
 No. 1 (Vol. IV. p. 66).—Year 7: the 26th September A.D. 991.
 No. 61 (Vol. VII. p. 169).—Year 11: Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 996.
 No. 25 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 999.
 No. 27 (Vol. V. p. 197).—Year 15: Wednesday, the 15th May A.D. 1000.³
 No. 138 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 16: Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000.
 No. 139 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 16: Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000.
 No. 2 (Vol. IV. p. 67).—Śaka 929 (current). The date is incorrect.
 No. 140 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 24: Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008.⁴
 No. 3 (Vol. IV. p. 68).—Year 23, Śaka 934. The date would correspond to the 23rd December A.D. 1012, but contains no details for exact verification.

C.—Rājendra-Chōla I. Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 27th March and the 7th July A.D. 1012.)

- No. 102 (Vol. VIII. p. 261).—Year 5: Tuesday, the 26th March A.D. 1017.
 No. 32 (Vol. VI. p. 20).—Year 9, Śaka 943 (current): Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020.
 No. 4 (Vol. IV. p. 68).—Śaka 943 (current): Wednesday, the 1st March A.D. 1021.
 No. 5 (Vol. IV. p. 69).—Year 31 (for 21), Śaka 954: Monday, the 23rd October A.D. 1032.

¹ No. 159 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² Read = *Pperuñjīṅga*.

³ In the original the week-day is wrongly given as Thursday.

⁴ The week-day is wrongly given as Wednesday.

- No. 33 (Vol. VI. p. 21).—Year 22, Śaka 955 : Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033.
 No. 34 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 26, Śaka 959. The date is incorrect.
 No. 62 (Vol. VII. p. 169).—Year 31 : Friday, the 23rd July A.D. 1042¹

D.—Rājādhirāja I. Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.)

- No. 15 (Vol. IV. p. 218).—Year [3]2 (for 22) : Thursday, the 22nd November A.D. 1039.
 No. 12 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 26 : Wednesday, the 14th March A.D. 1044.
 No. 13 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 27 : Wednesday, the 13th February A.D. 1045.
 No. 14 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 29 : Wednesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1046.²
 No. 11 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 30 : Śaka 970 (current). The date does not admit of exact verification.
 No. 35 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 35 : Śaka 975 :—probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.³

E.—Rājēndradēva Parakēsarivarman.⁴

(The 28th May A.D. 1052.)

- No. 38 (Vol. VI. p. 24).—The 82nd day of year 4 : Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055.
 No. 36 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979 : Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.
 No. 37 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 12 (for 11 ?), Śaka 984. The date does not admit of exact verification.

F.—Virarājēndra Rājakēsarivarman.⁵

(Between the 11th September A.D. 1062 and the 10th September A.D. 1063.)

Vol. VII. p. 9. —Year 5 : Monday, the 10th September A.D. 1067.

G.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. Rājakēsarivarman (Rājēndra-Chōla II.)

(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.)

- No. 56 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 4 : Thursday, the 7th November A.D. 1073.
 No. 39 (Vol. VI. p. 278).—Year 7, Śaka 998 : Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077.⁶
 No. 63 (Vol. VII. p. 170).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 12th March A.D. 1086.
 No. 6 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028 ?). The date does not admit of exact verification.
 No. 9 (Vol. IV. p. 72).—Śaka 1035 : Sunday, the 22nd February A.D. 1114.
 No. 7 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 44 : Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114.
 No. 8 (Vol. IV. p. 71).—Year 45 : Thursday, the 8th October A.D. 1114.
 No. 40 (Vol. VI. p. 279).—Year 45, Śaka 1036 : Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114.
 No. 26 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 48 : Monday, the 7th January A.D. 1118.
 Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol. IV. p. 262, and Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 48 : Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118.⁷

¹ The *nakṣatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.

² The 2nd *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

³ The 13th *tithi* has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

⁴ In No. 37 surnamed Rājakēsarivarman.

⁵ No. 273 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 contains a date of the 7th year of this king and of Śaka 991 expired (= A.D. 1063-70).

⁶ The month Māgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phālguna.

⁷ In No. 28 the 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd which is correctly given in No. 20.

H.—Vikrama-Chôla Parakêsarivarman.

(The 29th June A.D. 1118.)

- No. 21 (Vol. IV. p. 263, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 4 : Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1122.
 Nos. 103 and 104 (Vol. VIII. p. 262).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 10th May A.D. 1122.
 No. 22 (Vol. IV. p. 264, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5 : Monday, the 31st July A.D. 1122.
 No. 57 (Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5 : Thursday, the 31st May A.D. 1123.
 No. 10 (Vol. IV. p. 73, and Vol. VII. p. 4).—The 340th day of year 5 : Sunday, the 31d June A.D. 1123.¹
 No. 141 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 6 : Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123.
 No. 84 (Vol. VIII. p. 1).—Year 7 : Thursday, the 7th August A.D. 1124.
 No. 105 (Vol. VIII. p. 263).—Year 8 : Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1125.
 No. 42 (Vol. VI. p. 280).—Year 9, Śaka 1049 : the 27th May A.D. 1127.²
 No. 59 (Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 10 : Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April A.D. 1128.³
 No. 64 (Vol. VII. p. 170).—Year 11 : Wednesday, the 19th December A.D. 1128.
 No. 58 (Vol. VII. p. 4).—Year 11 : Saturday, the 5th January A.D. 1129.
 No. 65 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 15. The date does not admit of verification.
 No. 41 (Vol. VI. p. 279, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 16 : Monday, the 16th April A.D. 1134.
 No. 43 (Vol. VI. p. 281, and Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 17, Śaka 1054 (for 1057) : Thursday, the 18th April A.D. 1135.

I.—Kulôttuṅga-Chôda II.⁴

Vol. VII. p. 9.—Śaka 1056 (for 1065) : the 24th March A.D. 1143.

J.—Râjarâja II. Parakêsarivarman.

(Between the 6th April and the 11th July A.D. 1146.)

- No. 85 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1149.
 No. 86 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 24th January A.D. 1152.
 No. 89 (Vol. VIII. p. 3).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 14th February A.D. 1152.⁵
 No. 87 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 12 : Wednesday, the 26th March A.D. 1158.
 No. 88 (Vol. VIII. p. 3).—Year 15 : Thursday, the 12th January A.D. 1161.
 No. 144 (Vol. IX. p. 210).—Year 15 : Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161.⁶
 No. 142 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 15 : Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161.
 No. 106 (Vol. VIII. p. 263).—Year opposite to 16 : Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162.
 No. 143 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 17 : Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162.

K.—Râjâdhirâja II. Râjakêsarivarman.

(Between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.)

- No. 145 (Vol. IX. p. 210).—Year 2 : Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164.
 No. 146 (Vol. IX. p. 211).—Year 8 : Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170.
 No. 147 (Vol. IX. p. 211).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 27th February A.D. 1173.
 No. 148 (Vol. IX. p. 212).—Year 11 : Wednesday, the 15th August A.D. 1173.
 No. 149 (Vol. IX. p. 212).—Year 13 (for 19 ?) : Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181 (?).

¹ The 7th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.² The year *Plava* is wrongly quoted instead of *Plavaṅga*.³ In the original data either the *makshatra* or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.⁴ Perhaps identical with Kulôttuṅga-Chôla II. Râjakêsarivarman, of whom I possess unpublished dates of the regnal years 4, 10, 14 and 15.⁵ The month of *Mina* is wrongly quoted instead of *Kumbha*.⁶ The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 7th.

L.—Kulôttuṅga-Chôla III. Parakésarivarman (Virarâjendra-Chôla,¹ Tribhuvanavîra²).

(Between the 6th and the 8th July A.D. 1178.)

- No. 66 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 3 : Monday, the 11th August A.D. 1180.³
 No. 67 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 3 : the date is incorrect.
 No. 107 (Vol. VIII. p. 264).—Year 4 : Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182.
 No. 150 (Vol. IX. p. 213).—Year 6 : Monday, the 16th January A.D. 1184.
 Nos. 108 and 109 (Vol. VIII. p. 264).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184.⁴
 No. 68 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 7 : Wednesday, the 22nd August A.D. 1184.
 No. 23 (Vol. IV. p. 264).—Year 8 : Monday, the 8th July A.D. 1185.
 No. 90 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 5th January A.D. 1188.⁵
 No. 19 (Vol. IV. p. 220).—Year 12 : Monday, the 4th December A.D. 1189.
 No. 60 (Vol. VII. p. 6).—Year 14 : Thursday, the 2nd January A.D. 1192.⁶
 No. 110 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 16 : Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194.
 No. 151 (Vol. IX. p. 213).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194.
 No. 24 (Vol. IV. p. 265).—Year 16 : Saturday, the 4th June A.D. 1194.⁷
 No. 69 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 17 : Monday, the 13th February A.D. 1195.
 No. 70 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 17 : Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1195.
 No. 152 (Vol. IX. p. 214).—Year 18 : Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196.⁸
 No. 71 (Vol. VII. p. 173).—Year 19 : Monday, the 2nd September A.D. 1196.⁹
 No. 17 (Vol. IV. p. 219).—Year 19 : Tuesday, the 12th November A.D. 1196.
 No. 72 (Vol. VII. p. 173).—Year 19 : Wednesday, the 30th April A.D. 1197.
 No. 16 (Vol. IV. p. 219).—Year 19 (for 20), Śaka 1119 : Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197.¹⁰
 No. 111 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 20 : Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198.¹¹
 No. 31 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 20. The date is quite incorrect.
 No. 73 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 21 : Wednesday, the 7th April A.D. 1199.
 No. 74 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 21 : Saturday, the 10th April 1199.¹²
 No. 153 (Vol. IX. p. 214).—Year 23 : Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200.
 No. 112 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 23 : Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200.
 No. 113 (Vol. VIII. p. 266).—Year 25 : Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202.¹³
 No. 44 (Vol. VI. p. 231).—Year 27 : Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205.
 No. 29 (Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 29 : Wednesday, the 7th March A.D. 1207.
 No. 114 (Vol. VIII. p. 266).—Year 32 : Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209.¹⁴
 No. 18 (Vol. IV. p. 220).—Year 34 : Monday, the 19th September A.D. 1211.
 No. 91 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 35 : Sunday, the 2nd June A.D. 1213.
 No. 92 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 36 : Monday, the 14th April A.D. 1214.

¹ This name occurs in the dates of the 6th and 7th years.

² This name occurs in the dates from the 32nd to the 39th year.

³ I now take this to be the proper equivalent of the date.

⁴ The 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 11th.

⁵ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

⁶ The first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second.

⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.

⁸ The *nakshatra* Pūrva-Phalgunī is wrongly quoted instead of Pūrva-Bhādrapadā.

⁹ The *nakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.

¹⁰ The 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th.

¹¹ The *nakshatra* Uttarāshādhā is wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Bhādrapadā.

¹² The month of Rishabha is wrongly quoted instead of Mēsha.

¹³ The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 4th.

¹⁴ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

No. 93 (Vol. VIII. p. 5).—Year 37 : Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1214.

No. 30 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 37 : Sunday, the 7th June A.D. 1215.

No. 94 (Vol. VIII. p. 5).—Year 39 : Wednesday, the 25th January A.D. 1217.

M.—Rājarāja III. Rājakēsarivarman.¹

(Between the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.)

No. 115 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year 2 : Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218.

No. 75 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 4 : Monday, the 22nd June A.D. 1220.

No. 76 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 5 : Wednesday, the 19th August A.D. 1220.²

No. 77 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year opposite to 6 : Thursday, the 13th October A.D. 1222.

No. 95 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year opposite to 8 : Monday, the 7th October A.D. 1224.³

No. 116 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year opposite to 8 : Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225.⁴

No. 117 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year 10 : Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226.

No. 78 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 21st April A.D. 1226.

No. 118 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 12 : Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227.

No. 119 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231.

No. 120 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 16 : Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232.

No. 45. (Vol. VI. p. 281).—Year opposite to 16 : Saturday, the 25th September A.D. 1232.

No. 46 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 17 : Tuesday, the 18th January A.D. 1233.

No. 47 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18 : Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1233.

No. 121 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 18 : Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233.

No. 48 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18 : Wednesday, the 7th December A.D. 1233.

No. 122 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 18 : Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233.

No. 49 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 18 : Monday, the 2nd January A.D. 1234.

No. 123 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 19 (for 18) : Sunday, the 1st June A.D. 1234.

No. 50 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 19 : probably Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234.⁵

No. 124 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year 19 : Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234.

No. 125 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year 19 : Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235.

No. 128 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 27 (? for 21) : Monday, the 12th January A.D. 1237.⁶

No. 51 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year 22 : Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238.⁷

No. 52 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year opposite to 22 : Monday, the 28th February A.D. 1239.

No. 53 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year opposite to 22 : Wednesday, the 2nd March A.D. 1239.

No. 54 (Vol. VI. p. 285).—Year opposite to 22 : Friday, the 4th March A.D. 1239.

No. 154 (Vol. IX. p. 215).—Year 24 : Saturday, the 2nd June A.D. 1240.

No. 126 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year opposite to 24 : Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241.

No. 127 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 27 : Wednesday, the 30th July A.D. 1242.

Nos. 155 and 156 (Vol. IX. p. 215).—Year 29 : Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.

Nos. 157 and 158 (Vol. IX. p. 216).—Year 29 : Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245.

No. 129 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 29 : Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245.

No. 130 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 30 : Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245.⁸

¹ This surname occurs only in the date No. 45.

² The 5th *tithi* may have been quoted erroneously instead of the 4th.

³ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

⁴ [The last day of] the month of Kumbha has been quoted erroneously instead of [the first day of] the immediately following month of Mīna.

⁵ In the original date either the *nakṣatra* Uttirattādi (Uttara-Bhādrapadā) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uttirām (Uttara-Phalgunī), or the first fortnight instead of the second.

⁶ If the published reading of the original date is correct, the second fortnight has been wrongly quoted instead of the first.

⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.

⁸ The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 12th.

No. 96 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 32 : Friday, the 7th February A.D. 1248.

No. 97 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 32 : Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248.

N.—Rājendra-Chôla III.

(Between the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1246.)

No. 79 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 3 : Saturday, the 20th March A.D. 1249.

No. 98 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 4 : Sunday, the 12th September A.D. 1249.

No. 131 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250.

No. 80 (Vol. VII. p. 176).—Year 7 : Wednesday, the 25th December A.D. 1252.

No. 83 (Vol. VII. p. 177).—Year opposite to 7. The date is intrinsically wrong.

No. 132 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 9 : Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255.

No. 133 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year opposite to 11 : Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257.

No. 134 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year 16 (for 17) : Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262.

No. 135 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year 18 : Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264.¹

No. 136 (Vol. VIII. p. 274).—Year 20 : Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266.

No. 81 (Vol. VII. p. 176).—Year 21 : Wednesday, the 30th June A.D. 1266.

No. 99 (Vol. VIII. p. 7).—Year 22 : Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267.

No. 82 (Vol. VII. p. 177).—Year 22 : Sunday, the 8th May A.D. 1267.

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O.—Peruñjingadēva.

(Between the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243.)

Vol. VII. p. 164, B.—Year 7 : Friday, the 30th July A.D. 1249.

No. 159 (Vol. IX. p. 216).—Year 16 : Monday, the 9th December A.D. 1258.

Vol. VII. p. 164, A.—Year 18, Śaka 1182 : Sunday, the 31st October A.D. 1260.

No. 160 (Vol. IX. p. 217).—Year 30 : Monday, the 10th October A.D. 1272.

Vol. VII. p. 165, D.—Year 31 : Saturday, the 10th February A.D. 1274.

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P.—Tribhuvanavīra-Chôladēva.

(Between the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332.)

No. 100 (Vol. VIII. p. 7).—Year 11 : Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1342.

No. 30.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 283.)

From the numerous dates of Pāṇḍya kings sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, I here give five (Nos. 63-67), the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. The remaining dates must wait till more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered. Of those here published, Nos. 64 and 66 are valuable inasmuch as, taken together with previously published dates, they show that Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 2nd and the 27th June A.D. 1268, and Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II. between (approximately) the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1314.

¹ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

In a postscript I give a date of a king **Rājakēśarivarman Vira-Pāṇḍya**, according to Mr. Venkayya a ruler of Koṅgu, which quotes both the Śaka year 1202 and the regnal year 15, both given in words. This date is of considerable interest, because my calculations prove its meaning to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which (reign) commenced in the Śaka year 1202 (and not, that the day of the date itself fell in the Śaka year 1202). The date thus suggests another point of doubt and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of dates that do not contain sufficient *data* for exact verification, even where at first sight such doubt seems to be out of the question.

At the end of this article also I give a list of all published dates of Pāṇḍya kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

63.—In the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tirumaiyam.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārappaṇmar-āṇa Tribhuvanaṇachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēvaṇku yāṇḍu 7vadu [Risha]bha-[nāyi]ṇṇu=ppadiṇṇu[ū]ṇṇān=diyadiyum pūrvva-
² mīkhattu daśamiyum Nāyiggu-kkiḷa-³

2 mai[yu]m peṇ[ra*] U[tti]rattu nāl.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the thirteenth solar day of the month of Rishabha."

I have previously found ⁴ that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239. This date of his 7th year regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245. The preceding Vṛishabha-samkrānti took place 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th April A.D. 1245, which was the first day of the month of Vṛishabha; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishṭha)⁵ commenced 0 h. 43 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

For the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

B.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

64.—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kīḷaḍi.⁶

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārava[rmma]r-āṇa Tr[i]bhuvanaṇachcha[ka]vattigaḷ
 [em]maṇḍalamuṇ=goṇḍ-aruliya śr[i]-Kulaśēkharadēvaṇku [yā]ṇḍu 23vadu
 Mith[ū]na-nāyayṇu 6 ti⁶ pūrvva-pakshattu [tri]t[i]yai[yam] Vell[i]-kk[i]lamaiyum
 peṇṇa Pūśattu nāl.

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 6th solar day of the month of Mithuna."

¹ No. 387 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² Read *-pakshattu*.

³ The whole of this line is engraved over an erasure.

⁴ See above. Vol. VI. p. 305.

⁵ I.e. the *tithi* of the *Daśaharā*.

⁶ No. 447 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁷ Read *chakra*.

⁸ The syllable *ti* here stands for *tithi*.

I have previously found¹ that the reign of Māvarman Kulasekhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 19th March and the 27th June A.D. 1268. This date of his 23rd year regularly corresponds to Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291. The preceding Mithuna-samkrānti took place 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th May A.D. 1291, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 6th day of the same month therefore was Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Āshāḍha) ended 3 h. 3 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period, during which Māvarman Kulasekhara I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 2nd to the 27th June A.D. 1268.

65.—In the Arjunéśvara temple at Kilāḍi.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] śrī-kō
Mārapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakavattiga[³ e]mmandalamuṇ=gaṇ[ḍ-a]ruliya
śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku yaṇḍu 30vadiṇ edirāṇ=āṇḍu Ka[r]kkataka-nāyaṅṅu 8 ti'm
apara-pakshattu ē[k]āda[śi]yum peṅṅa Rohiṇ[i]-nāḷ.

“In the year opposite the 30th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the 8th solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka.”

For the year opposite the 30th, *i.e.* for the 31st year, of Māvarman Kulasekhara I. this date regularly corresponds to [Saturday], the 5th July A.D. 1298. The preceding Karkāṭaka-samkrānti took place 17 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June A.D. 1298. The first day of the month of Karkāṭaka therefore was Saturday, the 28th June, and the 8th day of the same month was Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) ended 18 h. 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

66.—In the Bhūmīśvara temple at Guḍimallūr.⁵

1 Suvasi⁶ [śrī] [||*] Kō Mārapaṇmar Ti[ru]buvanaachchakkarava[t]ti śrī-Kula-
[ś]ēgaradēvaṅku yaṇḍu 12[āvaḍu]⁷ paṇṇ[i]raṇ[ḍāva]du [M]ēsha-nāyaṅṅu
pupu[ru]va.⁸ pakshattu chatutteṣiyum Velli-kkīlamaiyum peṅṅa Avittat[⁹tu n]āḷ.

“In the 12th—twelfth—year (*of the reign*) of king Māvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva,—on the day of Dhanishthā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

This date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* cannot possibly be Dhanishthā on the 14th *tithi* of a first fortnight in the month of Mēsha. Irrespectively of the *nakshatra*

¹ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 278.

² No. 449 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ Read “chakra.”

⁴ No. 419 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁵ Read *svasti*.

⁶ The word *āvaḍu* seems to be deleted by a flourish added to 2.

Read *pūva*.

⁷ The syllable *ti* here stands for *tiyadiy*.

the date would be wrong for the 12th year of the reign of Māgavarman Kulaśekhara I. But for the 12th year of the reign of Māgavarman Kulaśekhara II. (which has been found¹ to commence between approximately the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314) the date would regularly correspond to **Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325**, which was the 4th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 7 h. 9 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m. and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.—I have no doubt that this is the true equivalent of the date, and that the concluding words of the original date ought to be *Attattu nīl*, “the day of Hasta,” instead of *Aṭṭattu nīl*.

The date would prove that Māgavarman Kulaśekhara II. could not have commenced to reign later than (approximately) the 29th March A.D. 1314.

D.—JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

67.—In the Satyagirinātha-Perumāḷ temple at Tirumaiyam.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śrī-ko[Chchadai]paṇmarāṇa Tr[i]buvapaśa[kra]vatt[i]gal śr[ī]-
Parākk[i]rama-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [ā]ṇḍu 5vad[iṇ]
- 2 edir 7vadu . . . -n[a]yarru apara-pakshattu dvādisiyum Nāyarru-kk[i]-
lamaiyum perṇa Uttarāḍattu nāl.

“In the 7th (year) opposite the 5th year (of the reign) of the glorious king [Jaṭā]-varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Paṇḍyadeva,—on the day of Uttarāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of”

I have previously found³ that Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 10th January A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358. This date of the 7th opposite the 5th year, *i.e.* of the 12th year of his reign, undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 4th February A.D. 1363, which was the 11th day of the month of [Kumbha], and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Magha) ended 21 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśāḍhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya could not have commenced to reign before (approximately) the 5th February A.D. 1357.

POSTSCRIPT.

RAJAKESARIVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.⁴

In the Kariyamāṇikka-Perumāḷ temple at Vijayamaṅgalam.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Naṇmaṅgalañ=jiṇakka [||*] [Śaga]r-yāṇḍu āyiratt=iru-nūṇṇ=iraṇḍil
[kō]v=[Irā]śa[k]śaripa;ṇ]marāṇa [Tri]bhuvana[cha]kravat]-
- 2 tugal śrī-Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu pa[di]ṇaiṇjāvadu ⁶Tu[ī]ā-nāyarru apara-
pakshattu=⁷Tiṅgaṭ-kiḷamaiy[u]m daśamiyum pe[rṇa] Ut[t]irattu n[ā]l.

¹ See above, Vol. VI. p. 315.

² No. 395 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ See above, Vol. VII. p. 17.

⁴ This king is neither a Pāṇḍya nor a Chōḷa, but a ruler of Koṅḡ; see Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1905-06, page 79.

⁵ No. 544 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ The *akṣara tu* is engraved above the line.

⁷ The guttural *n* is engraved above the line.

"In the Śaka year one thousand two hundred and two, the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king [Rā]jakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to the tenth *tithi* and to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The meaning of this date would naturally be taken to be that the day of the date fell both in the 15th year of the king's reign and in the Śaka year 1202, either current or expired; but for either of these Śaka years the date would be incorrect.

For the current Śaka year 1202 the date might be taken to correspond to **Monday**, the 2nd October A.D. 1279, which was the 4th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 2 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatras* on this day were Maghā and Pūrva-Phalgunī.

For the expired Śaka year 1202 it would correspond to **Saturday**, the 19th October A.D. 1280, which was the 22nd day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 18 h. 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalgunī, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 10 m., according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

The date would be incorrect also for the Śaka year 1200 (current or expired) and for all years down to Śaka 1214 expired. It would be correct for **Śaka 1215 expired (= 1216 current)**. For this year it would correspond to **Monday**, the 26th October A.D. 1293, which was the 29th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 6 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Uttara-Phalgunī during the whole of the day.

I have no doubt that Monday, the 26th October A.D. 1293, is the proper equivalent of the date; and, in accordance with this result, I take the true meaning of the original date to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which commenced some time during the (current) Śaka year 1202 (= A.D. 1279-80) that is quoted at the beginning of the date. For dates that have to be similarly interpreted, I may refer to Nos. 261, 262 and 269 of my *Southern List*.

A LIST OF THE DATES OF PANDYA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara.

(Between the 30th March and the 29th November A.D. 1190.)¹

- No. 2 (Vol. VI. p. 302).—Year opp. to 13: Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1204.
 No. 1 (Vol. VI. p. 301).—Year 12 opp. to 13: Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214.
 No. 45 (Vol. VIII. p. 275).—Year 13 (for 13 opp. to 13?): Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216(?).
 No. 44 (Vol. VIII. p. 275).—Year 14 opp. to 13: Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217.

B.—Māraavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

(Between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216.)

- No. 6 (Vol. VI. p. 304).—Year 7: Monday, the 13th March A.D. 1223.
 No. 5 (Vol. VI. p. 303).—Year 9: Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1225.
 No. 46 (Vol. VIII. p. 276).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230.

¹ Or perhaps: Between the 7th October and the 29th November A.D. 1190.

No. 3 (Vol. VI. p. 302).—Year opp. to year opp. to 17: Monday, the 4th September A.D. 1234.

No. 4 (Vol. VI. p. 303).—Year opp. to year opp. to 17: Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235.

C.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

(Between the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239.)

No. 63 (Vol. IX. p. 223).—Year 7: Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245.

No. 10 (Vol. VI. p. 305).—Year 11: Sunday, the 25th April A.D. 1249.

Nos. 7 and 8 (Vol. VI. p. 304).—Year opp. to year opp. to 11: Wednesday, the 15th January A.D. 1251.

No. 9 (Vol. VI. p. 305).—Year opp. to year opp. to 11; Wednesday, the 14th June A.D. 1251.¹

D.—Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

(Between the 20th and the 28th April A.D. 1251.)

No. 11 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 2: Thursday, the 27th March A.D. 1253.

No. 12 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 2: Saturday, the 19th April A.D. 1253.

No. 13 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 3: Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1253.

No. 17 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 7: Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257.²

No. 14 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 9: Tuesday, the 29th April A.D. 1259.

No. 15 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 9: Sunday, the 15th June A.D. 1259.

No. 16 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 10: Wednesday, the 28th April A.D. 1260.

No. 18 (Vol. VI. p. 308).—Year 11: Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261.³

E.—Vira-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 11th November A.D. 1252 and the 13th July A.D. 1253.)

No. 32 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 7: Sunday, the 13th July A.D. 1259.

No. 31 (Vol. VII. p. 10).—Year 15: Thursday, the 10th November A.D. 1267.

F.—Māṇavarman Kulaśekhara I.

(Between the 2nd and the 27th June A.D. 1268.)

No. 20 (Vol. VI. p. 309).—Year 10: Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278.

No. 48 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 22: Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289.

No. 64 (Vol. IX. p. 223).—Year 23: Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291.

No. 21 (Vol. VI. p. 309).—Year 26: Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293.⁴

No. 19 (Vol. VI. p. 308).—Year 27: Friday, the 10th December A.D. 1294.

No. 49 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 30: Wednesday, the 31st July A.D. 1297.

No. 65 (Vol. IX. p. 224).—Year opp. to 30: Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298.

No. 50 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 34: Saturday, the 8th July A.D. 1301.⁵

No. 51 (Vol. VIII. p. 278).—Year 29 (for 39): Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306.

No. 22 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 40: Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308.

No. 47 (Vol. VIII. p. 276).—Year 40, Śaka 1229: Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308.

¹ The month of Mīna is wrongly quoted instead of Mithuna.

² In the date, which is intrinsically wrong, the month of Kanyā is quoted instead of Tulā.

³ Thursday appears to have been wrongly quoted instead of Tuesday.

⁴ The 2nd तिथि is wrongly quoted, or misread, instead of the 3rd.

⁵ The 3rd तिथि is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd.

G.—Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

(Between the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276.)

- No. 25 (Vol. VI. p. 311).—Year 6: Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1281.
 No. 52 (Vol. VIII. p. 278).—Year 10: Monday, the 23rd July A.D. 1285.
 No. 54 (Vol. VIII. p. 279).—Year 12: Wednesday, the 27th August A.D. 1287.¹
 No. 26 (Vol. VI. p. 311).—Year 12: Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287.²
 No. 53 (Vol. VIII. p. 279).—Year 11 (for 12): Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1287.
 No. 23 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14): Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289.
 No. 24 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14): Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289.
 No. 27 (Vol. VI. p. 312).—Year opp. to 14: Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290.
 No. 55 (Vol. VIII. p. 280).—Year 2 opp. to 13: Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290.³
 No. 56 (Vol. VIII. p. 280).—Year 9 for 10(?): Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286(?).⁴

H.—Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara II.

(Between the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1314.)

- No. 29 (Vol. VI. p. 313).—Year 4: Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317.
 No. 30 (Vol. VI. p. 313).—Year 5: Monday, the 5th March A.D. 1319.⁵
 No. 28 (Vol. VI. p. 312).—Year 8: Saturday, the 14th November A.D. 1321.
 No. 66 (Vol. IX. p. 224).—Year 12: Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325.⁶

I.—Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 1st December A.D. 1334 and the 1st November A.D. 1335.)

- No. 33 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 6, Śaka 1262: Wednesday, the 1st November A.D. 1340.
 No. 34 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 8 (for 18): Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352.

J.—Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 5th February A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.)

- No. 67 (Vol. IX. p. 225).—Year 7 opp. to 5: Sunday, the 4th February A.D. 1369.
 No. 35 (Vol. VII. p. 12).—Year 10 opp. to 5, Śaka 1293: Friday, the 9th January A.D. 1372.

K.—Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.)

- No. 59 (Vol. VIII. p. 282).—Year 4: Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405 (?).⁷
 No. 58 (Vol. VIII. p. 281).—Year 8: Friday, the 27th July A.D. 1408.
 No. 57 (Vol. VIII. p. 281).—Year 15, opp. to 2, Śaka 1339: Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418.

¹ The 31st solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 30th.² The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.³ The [first day of the] month of Kanyā is wrongly quoted instead of [the last day of] Simha.⁴ This date may possibly be one of the 8th year of J. Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., corresponding to Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259.⁵ The date is intrinsically wrong. The month of Simha is wrongly quoted instead of Mīna, and the *nakṣatra* Pushya (*Pūṣat'u nāḥ*) instead of Pūrva-Phalguṇī (*Pūṛattu nāḥ*).⁶ The *nakṣatra* Dhanishṭhā (*Aṇṭṭattu nāḥ*) is wrongly quoted instead of Hasta (*Aṭṭattu nāḥ*).⁷ In the original date, which is intrinsically wrong, the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second, and the 3rd *tithi* instead of the 2nd.

L.—Jaṭilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Arikēsariḍēva.

(Between the 18th June and the 19th July A.D. 1422.)

No. 37 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year opp. to 31 : Thursday, the 19th July A.D. 1453.¹

No. 36 (Vol. VII. p. 12).—Year 2 opp. to 31, Śaka 1377 : Monday, the 24th March A.D. 1455.

No. 38 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year 4 opp. to 31 : Wednesday, the 16th March A.D. 1457.

No. 39 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year 8 opp. to 31. Śaka 1381 : Wednesday, the 17th June A.D. 1461.²

M.—Māṇavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443.)

No. 60 (Vol. VIII. p. 282).—Year 11 opp. to 2 : Monday, the 28th July A.D. 1455.

No. 61 (Vol. VIII. p. 283).—Year 14 : Sunday, the 16th January A.D. 1457.

No. 62 (Vol. VIII. p. 283).—Year 14 : Saturday, the 12th March A.D. 1457.

N.—Jaṭilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara.

(Between the 15th November A.D. 1479 and the 14th November A.D. 1480.)

No. 40 (Vol. VII. p. 14).—Year 20, Śaka 1421 : Thursday, the 14th November A.D. 1499.

O.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya III.

(Between the 2nd June A.D. 1531 and the 1st June A.D. 1532.)

No. 42 (Vol. VII. p. 15).—Year 22 opp. to 2, Śaka 1477 : Saturday, the 1st June A.D. 1555.

P.—Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabha.

(Between the 29th November A.D. 1534 and the 28th November A.D. 1535.)

No. 41 (Vol. VII. p. 15).—Year 3, Śaka 1459 : Wednesday, the 28th November A.D. 1537.

Q.—Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabha Ativirarāma.

(Between the 23rd August A.D. 1562 and the 22nd August A.D. 1563.)

No. 43 (Vol. VII. p. 16).—Year 5, Śaka 1489 : Friday, the 22nd August 1567.

No. 31.—TIRUMALAI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

When, more than twenty years ago, I started epigraphical work in the Madras Presidency, I prepared with my own hands an inked estampage of the inscription which is here re-edited. After Mr. Venkayya had joined my office in Bangalore, we spent a considerable time in reading and translating this record — one of the first early Chōla documents we tried to make out in a reliable manner. The Tamil text of it as printed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 98, does not contain any misreadings.³ But the translation on p. 99 needs revision in the light of the other Chōla inscriptions which were published later on, and a facsimile of this beautifully

¹ Monday is wrongly quoted instead of Thursday.

² Śaka 1381 is wrongly quoted instead of 1383, and the 23rd solar day wrongly instead of the 21st.

³ Only the date in line 12 should be '13' (instead of '12'); the same correction has to be made in the heading of the Plate facing p. 232 below.

engraved and well preserved rock inscription was hitherto missing. I therefore republish it now in Roman characters with a fresh translation, and with a colotype of a careful inked estampage which was prepared recently under Rai Bahadur Venkayya's personal supervision.

The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jaina figure on the top of the hill of Tirumalai near Pôlûr in the North Arcot district. The language is Tamil, and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, interspersed with a few Grantha words and letters (*svasti* śrī, l. 1; *śhai* of *vishaiya*, l. 9; *Mahī*°, l. 10; *Śrī-Rājendra-Chôladêva* and *ja* of *Jayaṅṇḍa*, l. 12; *śrī, Jina* and *dêva*, l. 13; *vyâpâri*, l. 13 f.).

The inscription is dated in the 13th year of the reign of the Chôla king Parakésarivarman alias Rājendra-Chôladêva I. (l. 12), who ascended the throne in A.D. 1012.¹ Its first eleven lines consist of a passage in Tamil verse which describes the conquests of the king, and the first words of which (*Tiru manni*, etc.) are quoted — as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya — in Perundevanâr's commentary on the *Virasôliyam*.²

The list of conquests opens with Idaidurai-nâdu (l. 1 f.), i.e. the country of Yeḍatore in the Mysore district, and Vanavâsi, i.e. Banavâsi in the North Canara district. The next item, the city of Kollippâkkai, must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom. For it was set on fire by Rājādhirāja I. in the course of a war against Sômêśvara I. and Vikramāditya VI.,³ and it is mentioned as Kollipâke in an inscription of Jayasimha II.⁴ Mappai-kāṭaka is identified by Mr. Rice with the city of Maṇṇe in the Nelamaṅgala tāluka of the Bangalore district.⁵

Îlam (l. 2) or Îla-maṇḍala (l. 3) is the Tamil designation of the island of Ceylon. Rājendra-Chôla I. boasts of having deprived its king of his own crown, the crowns of his queens, and two other trinkets which the Pāṇḍya king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon: a crown and the 'necklace of Indra.' Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter LIII.) also refers to the crown of the Pāṇḍya, which had been left with the king of Ceylon and was taken from him by the Chôlas,⁶ and that the 'necklace of Indra' is alluded to in several Pāṇḍya inscriptions.⁷

The Kēraḷa (l. 3) is the king of Malabar. Śāndimattivu (l. 5), i.e. the island of Śāntimat (?), is unknown. Muśaṅgi is perhaps identical with the fort of Uchchaṅgi in the Bellary district.⁸ Jayasimha of Raṭṭa-pāḍi (l. 6), who was put to flight at Muśaṅgi, is the Western Châlukya king Jayasimha II.⁹

Śakkaragôṭṭam, i.e. Chakrakôṭṭa, is shown by the inscriptions of Kulôttuṅga I. to have belonged to the dominions of the king of Dhârâ.¹⁰ Madura-maṇḍala (l. 7) need not be connected with Madhurâ, the capital of the Pāṇḍya king, who has been already accounted for (l. 3), but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathurâ on the Yamunâ. The three next geographical names cannot be identified.

At Âdinagar (?) Rājendra-Chôla I. captured Indraratha of the race of the Moon (l. 8). As suggested by Prof. Kielhorn,¹¹ this prince may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaypur inscription as an enemy of Bhojadêva of Dhârâ.

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 196; above, Vol. VIII. p. 262.

² Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 197.

³ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 231. Compare also Vol. VI. pp. 224, 225 and 227 (*Kollipâkd*).

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. p. 10 of the Introduction.

⁶ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 73.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 63 f.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 72 and note 78.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 94, note 4.

⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 96.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 132.

¹¹ *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 3.

Oḍḍa-vishaya (l. 9) is the province of Orissa, and **Kōśalai-nāḍu** is probably *Southern Kōśala*.¹ **Taṇḍabutti**, i.e. **Dapḍabhukti**, and its ruler **Dharmapāla** are unknown from other sources. The same is the case with **Rapaśūra**, who ruled over **Takkaṇalāḍam** (l. 10), i.e. **Dakṣiṇa-Virāṭa**² or Southern Berar, and with **Gōvinda-chandra**,³ the ruler of **Vaṅgāla-dēśa**, i.e. the Bengal country. **Mahipāla**, whom the Chōla king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the Pāla king Mahipāla I.⁴

The list of conquests closes with **Uttiralāḍam** (l. 11), i.e. **Uttara-Virāṭa** or Northern Berar, and the **Gaṅgā**, i.e. the river Ganges.

The short passage in Tamil prose with which the inscription ends (ll. 12-14) records its actual purpose — a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to the Jaina temple on the hill by the wife of a merchant of **Malliyūr** in **Karaivaḷi**, a subdivision of **Perumbaṇappāḍi**. The temple was called **Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya** (l. 13), i.e. the Jina temple of **Kundavai**. This name suggests that the shrine owed its foundation to **Kundavai**, the daughter of **Parāntaka II**, elder sister of **Rājārāja I**. (and consequently the paternal aunt of **Rājendra-Chōla I**.) and wife of **Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar**.⁵ The sacred hill (**Tirumalai**) is stated to have formed part of **Vaigavūr**, a *paḷlichchandum*, i.e. 'a village belonging to a Jaina temple,'⁶ in **Mugai-nāḍu**, a subdivision of **Paṅgala-nāḍu**, a district of **Jayaṅgonda-Chōla-maṇḍala**. **Malliyūr** is the modern **Gudimallūr** near Arcot.⁷ The remaining geographical names mentioned in this paragraph have been discussed in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 89. and above, Vol. VII. p. 192.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on the later conquests of **Rājendra-Chōla I** which are registered in the Tanjore inscription No. 20. Mr. Venkayya has shown that my former identification of **Kaḍāram** with a place in the Madura district⁸ must be wrong, because the Chōla king despatched an expedition to it on ships by sea, and because two of the localities mentioned in connection with this expedition, **Nakkavāram** and **Pappālam**, are, respectively, the Nicobar Islands and a port in Burma.⁹ Among the remaining items we read in line 9 of the Tanjore inscription *niraiśir-viśaiyamum*, and in line 11 *kalai-ttakkūr puḷai-ttakkōlamum*. The second of them, **Takkōlam**, may be identical with Ptolemy's *Takōla impōrion*, which Colonel Gerini places at Takōpa on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.¹⁰ Instead of the first, which I had translated by 'Vijayam of great fame,' an inscription at Kaṇḍiyūr near Tanjore reads *nirai-śriviśaiyamum*, 'the prosperous Śrivishaya.'¹¹ This may be the correct reading; for according to the larger Leiden grant (l. 80) **Śrivishaya** was the name of the country ruled over by the king of **Kaṭāha** or **Kaḍāram**.

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 97.

² In his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 87 f., Mr. Venkayya has shown that the Tamil term *Ilāda* does not correspond to the Sanskrit *Lāṭa* (Gujarāt), but to *Virāṭa* (Berar).

³ Page 34 of Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed.) contains the following note:—"The great inscription at Tanjore (11th century) mentions a Śērāmān, but also a king of Karuvai (or Karūr) and a Gōvinda-chandra (king of Kannāḍa)."—*Kannāḍa* (= Kannāḍa or Karṇāṭa?) is nothing but a misreading of the word *Takkaṇalāḍam*, which happens to precede the name *Gōvindaśandan* (l. 10), and *Karuvai*, here represented as referring to *Karuvūr*, is probably derived from *Adinagaravai* (l. 8). I am not drawing attention to these mistakes in order to gloat over them, but to prevent their being quoted as reliable facts.

⁴ *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 4.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 68. For three other princesses named *Kundavai* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 298, note 13, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 100.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII. p. 116, note 1.

⁷ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-1906*, p. 36 f., Nos. 418, 416 and 419.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 106.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, p. 17. Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 194 f.

¹⁰ *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1904, p. 247.

¹¹ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1894-95*, p. 4.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiru maṇṇi vaḷarav=iru-nila-maḍandaiyum pōr-chchaya-ppāvaiyuñ=
jir-ttaṇi-chchelvīyū=daṇ perun-dēviyar=āgi iṇb=uru neḍ-udiyal ūliyal
Idaidu-
- 2 rai-nāḍun=duḍar-vaṇa-vēli-ppaḍar Vanavāśīyuñ=julli-chchūl-maḍiṭ=Kōlippākkaiyu=
naṇṇaṅk-arū-muraṇ Maṇṇaikkāḍakkamum poru-gaḍal Īlatt=araśarda=muḍiyum
āḅga-
- 3 var dēviyar=ōḅg-eliṇ-muḍiyu=munṇ=avar pakkaḷ=Tteṇṇavar vaiṭṭa sundara-
muḍiyum Indiran=āramun=deṇ-ḍirai Īla-maṇḍala=muḷuvadum eṇi-baḍai=
Kkeralar
- 4 muraṇmaiṇiṇ=chūḍuñ=gula-daṇam=āgiya palar puḷaḷ muḍiyuñ=Jēṅgadir-mālaiyuñ=
jaṅga-lir-vēl-iṭ-tal-baruñ-gāvaṇ=pal-balan-di(di)vuñ=jeruviṇ=chēṇa-
- 5 vil' irubatt-ōṇ-gal=araiṣuḷai katta Paraśurāmaṇ mēv-arūñ=Jāṇḍimattivv-aran'
karaḍi muttiya sem-boṇ-Ṭiru-ttagu-muḍiyum bayaṇ=goḍu paḷi miga
Muśaṅgiyil mu-
- 6 duḅ-ut=olitta Śayaśi(śi)ṇgaṇ āla-pperum-buḷaḷoḍum piḍ-iyal Irattabāḍi ēl-arai
ilakkamu=nava-nedi-kkula-pperu-malaiḷalum vikkirama-vīrar Śakkaragōṭṭamu=
7 mudira-bada-vallai Madura-maṇḍalamum kâ-miḍai-vaḷaiya=Nāmaṇaikkōṇamum
vēṇ-jilai-vīrar Paṇjappalliyyum pās-uḍai-ppala=naṇ-Māṣuṇi-dēsamum ayarvi-
8 l-vaṇ-giḷḡrttiy=Āḍinagar-avaṇiṇ=Chandiraṇ=ḷol-gulatt=Iradaṇai¹ vilaiy=
ama-kkaḷattu=kkilaiyoḍum piḍ[it]tu=ppala-daṇattoḍu niṇai kula-daṇa-kkuvai-
9 yuñ pti-arūñ=jēri-miḷaiy=²Oṭṭa-vishaiyamum bāsurar sōr nal-Kkōśalai-nāḍun=
Daṇmabāḷai vem-muṇaiy=alittu vaṇḍ-uṇai-sōlai=Ttaṇḍayu(bu)ttiyyum=
Iraṇa-
- 10 sūraṇai muraṇ=ura=ttākki=ttikk-aṇai-gi(gi)rtti=Ttakkaṇalāḍamuñ=Gōvindaśandaṇ
māv=ilind-oḷa=ttaṅḡāda-sāral Vaṅḡāla-dēsamun=dōḍu-gaḍaṇ-chāṅguḡoṭṭaṇ=³
Mahibalaṇai
- 11 vēṇ-jama[r*]-valāgatt=aṇṇvitt=aruḷi oṇ-ḍiṇal yāṇaiyum peṇḍir-baṇḍāramu=
nittiḷa-neḍuñ-gaḍal=Utti[ra]lāḍamum vēri-maṇaṇ-ṭirtta-tteṇi-buṇaṇ=Kaṅḡaiyu=
mā-p-
- 12 poru-dandāṇ=konda kō=Pparaḡésaribaṇmar=āṇa uḍaiyār Śrī-Rājēndra-
Chōḷadēvarku yāṇḍu lāṇadu [Ja]yāṅḡoṇḍa-Sōḷa-maṇḍalattu Paṅḡāla-
nāṭṭu naḍuvil
- 13 va[g]ai Mugai-nāṭṭu=ppallichchandam Vaigavūr=Ttirumalai Śrī-Kundavai-
Jinālayattu dēvaṅku=Pperumbāṇappāḍi=Kkaraivaḷi Malliyūr irukkum vyā-
14 pāri Nannappayaṇ maṇavāṭṭi Sāmuṇḍappai vaiṭṭa tirunandāvilakku oṇṇinukku=
kkāśu irubadum [tiru]vamudukku vaiṭṭa kāśu pattum [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity!

(L. 12.) In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the lord Śrī-Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva, who.—

¹ Read =*chivari*.

² Read =*ttir-aran*.

³ Other inscriptions read *aḷapp-arum*; see *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 93, note 5.

⁴ Read =*Indiradana*. That this is the original reading, becomes more than probable in the following manner:— (1) The doubtful word may be expected to rhyme on *Chandira*, the third word before it. (2) The Tanjore inscription No. 20 reads =*Indiradana*. (3) *Indiratha* is the only correct Sanskrit name I can think of, which would account for both corrupt readings.

⁵ The Tanjore inscription No. 20 reads *kiṭṭ-arūñ=jēri-mai*.

⁶ Read, as in the Tanjore inscription No. 20, *tōḍu-galar-chāṅguv-oṭṭal*.

(L. 1.) in (*his*) life of high prosperity, while Tiru (Lakshmi), having become constant, was increasing, (*and*) while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens.—

(L. 11.) seized by (*his*) great, warlike army (*the following*):—

(L. 1.) **Idaidurai-nādu**; **Vaṇavāsi**, (*round which*) a fence of continuous forests was spreading;¹ **Koḷippākkai**, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood;² **Maṇṇai-kkaḍakkam**, whose strength was unapproachable;³ the crown of the king of **Īlam** (*on*) the tempestuous ocean; the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that (*king*); the beautiful crown⁴ and the necklace of Indra, which the king of the South (*i.e.* the **Pāṇḍya**) had previously deposited with that (*king of Īlam*); the whole **Īla-maṇḍala** (*on*) the transparent sea; the crown praised by many and the garland of the Sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting (*king of*) **Kēraja** rightly wore: many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound; the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tiru (Lakshmi), which **Paraśurāma**, having considered the fortifications of **Śāṇḍimattivu** impregnable, had deposited (*there*), when, in anger, (*he*) bound the kings twenty-one times in battle; the seven and a half *lakshas* of **Iraṭṭabāḍi**, (*which was*) strong by nature, (*and which he took*), together with immeasurable fame, (*from*) **Jayasimha**, who, out of fear and full of vengeance, turned his back at **Muśaṅgi** and hid himself; the principal great mountains (*which contained*) the nine treasures (*of*) **Kuvēra**;⁵ **Śakkaragōṭṭam**, whose warriors were brave; **Madura-maṇḍala**, whose forts (*bore*) banners (*which touched*) the clouds; **Nāmaṇai-kkōṇam**, which was surrounded by dense groves; **Pañchappalli**, whose warriors (*bore*) cruel bows; the good **Māṣuṇi-dēśa**, whose fruits were fresh; a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (*other*) treasures, (*which he carried away*) after having captured **Indraratha** of the old race of the **Moon**, together with (*his*) family, in a fight which took place in the hall (*at*) **Ādinagar**, (*a city*) which was famous for unceasing abundance; **Oḍḍa-vishaya**, which was difficult to approach, (*and which he subdued in*) close fights; the good **Kōśalai-nādu**, where **Brāhmanas** assembled; **Taṇḍabutti**, in whose gardens bees abounded, (*and which he acquired*) after having destroyed **Dharmapāla** (*in*) a hot battle; **Takkanalaḍam**, whose fame reached (*all*) directions, (*and which he occupied*) after having forcibly attacked **Ranaśūra**; **Vaṅgāla-dēśa**, where the rain-wind never stopped, (*and from which*) **Gōvindachandra** fled, having descended (*from his*) male elephant;⁶ elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (*which he seized*) after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field **Mahipāla**, decked (*as he was*) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets; **Uttiralāḍam**, as rich in pearls as the ocean; and the **Gaṅgā**, whose waters dashed against bathing-places (*tīrtha*) covered with sand,—

(L. 12.) **Chāmuṇḍappai**, the wife of the merchant **Nannappaya**, who resided (*at*) **Malliyūr** (*in*) **Karaivali**, (*a subdivision*) of **Perumbānappāḍi**, deposited twenty *kāṣus* for one perpetual lamp and ten *kāṣus* for offerings to the god of the **Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya** (*on*) the holy mountain (**Tirumalai**) of **Vaigavūr**, a *pallichchandam* in **Mugai-nādu**, a subdivision (*vagai*) in the middle of **Paṅgaḷa-nādu**, (*a district*) of **Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍala**.

¹ It seems most natural to take *paḍu* as a verb. It may also mean 'a road' or may be the nom. plur. of the Sanskrit *bhaṭa*, 'a warrior.'

² This was perhaps done by the besieging Chōḷa army when setting fire to the city. Among the meanings of *tuḷi* the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français* notes the following:—'brouillies, menu bois sec pour brûler.'

³ Other inscriptions read *naṇṇark-arum-aran*, 'whose fortifications were unapproachable.'

⁴ It seems more simple to take the first member of *sundara-muḍi* as an adjective, than to translate the compound by 'the crown of Sundara.'

⁵ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 95, note 1.

⁶ Compare *paṅgaḍ-iḷḷaṇḍōḷa*, *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 31, text line 7 f.

No. 32.—MAMBALLI PLATE OF SRIVALLAVANGODAI; KOLLAM 149.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., MADRAS.

The copper plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved, belongs to the Māmbaḷli bhaṇḍārattil of the Māmbaḷli *maṭha* and was secured for me for publication by Mr. S. Govinda Pillai, High Court Vakil, Trevandrum. Besides this plate, there are five other odd plates belonging to the same *maṭha*, which bear fragments of inscriptions of the Kīlappērūr¹ dynasty of the Vēṇāḍu kings. In one of them occurs the name Śrī-Vīra-Dēvadarāṇ-Kēraḷavarman of Kīlappērūr.²

The plate measures $10\frac{1}{3}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$ and has a hole on the left margin. It does not appear to have possessed a ring or seal. At the left end of the plate, the owner has engraved, in modern Malayāḷam characters, the word Māmbaḷli. Excepting this single word and a few Grantha letters interspersed in the document, the inscription is written in the Vatteḷuttu alphabet. The words *svastī* and *śrī* in line 1; the letter *śrī* occurring in the name Śrīvallaṅgōdai in lines 7, 18 and 19; *rakshī*³ and *rakshā*³ occurring in the words *rakshichchu* and *rakshābhōgam* in l. 12 are in Grantha characters. The consonant *k* retains the earlier form, without a loop at the bottom; this form differs from the later ones which are scarcely distinguishable from the symbol for *ch*. The letter *pū* (of *pūṅgū* in l. 3), whilst it has the common form in all other instances, looks like the Grantha letter *hru*. The language of the inscription is Tamil, tinged here and there with the colloquialisms of the Malabar Coast: e.g. *irunduruḷiy=ēḍattu vaichchu*, (=at the place where they were pleased to be seated), in l. 5; *paṭṭāra-gakkolḷa* for *paṭṭāragarkk=uḷḷa* (= belonging to the *bhaṭṭāra*) in lines 6 and 12; *ari* for *arisi* (= rice) in l. 9; *Muruṅṅaiyūr* for *Muruṅṅaiyūr* in l. 21; *Sāṇṇiran* for *Sāṅgaran* in l. 22; *rakshichchu* for *rakshittu* in l. 12. The phrase *nūṇḷichcheydu* is contracted in the modern Malayāḷam language into *nūṇaḷichche*.

This is the earliest known record dated in the Kollam era, and belongs to the reign of the Vēṇāḍu king Śrīvallaṅgōdai.³ It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era,

¹ Kīlappērūr is annexed as the house-name of the Vēṇāḍ (Travancore) princes in later inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 190). It is a village about 8 miles to the north-east of Ārringal, which is the hereditary domain of H. H. the Senior Rani of Travancore (Mr. Nagamāya's *Travancore Manual*, Vol. III. p. 579). The country round Ārringal seems to have been known as Kūpadēsa in ancient times. The late Mr. Sundaram Pillai was of opinion that Vēṇāḍu and Kūpadēsa were two distinct principalities and that the latter was at some stage of its history annexed by the rulers of the former. The Vēṇāḍu kings are said to have assumed the family name Kīlappērūr after this annexation.—V. Venkayya.]

² [This name occurs without the title *vīra* in a Vatteḷuttu inscription from Viraṇam in the Travancore State. The late Professor Sundaram Pillai has called the king Kēraḷavarman II. and assigned A.D. 1193 for his date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 283).—V. V.]

³ [In the name Śrīvallaṅgōdai *kōdai* was perhaps an epithet of the rulers of Vēṇāḍu. The first part of the name, i.e. Śrīvallaṅ (Śrīvallaḷa) may be that of the king to whom Vēṇāḍu was feudatory. Such a combination of names is frequently met with in Tamil inscriptions. If the name Śrīvallaṅgōdai be a similar compound, Śrīvallaṅ or Śrīvallaḷa might be the name of a Pāṇḍya king. The Pāṇḍya king, who probably reigned about this time, was Vīra-Pāṇḍya, with whom the Chōḷa Āditya II. is said to have fought in his youth. Vīra-Pāṇḍya himself claims to have taken "the head of the Chōḷa (king)", and a number of his inscriptions have been found at Śūchindram in South Travancore. But we have at present no reason to suppose that he bore the name Śrīvallaḷa, although the designation was common enough among the Pāṇḍyas. On the other hand, the Singhaḷa chronicle *Mahāvamsa* refers to an invasion of Ceylon in the period A.D. 975-991 by Vallabha, the Chōḷa king (Mr. Wijesimha's *Translation*, Chapter LIV, p. 85). It is, however, doubtful if the Chōḷas were powerful enough to undertake an expedition against Ceylon at the time of which we are now speaking. And as the chronology of the Singhaḷa chronicle is not beyond question, we cannot suppose that the ruler of Travancore mentioned in the Māmbaḷli plate was a Chōḷa feudatory. The history of the Chēras is very little known. Consequently it is uncertain to which dynasty the Śrīvallaḷa, whose feudatory the Vēṇāḍu ruler might have been in A.D. 973, belonged.—V. V.]

on a Sunday corresponding to the *Aśvati*-nakshatra in the month *Vṛiśchika* when the planet Jupiter stood in the constellation *Tulā*. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date:—"If the date were correctly recorded, it would correspond, for the year 149 of the Kollam era, to Sunday, the 9th November A.D. 973, which was the 15th day of the month of *Vṛiśchika*, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of *Mārgasīra* ended 11 h. 12 m., while] the *nakshatra* was *Rêvati* for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise, and *Aśvini* (*Aśvati*) for the rest of the day. On the same day Jupiter's mean longitude was $191^{\circ} 44'$, and his true longitude $195^{\circ} 27'$, i.e. in either case Jupiter was in the sign *Tulā*."

"The difficulty here is, that the day should have been described as the day of the *nakshatra* *Aśvini*, when this *nakshatra* only commenced 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and I have no doubt whatever that either *Aśvini* (*Aśvati*) has been quoted erroneously instead of *Rêvati*, or Sunday instead of Monday. If the week-day were Monday,¹ the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 10th November A.D. 973, the 16th day of *Vṛiśchika*, when the *nakshatra* was *Aśvini* (*Aśvati*) for 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise, and when Jupiter of course still was in the sign *Tulā*."

The inscription informs us that *Umaiyyammai* of *Tirukkalayapuram*, daughter of *Âdichchan*, set up a *bhaṭṭāra* (image) in the temple at *Ayurūr*. The king *Śrīvallavaṅgōdai* made a gift of land to *Umaiyyammai* for the purpose of keeping up the services of the *bhaṭṭāra* set up in the *Ayurūr* temple; and she, in her turn, made over the subject matter of the gift to the *Tirucheṅguṇṇūr* temple, in order that it might be placed under the management of the *Poduvāls* of that temple. From the produce of the land so given, the *Poduvāls* of the temple of *Tirucheṅguṇṇūr* had to supply to the temple daily 4 *nālis* of rice for daily offerings and annually 200 *paraīs* (of 9 *nālis* each) of paddy.² If the word *uḍai* used in l. 18 was really meant to be used in the sense of 'of or belonging to,' the inscription would warrant us to draw the conclusion that *Umaiyyammai* was a near relation of *Śrīvallavaṅgōdai*—either mother or wife. It would then be more probable to consider her as his wife than as his mother, as the passage *Śrīvallavaṅgōdaiy=uḍai Âdichchan=Umaiyyammai* means *Âdichchan Umaiyyammai belonging to Śrīvallavaṅgōdai*. She might perhaps be the daughter of the *Chōla* king *Âditya II*,³ to whose time this record belongs. If, on the other hand, *uḍai* be a mistake for *iḍai* then no sort of relationship need exist between the two.⁴

The inscription employs several peculiar terms which require some explanation each. The word *aṭṭippēru* (ll. 8 and 19) implies 'acquisition by the pouring of water.' This mode of acquisition differs from others, such as purchase, etc.⁵ The meaning of the expressions *kilīḍu* and *iḍaiy=iḍu* is not definitely known. *Kilī-ḍu* literally means 'that which is placed under,'⁶ and *iḍaiy=iḍu*, 'that which is placed in the middle.' A piece of land placed under the management of a person was perhaps called a *kilīḍu* with reference to that person. If this person sublet to a third party, the person subletting seems to be the *iḍaiy=iḍan*, i.e. he is the middle man between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant. It is in this sense that the passages of the inscription, in which these terms occur have been translated. The name *poduvāl* was given to a class of people who were eligible for service in temples. It has now

¹ [According to the Editor's footnote 4 on p. 236, the name of the week-day is engraved over an erasure.—F. K.]

² [See below, p. 238, note 3.—V. V.]

³ [The record may belong either to the reign of *Âditya II*. or of his successor *Madhurāntaka*. If *Umaiyyammai* was the daughter of the *Chōla* king *Âditya II*., it is difficult to understand why he is described as a native of *Tirukkalayapuram*. In all probability she was a private individual.—V. V.]

⁴ [See below, p. 238, note 10.—V. V.]

⁵ [See below, p. 237, note 12.—V. V.]

⁶ [Compare *Hultzsch, Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292.—V. V.]

become the name of a sub-caste among the Ambalavāsi section of the Malayālis. Then again, the word *ūrālan* is explained variously as a trustee of an endowed temple, *magistrat de la ville*, or a patron or founder of a temple. I believe it is used here in the first two meanings. The term *adlikāri* occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamil and Malayālam countries, and is used in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a division,'¹ and it is in this sense the term is used in line 23 of the present record. The phrase *mukkālvattam* implies, according to Dr. Gundert, a Bhagavati temple. If this be the sense in which it is employed in our inscription, then the *bhattāvara* set up by Umaiymamai might be taken to be Bhagavati. But its literal meaning, 'the three-fourths of a *vattam* (circuit or group of villages),' and the use of the *bhattāvara* instead of *bhattāvari* preclude the possibility of its being a Bhagavati temple in the present instance. How *mukkālvattam* came to mean a Bhagavati temple is not known. The meaning of the expressions *Śīrūrnaḍai* and *Śīrūrnaḍai-ttaṇḍam* is not clear. Hence they have been tentatively translated as "the custom obtaining in small towns" and "the fine levied in accordance with the custom obtaining in small towns."

The places mentioned in this inscription are:—Kollam, Tirukkalayapuram, Ayirūr, Tiruchcheṅṅunrūr, Iḍaiyāmaṇam, Muruñṇaiyūr, Maṇalmūkkū, Punalūr and Kuḍagōṭṭūr. Of these Kollam, Ayirūr and Tiruchcheṅṅunrūr are the modern Quilon, Ayirūr and Cheṅṅunrūr² (the head-quarters of the tāluka of the same name) in North Travancore. Iḍaiyāmaṇam might be identified with Eḍamaṇ, a station on the Maniyachi-Quilon branch of the South Indian Railway; and Punalūr is another station on the same line. I am not able to identify the rest.

TEXT.³

First Side.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kollan=dōṇṇi nūṇṇu-nāṇpattonbadām=āṇḍu Talu-
- 2 ttal Viyāla=niṇṇa Mirichchiga nāyirru [Nāyir=āṇḍa]*
- 3 Achchuvadi i-nnā[?]āl Kollattu=p[pū]ṇḡaviṇ kōyilu=ṇya-
- 4 riya koṭṭilul Tiruchcheṅṅunrūr=pparaḍai=pperu-makkaḷ kūtṭa-
- 5 n=gūḍi irundaruḷiy=ēḍattu⁵ vaichchu Tirukkalaiyapuratt=Ādichchaṇ=
- Umaiymamai
- 6 Aynurur=piradiṭṭai-śeyda paṭṭāragaraiyum paṭṭāragarkkoḷla⁶ pūmiyum
- Ādi-
- 7 chchaṇ=Umaiymaikka [nī]rōḍ=atti-kkoḍuttāṇ Vēṇāḍ=uḍaiya Śrīvallaṇḡōḍai
- [||*] Ādich-
- 8 chaṇ=Umaiymamai tāṇ=attirpēru koṇḍadu Tiruchcheṅṅunrūr=ppaṭṭāraga-
- 9 rkku=kkil-iḍāy=chchirrūr naḍaiy=ōḍu kūḍa nāṇāli=chchey[da]ri tiruva-
- mudi-
- 10 nukkum [o]ṇbadi=ṇāli=pparaiyāl irunūru parai=chche[y]du nel āṇḍu-
- 11 varai kuḍuppidāga=ppoḷuvāl kaiyyil nīrōḍ=atti=kkoḍuttāl [||*] Ayurūr
- mu-
- 12 kkāl-vattamum paṭṭārakkoḷla⁷ iḍaiy-iḍum rakshichchu koḍuttu rakshā-
- pōgaṇ=

¹ [The word *adhikārin* is also used in the sense of 'minister;'] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 92, and above Vol. VII. p. 196.—V. V.]

² [According to Mr. Nagamaya the village is called Chengannur (*Travancore Manual*, Vol. III. p. 591) and there is a large and famous pagoda dedicated to the goddess Bhagavati, in which there is celebrated annually a festival lasting for 28 days.—V. V.]

³ From the original copper plate.

⁴ This portion is engraved over an erasure.

⁵ Read *irundaruḷiy-iḍattu*.

⁶ Read *paṭṭāragarkkoḷla*.

⁷ Read *paṭṭāragarkkoḷla*.

First Side.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

Handwritten text in Tamil script, arranged in 14 horizontal lines. The script is dense and appears to be a form of classical or religious Tamil. There are some larger characters or symbols interspersed, particularly in the lower half of the page.

Second Side.

16 18 20 22 24 26

Handwritten text in Tamil script, arranged in 10 horizontal lines. The script is dense and appears to be a form of classical or religious Tamil. There are some larger characters or symbols interspersed, particularly in the lower half of the page.

STEN KONOW.

SCALE 0.80.

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

13 gollakkaḍaviyar poduvālmār [||*] i-ppariśu śeyda kīl-iṭṭil ūrālarāga i-
 14 ḍaiy-iḍarāga pukku vilakkavum poru! kavavavum peṇār [||*] ¹ idā[ṇṇāli]l-onru

Second Side.

15 śeyyumavaṇ ² jeppērru-vagai chchiṇṇūr-naḍai=ttaṇḍam irunūrru=kkaḷaṇṇu
 16 poṇ taṇḍa-ppaḍa-kkaḍaviyaṇ [||*] avaṇku³ pāḍu tāṅgumavaṇum ippari-
 17 śē taṇḍappaḍuvidu [||*] i-ppariśu mēṇ=chollappaṭṭa Ayurūr mukka-
 18 l-vattamum paṭṭāragarkk=olla⁴ iḍaiy-iḍuñ=Śrīvallavaṅgōḍaiy-uḍai-
 19 Âdichchaṇ=Umaiyaṇmai aṭṭi-ppēru koṇḍadu [||*] Śrīvallavaṅgōḍaiy-u-
 20 ḍaṇ=irukka=Tiruchcheṇṇuṇṇūr=ppaṭṭāragarkku kīl-iḍāga aṭṭiy=e-⁵
 21 ḍatt=aṇiyuñ=jādukkal Muruṇṇaiyūr=Ttēvam=Bavittiraṇ nāṇum=aṇi-
 22 vaṇ [||*] Iḍaiyāmaṇattu Śaṇṇaraṇ=Gaṇḍaṇ nāṇum=aṇivaṇ [||*] Maṇalmūkki[ṇ]
 23 Kaṇḍan=Dāmōḍaran nāṇum=aṇivaṇ [||*] Vēṇāṭṭirku adigāraṇ=jeygi-
 24 ṇṇa Puṇālūr(i) Iravi Parandavaṇ nāṇum=aṇivaṇ [||*] Kuḍagōṭṭūr=
 Pparan-
 25 davan=Gaṇḍaṇ nāṇum=aṇivaṇ [||*] ivai Tiruchcheṇṇuṇṇūr=ppoduvā-
 26 ! Śāt[ta]ṇ=Jaḍaiyaṇ=eluttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 7). Hail! Prosperity! In the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared, on a Sunday corresponding⁶ to the Achchuvadi (*aśvati-nakshatra*) in the month of Mirichchigam (Vriśchika), when Jupiter stood in Tulā—while⁷ the great men of the *paraḍai*⁸ (assembly) of Tiruchcheṇṇuṇṇūr were pleased to be assembled⁹ on this day in the high hall of the palace (situated) in the flower garden of Kollam, Śrīvallavaṅgōḍai, (the king) of Vēṇāḍu gave, by the pouring of water, to Âdichchaṇ-Umaiyaṇmai of Tirukkalayapuram, the *baṭṭārakar*¹⁰ set up by Âdichchaṇ-Umaiyaṇmai at Ayurūr, and the lands belonging to the *baṭṭārakar*.

(Ll. 8 to 11). Âdichchaṇ-Umaiyaṇmai gave, as *kīl-iḍu* to the *baṭṭārakar* of Tiruchcheṇṇuṇṇūr, by pouring water in the hands of the *poduvāḷ*,¹¹ what she acquired by gift,¹² so that (he)

¹ [The reading seems to be *id[ai] nāyil-onru*. If *nai* has to be taken as *nā* it would be quite different from the other *nās* which occur in the inscription and resemble the modern Tamil *nā*.—V. V.]

² [The reading seems to be *veṇṇērru*.—V. V.]

³ Read *avanukku*.

⁴ Read *paṭṭāragarkkuḷla*.

⁵ Read *aṭṭiyay-iḍattu*.

⁶ [The original has *Nāyir=āṇḍa Achchuvadi*, which would mean in Tamil 'the (*nakshatra*) *Aśvati* (*Aśvini*) which was governed by *Nāyiru* (the Sun).' If then the week-day be Sunday, *Nāyir=āṇḍa* would correspond to the modern *Nāyirālcha* and the word *ālcha* which Dr. Gundert derives from the root *āl* 'to sink' may, in that case, be derived from the root *āl* 'to rule'.—V. V.]

⁷ [The expression *iḍattu vaichchu* of the original seems to be used in the sense of the modern Malayalam *iḍattil veichchu* which appears to be almost synonymous with the Tamil *iḍattil*.—V. V.]

⁸ [The word *paraḍai* occurs also in the form *paraḍai* and is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *parishat*.—V. V.]

⁹ [The original has "were assembled and were pleased to be seated."—V. V.]

¹⁰ [It was evidently the image of the god that was made over to Âdichchaṇ Umaiyaṇmai; see below, p. 233. note 19.—V. V.]

¹¹ [According to Dr. Gundert, *poduvāḷ* means "a class of half-Brahmans, temple servants" and *agappoduvāḷ* with *pūnūḍi* officiate as priests and administrators of temple property.—V. V.]

¹² [*Aṭṭipēru* is evidently the same as *aṭṭipēru* which, according to Dr. Gundert, means "complete purchase of a free h'ld." Mr. Nagamaya defines the term as 'the out and out surrender of the jēmi's rights by sale (*Travancore Manual*, Vol. III, p. viii).—V. V.]

might supply, according to the rate current in small towns,¹ four *nīli* of rice² for (daily) offerings, and two hundred *parai* of paddy at nine *nīli* per *parai*, annually.³

(Ll. 11 to 13). The *poduvils* shall protect the *mukkāl-vaṭṭam*⁴ of Ayurūr and the *idaiyidu* of the *bhaṭṭāraka*, and take (a fraction of the produce) as remuneration for the protection (afforded).⁵

(Ll. 13 to 14). The *ūrilars* shall not enter as *idaiyidars* in the *kīlīdu* (which is the subject of) this transaction,⁷ and shall neither dismiss (the *kīlīdurs*) nor collect the rent.

(Ll. 14 to 16). He that reduces this to a fourth⁸ shall, consistently with the custom obtaining in small towns, be subject to the general fine of two hundred *kaḷañju* of gold.⁹

(Ll. 16 to 17). He that abets the former shall also be subject to a fine in the same way.

(Ll. 17 to 19). Both the *mukkālvaṭṭam* of Ayurūr and the *idaiyidu* belonging to the *bhaṭṭārakar*, mentioned above, are thus the acquisitions in gift of Âdichchan-Umaiymmai (of, or) related to Śrīvallavaṅgōdai.¹⁰

(Ll. 19 to 22). (The following are the signatures of) the *sīdhus* who were present at the time when Âdichchan-Umaiymmai, while she was with Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, made this gift of

¹ [I take *chirrūr-nadaiyōdu kūda* as meaning "together with the shrine at Śirūr." *Nadai* (*nada*) is used for 'temple' in South Malabar according to Dr. Gundert, and there is a temple at Quilon called Gaṇapatinadai meaning 'shrine or temple of Gaṇapati'—V. V.]

² [I would read in the original *chēvad=ari* (l. 9) and *chēvadu nel* (l. 10) and take *chēvadu nel* as equivalent to *senneḷ* which occurs in the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (above, p. 90) and which according to Winslow means "superior kind of rice, of a yellowish hue—as *śeṇjāli*."—V. V.]

³ [As the dative *tiruvamudipukkum* is used and as the purpose for which the 200 *parai* of paddy had to be supplied is not stated, it looks as if the paddy was to be converted into rice and used for offerings. In this case, there is something wrong in the calculation here made. At the rate of four *nīli* of rice per day the quantity required for a year or 360 days comes to 1,440 *nīli* of rice or 160 *para* according to the equivalent of the *para* given in line 10. How 160 *para* of rice can be obtained from 200 *para* of paddy it is difficult to understand. According to the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I, 2½ times the quantity of paddy was required to obtain a given measure of rice, and 3 times the quantity according to the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.—V. V.]

⁴ [The word *mukkālvaṭṭam* occurs in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman, where Professor Hultzsch has translated it by 'temple' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292). According to Dr. Gundert the term denotes in Travancore 'a temple of Koṅganinār.' An inscription at Tiruvāliśvaram near Ambāsamudram in the Tinnevely district mentions *Tiripuradāna* ('*dahanam*') *panṇina śevaganār tirumukkālvaṭṭam*, where *tirumukkālvaṭṭam* appears to mean 'the holy shrine' of the god Śiva (No. 120 of the A. A. Superintendent's collection for 1905).—V. V.]

⁵ [According to Dr. Gundert *rakṣā-bhōgam* is synonymous with *rāja-bhōgam*, which denotes the ruler's share. From certain Tellicherry records (1796-1799) it appears that this share amounted to one-fifth (of the revenue).—V. V.]

⁶ [The word *āga* here translated 'as' occurs in a similar context in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 290, text line 17). It is apparently synonymous with the Tamil *āvadu* or *āgilum* and the Malayālam *āgaṭṭē*.—V. V.]

⁷ [*I-ppariśu* means 'in this manner, thus.' I would translate the passage thus: "Neither the *ūrdālar* nor the *idaiyidars* shall be entitled to interfere and disturb the *kīlīdu* thus settled or to seize (any) property."—V. V.]

⁸ *I.e.* he who contributes to the dwindling of this charity.

⁹ [I would translate the passage as follows: "He who does any injury to this (contract) shall individually pay a fine of two hundred *kaḷañju* (to) the shrine at Śirūr." See notes 1 and 2 on p. 237 and note 1 above.—V. V.]

¹⁰ [Instead of *Ayurūr-pradiṭṭai tēyda paṭṭāragar* of line 6, we have here *Ayurūr mukkāl-vaṭṭam* which to a certain extent confirms the meaning 'shrine' of *mukkālvaṭṭam*. Instead of *paṭṭāragarkk=olla idaiyidu*, which denotes the interest which the Ayurūr shrine possessed in the land acquired by Âdichchan-Umaiymmai from Śrīvallavaṅgōdai. Consequently, the sentence repeats the statement made in lines 5 to 7 that Âdichchan-Umaiymmai had obtained the concession from Śrīvallavaṅgōdai. Accordingly, it seems to me that *Śrīvallavaṅgōdaiy=udai* at the end of l. 18 is a simple clerical mistake for *Śrīvallavaṅgōdaiy=idai*. If any such relationship as would be implied by the use of the word *udai* were intended, it would be more natural to expect it noted when Âdichchan-Umaiymmai is mentioned for the first time. Besides, it would be unusual for the mother or wife of Śrīvallavaṅgōdai to enter into a transaction of this nature with him.—V. V.]

British Museum inscription of Kanishka.



Scale .9

From an inked estampage.

E. Hultsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle - Saale.

land as *idaiyīḍu* to the *bhaṭṭārakar* of Tiruchcheṅṅūr:—¹ I, *Dēvam-Pavittiraṇ* of *Muruṇṇaiyūr*, also know;³

(L. 22). I, *Śāṇṇaran Kaṇḍaṇ* of *Idaiyāmaṇam*, also know;

(Ll. 22 to 23). I, *Kaṇḍaṇ Dāmōdaraṇ* of *Maṇalmūḱku*, also know;

(Ll. 23 to 24). I, *Iravi-Parandavaṇ*⁴ of *Pupālūr*, the *adhikārin* of *Vēṇāḍu*, also know;

(Ll. 24 to 25). I, *Parandavaṇ-Kaṇḍaṇ* of *Kuḍagōṭṭūr*, also know.

(Ll. 25 to 26). This is the writing of *Śāṭṭaṇ-Śaḍaiyaṇ*, the *poduvāl* of Tiruchcheṅṅūr.

No. 33.—THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D., ROSTOCK.

I.—BRITISH MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KAṆISHKA.

On the occasion of a visit to the British Museum in the autumn of 1906, I discovered in one of the cases of the Northern Gallery the stone bearing the subjoined inscription, which, as far as I know, has never been published before. At my request impressions were taken, from which I have prepared the transcript. Subsequently Dr. Fleet kindly sent me the photograph of the stone reproduced in the accompanying plate.

Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language and the date of the inscription prove that it comes from Northern India.

The sculpture at the top of the stone represents a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The woman to the left, wearing a loin-cloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the ankles and in the lobes of the ear, rests her left elbow on the knee of her left leg which she has placed on the top of the bench, and turns her laughing face to the spectator. The male person also is wearing a necklace, bracelets, ear-drops, and a *dhōti* covering the knees. He is sitting astride, and with the right hand he touches, or points to, a sort of stand placed between the two persons on the bench and bearing what would seem to be a cushion adorned by three small square marks and supporting some bell-shaped object. Right over the head of the man there appears something which at first sight looks almost like a club, but which in my opinion probably is the mutilated head of a cobra. As the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the female person, it is quite possible that her head also was overshadowed by a similar representation of a serpent's head, and it seems to me very probable therefore that the sculpture represents a *Nāga* and his wife.

The writing is Brāhmī of the earlier Kushaṇa type. The subscript *ya* is expressed by the full sign, and the *sha* shows the old form with the small cross-bar. The language is the usual mixed dialect. The inscription, which is dated in the tenth year of mahārāja dēvaputra Kaṇishka, records the gift of a temple. Details will be discussed below.

¹ [In the original the name *Ādichchaṇ-Umaiymmai* is not repeated as it is represented in the translation. It looks as if *Śrīvallavaṅḱḱai* was seated with the members of the assembly of Tiruchcheṅṅūr in the palace at Kollam (ll. 4-5) while making the gift to *Ādichchaṇ Umaiymmai*. Accordingly I would translate this sentence as follows:—“(The following are) the *śiddhus* who know (the transaction entered into) at the place at which (*Ādichchaṇ Umaiymmai*)—while *Śrīvallavaṅḱḱai* was sitting with (the assembly ?) — granted the *ktīḱḱa* (of the land ?) to the lord (*bhaṭṭāraka*) of Tiruchcheṅṅūr.” The same fact is referred to in lines 8 and 9.— V. V.]

² [The name of the man was apparently *Dēvaṇ Pavittiraṇ*.— V. V.]

³ I.e. the terms of this transaction and bear witness to the same.

⁴ [Parandavaṇ is apparently a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *Parāmtapa*.— V. V.]

TEXT.

- 1 Siddha[m]¹ maharājasya dēva[patrasya]²
 2 Kāṇishkasya savatsarē [10]³
 3 gri 2 di 9 ētayē purvay[ē]⁴
 4 [u]tarāyam⁵ na[va]rīkāyam⁶ [h]ā-
 5 [rmya]n=[d]ata[n]⁷ priyatām dēvi⁸ grā[masya].⁹

REMARKS.

1 The *anusvāra* is indistinct because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture. — 2 The reading of the bracketed characters is certain, though the surface of the stone has peeled off at the corner. — 3 This figure also has suffered from the peeling off of the surface, but the reading is beyond doubt. — 4 The *ē* is very indistinct, and the correct reading may possibly be *purvaya* or *purvayam*. — 5 At first sight one might feel inclined to read *natarāyam*, but the base-line of the first letter is quite straight, whereas *na* has a distinctly curved base. I feel therefore sure that what appears to be the continuation of the base-line to the left, is merely due to a flaw in the stone. — 6 The two convergent side-lines of the *va* are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look almost like *na*. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental. — 7 The bracketed letters of these two words are more or less damaged, but the reading seems to be sure. — 8 The *ē*-stroke is added to the top of the letter, whereas in *dē* in the first line it is added in the middle. — 9 The last two letters are damaged, but only the *ya* can be said to be conjectural.

TRANSLATION.

Success ! In the year 10 of the *mahārāja dēvaputra Kāṇishka*, in the second (*month of*) summer, on the ninth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above a temple was given in the northern *navamikhā* (?). May the goddess of the village be pleased !

NOTES.

The orthography of the inscription is very irregular, double consonants, long vowels and the *anusvāra* being frequently not expressed in writing. A long *ā* appears in the word *hārmya*. According to the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* the same form is found also in the *Taitt. Ār.* VI, 6, 2 instead of the ordinary *harmya* occurring in the corresponding verse in *Atharvav.* XVIII, 4, 55. In *hārmyan=datam* the final *m* is converted into the nasal before the following mute, which is rare in inscriptions in this dialect. Another instance is found in the concluding words of the Mathurā inscription, above Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8: *prīyatām=bhagavān=Rishabhaśrīh*, which at the same time help us to understand the phrase found at the end of the present record: *prīyatām dēvi grāmasya*.

Of greater interest is the spelling of the king's name, *Kāṇishka*, with a long vowel in the first syllable and a lingual *n*. With regard to the latter point, the seven Brāhmī inscriptions that have preserved the name are in perfect agreement.¹ In the Kharōshthī inscriptions of Suē Vihār² and Zeda³ the name is read as *Kanishka*, in that of Manikyāla as *Kaneshka*,⁴ but I am by no means sure whether in the two last mentioned inscriptions the readings *Kanishka* and

¹ Mathurā inscr. of S. 5, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 34 ff., No. 4; Mathurā inscr. of S. 7, above Vol. I. p. 391, No. 19; Mathurā inscr. of S. 9, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 173, No. 2, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 37, No. 6; Mathurā inscr., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 149, No. 25; Sāmāth inscr. of S. 3, above Vol. VIII. p. 176, No. 34; Sāmāth inscr. of S. 3, above Vol. III. p. 179, No. 34.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 326.

³ *Journ. As. Ser.* VIII. Vol. XV. p. 137.

⁴ *Journ. As. Ser.* IX. Vol. VII. p. 8.



F. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner

From a photograph supplied by Dr. Fleet.

Kaṇeshka would not be preferable. On the whole, contemporary records certainly are in favour of the spelling with the lingual *n*, and I would therefore propose to use *Kaṇishka* as the common form of the name. The spelling with the long vowel in the first syllable as in the present inscription is unusual, but it does not stand quite alone. In the Sârṇāth inscription, No. 3^a, the editor, it is true, reads *Kaṇishkasya*, but the photo-lithograph¹ distinctly shows *Kiṇishkasya*.

Turning to the special object of the inscription, we may infer from the concluding words that the temple was dedicated to a goddess, and the representation of the two Nāgas above the inscription makes it not unlikely, I think, that the goddess intended was a Nāgī. That during the Kushāṇa period there existed temples for the worship of serpents in Northern India, is well attested by the two Mathurā inscription² which mention the temple (*st[h]ina*) of the *nāgēndra* Dadhikarṇa and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhikarṇa (*Dadhikarṇad.vikulika*).

The most difficult words of the inscription are *utarāyaṃ navamikāyaṃ*. I have thought for some time that they might be part of the date and mean 'on the following (i.e. intercalated) ninth (lunar day)', but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after *ētaṃ purayē*, and secondly, as Professor Kielhorn informs me, *uttara* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dvitīya*.³ The words must therefore be connected with *hīrmyan=datam*, and as a form ending in *-āyaṃ* can hardly be anything else but the locative singular of a stem in *ā*; *utarānavamikā* would seem to denote either the locality where the temple was erected or, possibly, the goddess to whom it was dedicated. However, these explanations are far from satisfactory. Neither has *navamikā* the appearance of being the name of a locality, nor does *utarānavamikā* in the least sound like the name of a goddess or a Nāgī. I am at present unable to solve this difficulty.

II.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION, DATED SĀMVAT 74.

This inscription is engraved on a stone-slab discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. It was first edited in 1870, together with facsimiles, by Rajendralala Mitra in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129. No. 15, and by Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183. No. 4. In 1873 Cunningham published it again with a facsimile in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 8, and in 1904 I have treated it myself in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 106, No. 20. I edit it here again for a special reason. When I was in Oxford in 1905, Professor Hoernle kindly made over to me the collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which was to contain the 'Indo-Scythic' inscriptions. In this collection there is also the impression which I have used for the present edition. It cannot be said to be first-rate and, as unfortunately most of the impressions of this collection, it has been tampered with in some places by pencilling out parts of letters that in the impression itself are more or less effaced. Nevertheless the impression is of the greatest value as shown by the following note written on the margin, probably by General Cunningham himself: 'The only impression now available.—The stone has been lost at Agra.' Under these circumstances it seemed to me desirable to publish the accompanying reproduction of the impression, which in spite of its shortcomings naturally is far superior to the drawings published hitherto. Professor Hoernle's collection contains besides two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watiss, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China-ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of no value.

¹ [I have some weeks ago examined the original and the *ā* is quite certain.—S. K.]

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102, No. 13.

³ Professor Hultzsch writes to me that he is never less inclined to connect *utarāyaṃ navamikāyaṃ* with the date, but he would take *uttara* in the sense of *uchyamāna*, *ugari-likhita*, 'above-mentioned.'

The inscription is divided by a blank space into two parts. The upper portion, containing eight lines, is complete with the exception of some letters at the end of the first two lines, which have disappeared by the breaking off of the right corner of the stone. Of the lower portion which in Dowson's and Cunningham's facsimiles has been omitted altogether, nothing is left but faint traces of some characters in the first line. The characters are Brāhmī of the Kushaṇa type. The *sha* appears in the older form with the small cross-bar, but the subscript *ya* shows the cursive form. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is dated in the year 74 of a mahārāja rā[jātirāja] dēvaputra whose name began with Vāsu, but owing to its fragmentary state its real purport cannot be made out.

TEXT. ✓

- 1 Mahārajasya¹ r[ā].....²
- 2 sya dēvaputrasya Vāsu....³
- 3 savatsarē⁴ 70⁵ 4 varsham[ā]-⁶
- 4 sē prathamē divasē
- 5 tris[ā]⁷ 30 asya⁸ purvva⁹
- 6 Talakiy[ā]¹⁰ mahadāṇḍa-
- 7 nāyakasya¹¹ Vā-
- 8 linas[ya]¹² k[shā]t[rā]¹³ Mihi-
- 9 [mahadāṇḍa]¹⁴.

REMARKS.

1 The *ā*-stroke is distinctly visible in the impression, although it does not appear in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—2 The *ā*-stroke is uncertain. Restore *rājātirāja*.—3 The *ā*-stroke is quite distinct, though here again it is omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. As regards the restoring of the line, I refer to the remarks below.—4 The *ā*-stroke, omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy, is quite distinct.—5 Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration. There can be no doubt that the symbol had the shape of a plain St. Andrew's cross, just as in other inscriptions. The lower right cross-bar also has been pencilled over in the impression, but this is of no consequence as it is perfectly distinct. The meaning of the symbol will be discussed below.—6 The upper portion of the *m* and the *ā* are not quite distinct.—7 The *ē*-stroke is indistinct, and the *śa* has suffered from a hole in the paper.—8 The apparent curving of the tail of the *a* has been caused by pencilling. In Capt. Watts' eye-copy the tail is quite straight.—9 Above the *pu* there is a distinct stroke which must be accidental.—10 There are some strokes behind and below the *ta*, but they are not noticed in Capt. Watts' eye-copy and may be accidental. The *ā*-stroke is not very distinct, and the reading *Talakiya* would be possible.—11 Capt. Watts expressly states that there are no traces of letters before the *nā* of line 7 and the *li* of line 8. The *nā* has been pencilled over so as to look almost like *sā*, but there can be no doubt that it is *nā*, and as such it appears also in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—12 The *ya* is damaged, but certain.—13 The *ksh* of the first and the *r* of the second syllable are damaged, but certain. The *ā* of *kshā* is very faint and not given in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. The last syllable may also be *trā* as in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—14 Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression, and the reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts' eye-copy. Instead of *da* Capt. Watts gives *dā*.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 74 of the mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra Vāsu....., in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirtieth day, 30,—on that (date specified as) above, in the field (?) of the great general Vāliṇa at Talakiya (or Talakī?) Mihi.....

2

4

6

8



NOTES.

The orthography shows the usual features. The lengthening of the vowel in *dāṇḍa* appears again in the same word in the Sst-Mahet inscription, above Vol. VIII, p. 181, and we may further compare such forms as *āntēvāsisa* and *āntēvāsiniyē* in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 198 f., Nos. 1 and 4.

As regards the date, the first symbol of the date of the year requires a fuller consideration, as it has been differently interpreted. As already stated above, it has the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. Cunningham¹ originally read it as 40, and he was followed by Dowson, who in editing the Mathurā inscriptions everywhere adopted Cunningham's readings of the dates.² In 1891 Bühler expressed his belief that the sign really represented 70,³ and this opinion was endorsed in the following year by Cunningham in his paper on the coins of the Kushaṇas in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. III. Vol. XII. p. 50, note 6.

I accordingly read the symbol as 70 when I published the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, and I am still convinced that Bühler was right, but in order to settle this question definitely, it will be necessary to examine the other Northern Brāhmī inscriptions where the same sign occurs. They are the following seven, all of which come from Mathurā or its neighbourhood :—

(1) Mathurā inscription of the time of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2, and Plate. In the *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177, Bühler read the symbol as 40, adding 70 in brackets. In the *Ep. Ind.*, *loc. cit.*, Bühler again gave 40 in the text, but added in a note that the symbol might possibly be 70. And lastly in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 55, note 2, he stated that he would now remove the alternative reading 42, which he had thought admissible at first.

(2) Kāman inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212, No. 42, and Plate. Here Bühler rendered the sign by 70 in the text, but added in a footnote that it might also be read as 40.

(3) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 17, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 5, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 11, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102.

(4) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 1, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 182, No. 1, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have adopted this reading in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 11.

(5) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 2, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 2, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 13, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102, No. 13.

(6) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 18, and Plate. The facsimile is very poor. In the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 12, I have read the sign as 40, but I have pointed out also that the inscription is possibly identical with that referred to under No. 3.

(7) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 184, No. 7, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 14, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40.

¹ The absurd opinions of Rajendralala Mitra may be passed over in silence.

² Compare Cunningham's remarks, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 194.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 373, note 7.

It thus appears that the symbol has hitherto been treated sometimes as 40 and sometimes as 70, but it will be readily conceded, I think, that it is impossible to assign two different values to the same sign in inscriptions of the same locality and the same period. But before we can decide which of the two interpretations is the correct one, we shall have to examine also the other symbols supposed to represent either 40 or 70 in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India. The following inscriptions, which for convenience sake I number in continuation of the list given above, must be taken into consideration :—

(8) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huviksha, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 9, and Plate. The symbol resembles the ligature *pta* and was read by Bühler as 40.

(9) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 10, and Plate. The general appearance of the symbol is the same as in No. 8, but its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph. Bühler read the sign as 40.

(10) Mathurā inscription, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 10, and Plate; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 396, No. 30, and Plate. The symbol generally has the same form as that in No. 8, but its lower part is a little more cursive. Cunningham and Bühler read it as 40.

(11) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huvishka, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 15, and Plate. The symbol is the same as in No. 8. Cunningham read it as 40, and I have followed him in my treatment of the record in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 103, No. 14.

(12) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 20, and Plate; p. 321, and Plate. The upper part of the symbol is the same as in Nos. 8–11, but its lower part is a distinct loop. Bühler read the sign as 70.

(13) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 337, No. 11, and Plate. As Bühler expressly states in a footnote that the symbol is a plain *pta*, it may have been so in the impression before him. In the photo-lithograph, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance to that sign, but looks exactly like the letter *bra*. Bühler read the symbol as 40.

(14) Sāūchi inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra* Shāhi Vāsashka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 369 f., and Plate. The symbol found here has quite a peculiar shape. Provided that the vertical standing behind it does not belong to it, but is part of the following sign for 8, it resembles the usual sign for 20. As such it was read also at first by Bühler, but at Cunningham's suggestion he afterwards took it to be 70. The reading of the sign was then discussed at length by Dr. Fleet in a paper in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 326 ff., and he came to the conclusion that it was 20. But later on, when Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, p. 238, had suggested that the symbol might be read as 60, Dr. Fleet admitted the possibility of this interpretation; see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 357.¹

Leaving aside for the present the symbols found in the last three inscriptions, it appears that there are two symbols, the St. Andrew's cross and the *pta*, one of which must represent 70 and the other 40. Now in the inscription which forms the subject of this paper the St. Andrew's cross cannot represent 40, as in that case the inscription would be dated in the year 44 in the reign of a king whose name begins with Vāsu, whereas we know that from 33–60 Huvishka was the reigning monarch in this part of the country. Here, therefore, the St. Andrew's cross must represent 70, and we must accordingly assign the same value to the symbol also in the inscriptions enumerated above under Nos. 1–7. We thus get the dates S. 72 for No. 1, S. 74 for

¹ Another sign that originally was read 40 by Bühler, is found in the Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra* Huvashka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate. Later on Bühler declared that on further consideration he read the symbol as 60, and as such it has been treated since then everywhere; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, note 61.

No. 2, and S. 77 for Nos. 3-7. The inscriptions themselves contain nothing to contradict this result. No. 4, it is true, mentions the *mahārāja vijātirāja śaṅputra* Huvishka, but not in connection with the date, the inscription simply recording a gift to the *vihāra* of that king. As to the date S. 72 for the *mahākshatrapa* Śoṭāsa, I refer to the remarks of Dr. Fleet in the *Journ. As. Soc.* 1907, p. 1024 ff.

If the St. Andrew's cross represents 70, the sign resembling *pta* must be 40. The inscription No. 8, therefore, would be dated in S. 44. No. 9 in S. 45, No. 10 in S. 47, and No. 11 in S. 48, which is in accordance with the statements of Nos. 8 and 11 that their dates fall into the reign of Huviksha or Huvishka.

The symbol occurring in No. 12 undoubtedly differs from either of the two symbols found in Nos. 1-11, but whereas it bears no resemblance whatever to the cross-shaped sign, it is easily intelligible as a cursive development of the *pta* sign.¹ In my opinion therefore this sign also must be taken as 40, and the inscription as being dated in S. 49, not S. 79. There is another point in favour of this interpretation. The inscription records a gift made at the request of the venerable Vṛiddhahasti (*Vṛidhahastin*), a preacher in the *Koṭṭaya* (*Koṭṭimāyana*, the *Vairā* (*Vairi*) *śīlhi*). There is another Mathurā inscription dated in S. 60,² recording a gift made at the request of the *gani*, the venerable Kharuṇa, a pupil of this same Vṛiddhahastin. If Vṛiddhahastin in S. 60 had a pupil who had acquired the dignity of *gani*, he must have been a man advanced in years at that time, and although, of course, it is not impossible that he was still alive in S. 79, it would certainly seem more natural to find him as a spiritual adviser in S. 49 and his pupil in the same capacity eleven years later on, in S. 60.

Little can be said about the symbol occurring in No. 13. The form appearing in the photograph is quite peculiar and unlike any other symbol in the inscriptions from Mathurā or elsewhere, but in accordance with Bühler's statement, it may be provisionally taken as 40.

As regards the symbol in No. 14, I agree with Dr. Fleet that there is no reason whatever why it should be 70, as even the sign in No. 12, which Bühler cited in support of this interpretation, is to be read not 70, but 40. On the other hand, I feel sure that it is not 20. I have lately received through Dr. Konow impressions of an inscription running round the base of a pillar preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription, which is in Brāhmī characters of the Kushāpa type, is partly worn, but the date is quite distinct. Now the sign for the tens in the date of the year is the same as that in the Sāūchi inscription, showing again the vertical, which is thus proved to be an integral part of it and not to belong to the following sign. And although unfortunately the text of the inscription contains nothing that would enable us to form a positive opinion on the value of the symbol, we may safely assert that it cannot be 20, as we find this number expressed by the usual sign in the date of the day. Lastly also the proposal to treat the symbol as 60 cannot be said to be convincing, the sign that has hitherto been read as 60 in the inscriptions of the Kushāpa period³ certainly being entirely different. I do not want to offer a new hypothesis. In my opinion we shall have to wait for fresh materials before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory result in this question. In how far the restoring of the king's name in our inscription of S. 74 is influenced by this uncertainty, will be shown below.

I know that the results arrived at above are partly not in harmony with those deduced from the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The numeral signs occurring in the legends of those coins are given in table IX, col. V, of Bühler's *Indische Paläographie* from Professor Rapson's table in

¹ Perhaps the symbol found in No. 9 forms the intermediate stage between the *pta* and the looped sign. As I have stated above, its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph, but it does not seem to me impossible that here also it consists not of the usual fork, but of a loop, though a much smaller one than in No. 12.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate; Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. XX. p. 37, and Plate V, fig. 6.

the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, Plate to p. 689. Here the St. Andrew's cross has been entered as 40, and a sign much resembling the *pta* and another looped sign almost exactly like that of No. 12 as 70. I do not wish to throw any doubts on the correctness of these readings, but I contend that for such questions inscriptions must be treated separately according to time and locality.

Rajendralala Mitra, Dowson and Cunningham agreed in restoring the name of the king as *Vīśu Vāsya*. When I edited the inscription from the facsimiles published by my predecessors, I drew attention to the circumstance that the available space is hardly sufficient for the three *alsharas dhasya*, and I proposed to restore the name as *Vāsushkasya*, as this name of the king seemed to be attested by two other inscriptions of S. 76 and S. 78,¹ whereas the first undoubted record of Vāsudēva's reign was dated in S. 80. What I said about the difficulty of supplying three syllables is confirmed by the impression now before me, although owing to the frequent irregularity of the writing in these inscriptions it is impossible to speak on this point with absolute certainty. But the evidence for the existence of a king Vāsushka in S. 76 and S. 78 is not so strong as it seemed to be formerly. As I have tried to show above, the date of the Sāñchi inscription mentioning a king Vāsashka² is quite uncertain, and the Mathurā inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S. 76 and recording repairs in the reign of Vāsushka has not yet been published. As Dr. Konow informs me, it cannot even be found now, Führer's trenches having been filled up again a long time ago and the exact spot where the inscription was found being no more known. Under these circumstances a decision is of course impossible for the present. If Führer's statement after all should prove correct, I should unhesitatingly restore *Vīśu* to *Vāsushkasya*, otherwise the reading *Vāsudhasya* will have to be accepted.

The rest of the inscription calls for few remarks. *Talakiya* or *Talaki* seems to be the name of a locality, but I am unable to identify it. The title *mahādandanīyaka* is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and later times. In the Kushāṇa inscriptions it has not yet been found before, but the subordinate title of *dandanīyaka* occurs in the Manikyāla inscription,³ where the correct reading in l. 2 is, not *Laladoda-nayago*, but *Lala-dadanayago*.

III.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚONḌĀSA.

This inscription was first published, together with a facsimile, in 1870 by Professor Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 188, No. 29. In 1873 it was published again with a facsimile by Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 30, No. 1. And in 1904 I have tried to edit the text from those two facsimiles in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 149, No. 24. For the present edition of the record I have made use of an impression found in Professor Hoernle's collection described above.

Cunningham states that the stone bearing the inscription was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. According to Dowson, it has been cut through and the first part of it has been carried off. On the other hand, the facsimiles distinctly showed that something was missing at the right end, and thus I was led to suppose that the stone was damaged on both sides. This, however, is not the case. Nothing is missing at the beginning of the writing on the left, and on the right also only one letter has been cut off at the end of the first two lines. With this exception the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

¹ Mathurā inscription of S. 76, mentioned by Führer, *Progress Report* for 1895-96; Sāñchi inscription of S. 78, edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 369 f.

² This is the reading suggested by Dr. Fleet, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 326, but he is himself inclined to look upon this form as a mere variant of Vāsushka, if the existence of such a name should be proved; see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 357 f.

³ *Journ. As. Ser.* IX. Vol. VII. p. 8 f.

The characters are of the so-called archaic type of the Mathurā inscriptions; see especially the letters *da*, *sa* and *sha*, and the subscript *ya*. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is not dated. It records various gifts of a Brahman of the Śēgrava (Śaigraṇa) gōtra, the treasurer of *svāmin mahākshatrapa* Śōṇḍāsa. For details I refer to the remarks below.

TEXT.

1 Svāmisya mahākshatrapasya Śōṇḍāsasya¹ gaṃjavarēṇa brāhmaṇēna Śēgrava-sagōtrēṇa [p]...².

2 rāpi imāshām yamaḍa-pushkaraṇinām paśchimā pushkarāpi udapānō ārāmō³ stambhō i...

3 [śilā]patṭō⁴ cha-

REMARKS.

1 As to the reading of this name see the remarks below.—2 Little is left of the *pa*, but the reading is certain. Restore *pushka*-. —3 The outlines of the letters *ni udapānō ārāmō* are more or less touched up with pencil, but the reading is perfectly certain.—4 The reading *śilā* is certain, although the letters are entirely spoiled by being gone over with pencil.

TRANSLATION.

By the treasurer of the lord, the *mahākshatrapa* Śōṇḍāsa, a Brāhmaṇ of the Śēgrava (Śaigraṇa) gōtra, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and this stone-slab (*was caused to be made*).

NOTES.

As regards the language, the most interesting form is *imāshām*. Apparently in the dialect of Mathurā the genitives plur. of the pronoun were, as in Pāli, *imēsam* and *imāsam*, and the author of the inscription translated the latter form into *imāshām* as he was wont to render *imēsam* by *imāshām*. The nominative sing. masc. of the same pronoun is found at the end of line 2, but unfortunately nothing is left of it but the initial *i*. The word *pushkarāpi* shows in the third syllable the vocalisation of the Pāli *poṭṭharāpi*. *Yamaḍa* corresponds to Skt. *yamala* or *yamaḷa*, as the word would be written in Southern manuscripts. The construction of the inscription is rather peculiar, the verb or participle on which the instrumentals *brāhmaṇēna*, etc., depend, being omitted.

The first point to command attention is the name of the *mahākshatrapa*, which is generally supposed to be Śōḍāsa. In the present inscription there is a distinct sign above the *so*. It must have been found also in the impressions used by Dowson and Cunningham, as the former reads *Śāṇḍāsasya* (for *Śāṇḍāsasya*) and the latter *Sauḍāsasya* (for *Śāṇḍāsasya*), although the facsimiles show no trace whatever of *anusvāra* or *au*. The sign cannot be the stroke denoting *au*, as it does not touch the upper line of the *so*, but is separated from it by a distinct blank space. It can only be an *anusvāra* of the same bulky shape as that in *gaṃjavarēṇa* and in *pushkarāṇinām*.

The form Śōṇḍāsa has not yet been recognised anywhere else. In the second Brāhmī inscription at Mathurā mentioning this *mahākshatrapa*¹ Bühler read *Śoḍāsasa*, but the photograph by no means excludes the reading *Śōṇḍāsasa*. Right above the *so* there is a white spot scarcely less distinct than that above the *ma* of *hāmāntamāsā* which Bühler read as *anusvāra*. In the Mathurā lion-capital inscription² Mr. Thomas reads the name as *Suḍasa* and *Suḍisa*, and with regard to coins, Professor Rapson has stated in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 289, note 3, that whenever the name is legible, the first *akṣhara* seems to be *so*, and that the alternative forms *Su*^o and *Sau*^o, given by Bhagvaulal and Cunningham respectively, cannot be

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2.

² *Abore*, Vol. IX. pp. 143, 144.

certainly read on any of the specimens of the British Museum. But even if a re-examination should prove the readings *Śoḍāsa* and *Suḍāsa* to be correct, this would not invalidate the reading of the present inscription. Everybody familiar with the records of this period knows how often an *anuvāsa* is omitted in writing, and that on that account the reading *Śomḍāsa*, even if found once only, carries more weight than the reading *Śoḍāsa* occurring ten times. In my opinion therefore *Śomḍāsa* must be accepted as the general form of the name.

Scarcely less interesting is the designation of the donor. Dowson and Cunningham read *gaṇjavarāma*, and Bühler, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177, proposed to alter the unintelligible syllables *gaṇja* into *rajā*, 'during the reign.' The new reading *gaṇjavarāma* shows that *gaṇjavarā*, 'treasurer,' which hitherto was known only from the *Rājatarāṅginī* V, 177 and Kshêmaṇdra's *Lōṭaprahāsa*, was an official title in India already in much earlier times. As recognised by Benfey,¹ *gaṇjavarā* is the Persian *ganjivar*, and the use of this title is a new proof of the strong Parthian influence that made itself felt in Northern India from the time of Aśoka to the beginning of the Gupta empire.²

The donor calls himself by his *gōtra* name *Śēgrava*, which in correct Sanskrit would be *Śaigra*. According to the *Gṛhapṛstha* the *Śaigra* *gōtra* is referred to by Pāṇini in II, 4, 67 and IV, 1, 104. I have also no doubt that Professor Kern is right in identifying *Śaigra* with Pāli *Siggava*,³ the name of the patriarch who conferred the *upasaṃpadā* ordination on the great Tissa Moggaliputta.⁴

NO. 34.—PATHARI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PARABALA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 917.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÜTTINGEN.⁵

Pathārī in Long 73° 15' and Lat. 23° 53', is the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Bhopāl Agency of Central India.⁶ Its antiquities were first described, in 1848, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, in the *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 305 ff. After stating that the locality of which he is treating includes two good-sized reservoirs or lakes, and that the present town of Pathārī and the smaller lake are distinguished by a single pillar and a solitary temple, Captain Cunningham on page 310 proceeds thus:— 'Near to the western edge of the smaller lake stands the wand or pillar, now called of Bheem Sen. It is composed of a single block about 36 feet in height and 2½ thick. The shaft is square in section for a height of 8 feet, and it then becomes circular On one side of the square portion of the shaft there is a long inscription, much obliterated, and of which I failed to make even a tolerable impression.'

The pillar and its inscription were again noticed in 1880, by General Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X, p. 70, thus:— 'Inside the town, on the top of the slope, there is a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital. The shaft is circular, rising from a base 8 feet

¹ See the *St. Petersburg Dictionary s. r.*

² In the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 239 ff., Professor Rapson has described a coin that shows a general similarity to those of *Śoḍāsa*. With the exception of the first three *akṣaras* the inscription is not quite certain. Professor Rapson reads: *brāhmaṇīna go(?)dā va(?)-ka(?) na*. Would it be too bold to conjecture that the *brāhmaṇa* mentioned here may have some connection with the *brāhmaṇa* Śaigra, the *gaṇjavarā* of *Śoḍāsa*, and that the reading must be altered accordingly?

³ *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indie*, Vol. II, p. 266.

⁴ See *Dīpa*, V, 57; 69, etc.

⁵ [The proofs of this and all subsequent papers by the late Professor Kielhorn have been read by me.—S. K.]

⁶ Constable's *Hand Atlas of India* Plate 27 D a.

3 inches high and 2 feet 9 inches square. On the northern face there is a long inscription of 38 lines of small letters. It opens with an invocation to Lakshmî-Nârâyana,¹ but the greater part of the record is so much worn as to be quite illegible. Many of the letters here and there are in good order, and from their shapes I would assign the monument to somewhere about A.D. 600. Close by this pillar there is a small temple, with Vishnu sitting on Garuda over the door-way.'

In October 1894 I received from Professor Hultzsch two impressions of the inscription, prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle; and an excellent photograph² of it, taken by the same gentleman, was given to me two or three years afterwards by Dr. Fleet. From these materials I have already published a short account of the contents of the inscription and the tentative text of nine verses of it, in the *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* for 1901, Part I. p. 519 ff. A repeated examination of the same materials now enables me to place before the reader, with some confidence, by far the greater part of this record, which, though troublesome to read, is not so illegible as it may have seemed to be on the original stone.

The inscription contains 38 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2 feet broad by 2 feet 7 inches high. It has certainly suffered greatly from exposure to the weather, especially in the middle and at the end of the lines all the way down, and for nearly the whole length of the last seven lines. But fortunately³ all proper names of importance may be read with absolute certainty, at any rate all those that occur in lines 1—31; and the same remark applies to the date of the inscription at the end of line 31. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in the topmost lines, but less in the lower part down to line 31, while it is somewhat larger again in lines 32—33. The inscription was written and engraved with great care and skill. The characters belong to the northern alphabet such as, speaking generally, we find it *e.g.* in the Gwalior inscription of the reign of Bhôjadêva of the [Vikrama] year 933, published with a facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 153 f. With our present knowledge of Indian epigraphy, we should assign them at once to about the 9th century A.D. They include the rare sign for *jh*, which has not come out well either in the impressions or in the photograph, in the word *jhaṭiti* towards the end of line 15. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The text is remarkably correct, and in respect of orthography the only points worth noticing here are that the sign for *v* is used for both *v* and *b*, and that the words *aṁsa* and *dhvaṁsa* are written *ans* and *dhvansa*, in lines 2 and 8.

The inscription consists of two parts. The first (and chief) part comprises lines 1—31, the second lines 32—38. This second part appears to be really a separate inscription, added by way of a postscript, which may record the installation of an image of Vishnu, but the exact purpose of which, owing to the damaged condition of lines 32—38, I have not been able to ascertain. What I may state with confidence is that, after the words *ôṁ namaḥ* at the commencement of line 32, there are five verses, two in the Sragdharâ metre, one in the Vasantatilakâ metre, one in the Upajâti metre, and the fifth perhaps in the same metre. So far as I can judge, the first and probably the second of these five verses contain some historical information, and it would therefore seem desirable to have a cast taken of this part of the inscription, which would enable one to decipher more of the text than I have succeeded in making out from the impressions and the photograph.⁴

The first verse of the inscription commences with the words *Lakshmî-nirāṇḍhrapina-*, which were apparently misread as *Lakshmî-Nârâyana-*.

¹ The accompanying facsimile has been prepared under the superintendence of Prof. Hultzsch from Mr. Cousens' photograph. A facsimile of the impressions would have been quite useless.

² Exposed as the pillar has been to all the effects of the Indian climate for more than a thousand years it seems wonderful that of these small letters, which were not deeply engraved, many should have been preserved so well as we find them to be.

I am sanguine enough to hope that it will indeed some day be possible to make out the names which are hidden now in the second part of our inscription. It will then perhaps also be found that this part likewise ends with a date in the 9th century of the Vikrama era, of which in my opinion there are traces in the second half of line 38.

The first part (lines 1—31) also commences with *ōm namaḥ* and ends with a date which will be given below. Between the two there are 32 verses, the text of more than two-thirds of which may be given with perfect certainty, while there is no doubt about the general meaning of any of the rest. The verses form a *praśasti*, the main object of which is to record (in verses 25 and 26) that the king **Parabala** of some **Rāshṭrakūṭa** family founded a temple of Śauri (Hari, Viṣṇu), before which he erected the Garuḍa-crested pillar on which the inscription is engraved. The *praśasti* opens with four verses which invoke the protection of, and glorify, the god Viṣṇu, under the names of Murāri, Kriṣṇa and Hari. It then (in verses 5—7) relates that formerly there was a king **Jējja**, under whom 'this **Rāshṭrakūṭa vaṁśa**' was flourishing, and whose (unnamed) elder brother, after defeating thousands of **Karṇāṭa** soldiers with their arrays of elephants, obtained the **Lāṭa** kingdom. Jējja's son was **Karkarāja** (v. 11), who put to flight the king **Nāgavalōka** and invaded his home (vv. 14 and 15). And Karkarāja's son was **Parabala**, represented as ruling the land when the inscription was composed (V. 18). The rest records that the pillar was actually set up by the king's chief minister, whose name is not clear in the impressions, and that the *praśasti* was composed by Harsha (v. 29) and engraved by the *sūtradhāra* Sāhila (v. 31), while the last verse 32 contains the usual prayer that the king's pious work and his fame may endure for ever.—The date at the end of line 31 is *samvat 917 Chaitra-śudi 6 Śukrā*, i.e. "Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 917." In this date the numeral figures for the year are particularly clear, and cannot be read in any other way. The figure for 9 is the same as e.g. in line 6 of the Dēogaḍh pillar inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva of the [Vikrama] year 919 (*Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X, Plate xxxiii. 2), and in line 22 of the Gurmha plate of Jayādityadēva II. of the [Vikrama] year 927 (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LXX. Part I. Plate i). The date must of course be referred to the Vikrama era. It is one of the earliest dates of that era which admit of exact verification and corresponds regularly, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 917, to Friday, the 21st March A.D. 861, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended 16 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

The *praśasti* will, I think, be admitted to contain some rather pretty verses.² Its author, so far as I can judge, was well acquainted, amongst other poetical works, with Māgha's *Śiṣupālavadhā*, and in the composition of at least one verse he undoubtedly drew his inspiration from that poem.³ I refer to verse 16, which may be compared with *Śis.* XIX. 52. The former is:—

Sakalikṛita-sarvāṅgā nānḍbharanabhūṣhitāḥ |
drīṣyante ripavō yasya nānḍbharanabhūṣhitāḥ ||

"With their limbs all cut to pieces (and thus)⁴ decorated with manifold ornaments (*ābharana*), his enemies are seen to abide on various battle-fields (*raṇa-bhū*)."

And Māgha's verse is:—

Śastravṛṇamaya-śrīmad-alaṅkaranabhūṣhitāḥ |
dadṛśe suyō Rāvaṇavad-alaṅkaranabhūṣhitāḥ ||

"Decorated with glorious ornaments (*alaṅkaraṇa*) which consisted in the wounds inflicted by weapons, another looked like Rāvaṇa, though abiding on a battle-field (*raṇa-bhū*) that was not connected with *Laṅkā*."⁵

¹ The original apparently mentions the place where Nāgavalōka was put to flight, but the name of it cannot be read with confidence. See verse 14 and the translation of it below.

² Compare e.g. verses 13, 15, 20 and 30.

³ The *praśasti* somewhat pointedly ends with the word *śrīmat*, which, in the case of an author who had studied the *śṛyāṅka mahākāvya* does not seem to me to be without significance.

⁴ Compare the following note.

⁵ Mallinātha explains: *sarvāṅgānābharanabhūṣhanatvān Rāvaṇa evāyaṁ Laṅkāśāmbandha-vivahātītyatirīkṣa ity-arthaḥ | upamā-tyatirīkṣa-yaṁakāṇām saṁkaraḥ |*

Here we not merely have, at the end of each half verse, the synonymous words *ābharāṇa-bhūṣita* and *alamkāraṇabhūṣita*, either of them similarly used in a double meaning, but we also find a form of the same verb (*drīṣyante* and *dadṛśe*) in exactly the same position in both verses. At the same time the manner in which the verse of the *Sisupālavadhā* commences, clearly shows how we ought to interpret the first half of Harsha's verse: the ornaments with which the enemies were decorated consisted in the wounds inflicted on them when their limbs were cut to pieces. I am aware that what I have pointed out here is not of any great value now, because we have lately learnt from another inscription that Māgha lived long before the middle of the 9th century A.D.

Among the contents of the *prāśasti* there are three points of particular interest. The first obviously is, that the inscription is one — the only one hitherto discovered — of a Rāshtrakūṭa king Parabala, for whom it furnishes a date in A.D. 861. The second point is, that Parabala's father Karkarāja defeated, and invaded the territory of, a king Nāgāvalōka. And to these may be added the statement that an unnamed elder brother of Karkarāja's father Jējja, after defeating certain Kārṇāṭas, took possession of the Lāṭa kingdom.

As regards the first point, we knew indeed from the very earliest Sanskrit inscription brought to the notice of European scholars — the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla¹ translated by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1731 — that the Pāla king Dharmapāla married 'Rāṇṇādēvī, a daughter of the glorious Parabala, the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭa family;' but as the name Parabala could not be traced in any subsequent inscription, scholars conjectured that it was a *biruda* of one of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ, perhaps of Gōvindarāja III. or Amōghavarsha I., according to the notions which they had formed regarding the time of Dharmapāla. Now there cannot remain any reasonable doubt that the Rāshtrakūṭa Parabala of our Pathārī inscription is identical with the Parabala of the Mungir plate, a daughter of whom was married by Dharmapāla. But it does not follow that Dharmapāla's reign must therefore be taken to have commenced so late as the middle of the 9th century. Many Indian kings have had unusually long reigns, and at present we know nothing about the length of Parabala's reign, while all that we know for certain in this respect regarding Dharmapāla is that he reigned for at least 32 years. The zeal and activity displayed by the officials of the Archæological Survey in the search for epigraphical documents encourage us to hope that before long we shall be in possession of materials that will definitely fix both the exact time of Dharmapāla's reign and the chronology of events generally which took place in Northern India during the 8th and 9th centuries.

The king Nāgāvalōka² who was defeated by Parabala's father Karkarāja seems to have been a ruler of some importance. I have no doubt that he is identical with that Nāgāvalōka who is mentioned in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vīgraharāja,³ in terms which would imply that he was the overlord, and who certainly was a contemporary, of the Chāhamāna Gūvaka I. of Śākambharī, whom in my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have roughly placed at the commencement of the 9th century. There has lately been discovered a copper-plate inscription of a Chāhamāna *Mahāsīmāntādhipati*, which records a grant that was made at Bhṛigu-kachchha in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvalōka, and which apparently is dated in the [Vikrama] year 813 (corresponding to about A.D. 756).⁴ I owe a photograph of it to the kindness of Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, but would wait for impressions before expressing an opinion regarding its genuineness and value.

¹ See *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 123, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 253.

² I need hardly point out that this name looks like the well-known *birudas* ending in *avalōka* of certain Rāshtrakūṭa kings (*Khadgāvalōka*, *Vikramāvalōka*, etc.).

³ See above Vol. II. p. 121, line 12 of the text, where the actual reading of the original is *śrīman-Nāgāvalōka-prararāṇṇipa*.

⁴ If the grant is genuine, the donation recorded in it was probably made on the 28th October A.D. 756.

Nor can I say anything definite at present regarding the conquest of the Lâta kingdom by the elder brother of Parabala's grandfather Jējja. The known names of chiefs connected with Lâta from about the middle of the 8th century and the available dates will be found above, Vol. VIII App. II. p. 4. It will be seen there that we have no date, and know little about Lâta, between A.D. 757 and A.D. 812, which is just the period in which, judging from the date of the present inscription, we should have to place Jējja and his elder brother.

In the text which follows I have indicated by marks of interrogation all passages about which I am myself doubtful, and have left blanks where I could have put in only a purely conjectural reading. Others may be able to supply what is wanting or to find the correct readings where I have failed to do so. I know that I have shunned no trouble and may perhaps be permitted to say —

Harshēṇa nūnam rachitā praśastir=
vidhēr=vaśād=aśma-talē vilinā |
prakāśit-ēyam pramadāch=chhramēṇa
satām mudam samtatam-ātanōtu ||

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm² namaḥ || ³Lakṣmī-nīraṁdhrapina[sta]nakalaśa-la[sa]t-pallavā Vṛitra-satrōs=
ttrailōkyasvāmya-dīkshāvidhi-varaguravō=[r]i-
- 2 shṭanāśa-prachandāḥ | dōrdandāḥ Kēśikēsagraha-ruchiraru[t-ā]ghuṣṭa-
h[i]msrānsadēsā⁴ Daityēbha-sthūlakumbha[stha]-
- 3 ladalana-d[ṛi]dhāḥ pāmtu vas=tē Murārēḥ ||[1*] ⁵Vā(bā)lārka[chchhav]i-
chakrav[āka]vimala-vyāl[ā]hat-āvēṣṭitaḥ⁶ karṇa[ā]lamvi(mbi)ta-kumḍalō⁷
jaladhara-
- 4 chehḥēdāvadāta-chehḥaviḥ | satkārttasvarakūṭa-nirgata iva snigdhēndranilōpala-
stambhaḥ⁸ skandhaga-padmarāgayugalaḥ Kṛishṇō=stu
- 5 vaḥ śrēyasē ||[2*] ⁹Tribhuvanabhavana-stambhō nabhastalāmbhōdhi-sētur=agha-
dahanah | vra(bra)hmāṁḍamaṁda(da)lāmvu(bu)jadandā-ruchir=jjayati¹⁰ Ha-
- 6 ri-charaṇah ||[3*] ¹¹Ahimakarachakra-kuvalayavilasatkamal-ālayah sa-dāna[vakā]yah |
jalanidhir=iva Harir=avatāt=purāṇa-purushō=pi yah sadā nava-kā-
- 7 yah¹² ||[4*] ¹³Rāj=āsīd=varachakkralāmbhita-karō lakṣmī-sanāthah purā dṛiptāri-
prava(ba)ludviṣhat-pramathanaś=ch-ā[dhā]ra-bhūtō bhuvah | vā(bā)hūdasta-
mahidharō [nara]-
- 8 ka-hā tumgadvipadhvasakṛit=¹⁴Kamsārāti-samō=py=akṛishṇatanubhṛich=chhri-Jējja
āryyah stu[tā]h ||[5*] ¹⁵[Ra]mya-prasūtir=achchhidras=tumgaḥ
prithur-akamṭakah | śrī-Rāshṭra[kū]-
- 9 ṭa-vamśō=yam samṛiddhō yattra bhūbhṛiti ||[6*] ¹⁶Jitvā [vikāṭa]karighaṭā-
pra[bhuta]ra-Karṇāṭabha¹⁷asahasrā[ṇi] | [prithu?] L[ā]ṭ-ākhyam rāshṭram
lavdham(bdham) yasay=āgrajen-ājan ||[7*] ¹⁷[Vana]-

¹ From impressions and a photograph supplied by Mr. Cousens.

² Metre: Sragdharā.

⁴ Read °śrānsadēsā.

⁶ Compare Śārngirēṣha-phaṇikaṇṭhaka-, above Vol. II. p. 4, v. 22.

⁷ Originally -kumḍalō seems to have been engraved.

⁸ Compare Śisupālavadhā III. 11.

¹⁰ Originally -ruchēr= was engraved.—Compare above Vol. I. p. 40, verse 2: vra(bra)hmāṁḍamaṁda-

lamahōtpalanāla-lilām vi(bi)bhṛat.

¹¹ Metre: Āryāgiti.

¹² Compare Śisupālavadhā xiv. 70: navaṁ budhō yam purāṇa-purusham prachakṣat.

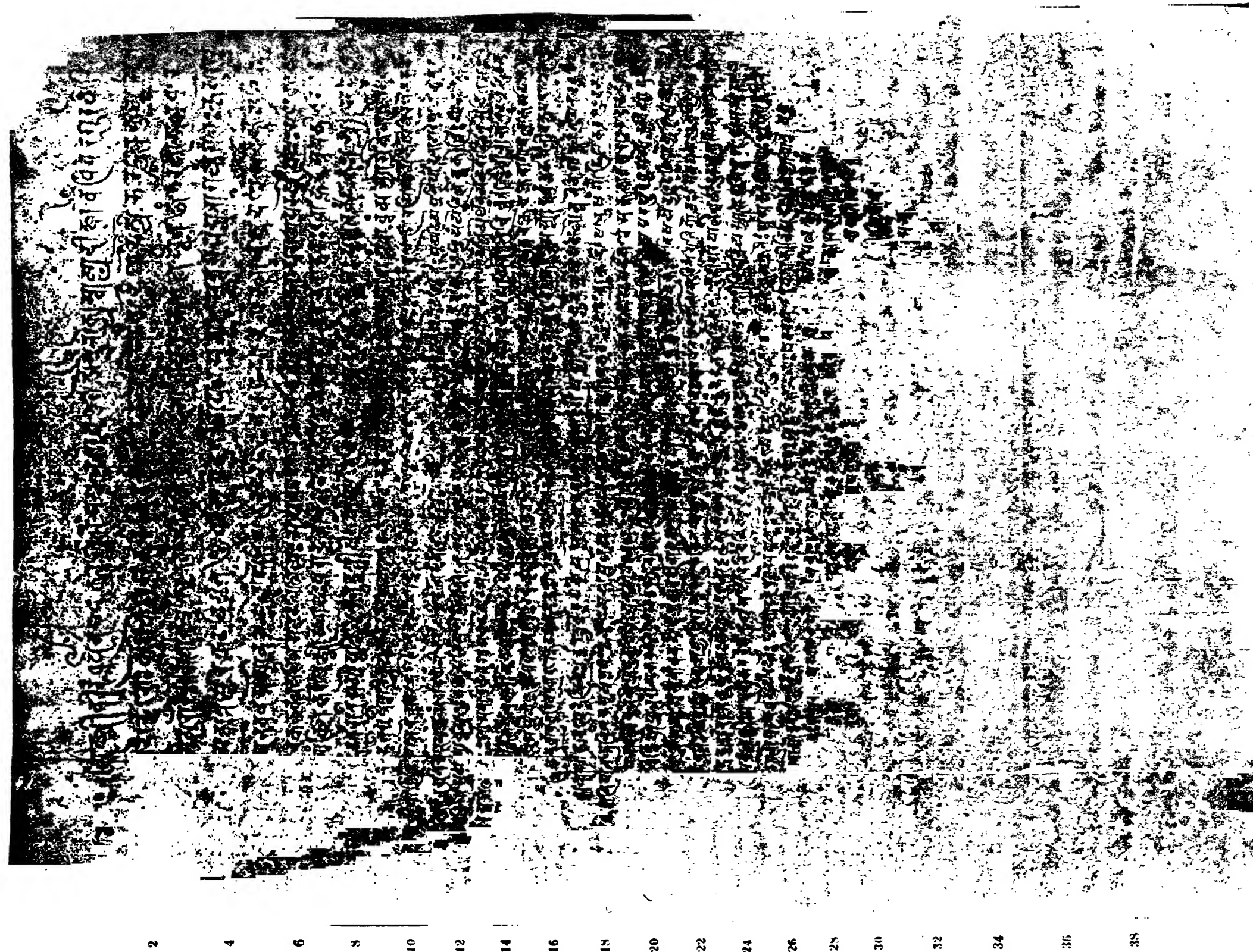
¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁴ Read °dīvamśakṛit=.

¹⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁶ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁷ Metre: Mālinī.



- 10 mahisham-asahyam vâjinô lola-nêtrâ madagalita-kapôlâ dantinaḥ sirham=
ugram | [jvalitapavana?]-kirṇâ vairi-virâḥ Kṛitântam raṇa-sîrasi yam=êkain
mênirê naika-[rûpam ||] [8*]
- 11 ¹Ekô=p-îtas=tataḥ kurvann-arâti-[ku]lam=âkulam | châruchâmikar-ôpê[tô n]ilâ-
rûpam vi(bi)bha[rtti] yaḥ ||[9*] ²[Prâpt-ôchchhrayâ?] ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
prakampâ[n] =mukt-âli[bh]iḥ svamahima-pratipâdanâya | [dêsi?]nta[râṇy=u]-
- 12 pagatâ vikalâ disâsu yasya dhvajâ iva sadâ ripa[vô] bhramanti ||[10*]
Tasy=âtma-jô ripuva(ba)l-[â]nta ∪ — ∪ — — h³ sîri-Karkkarâja iti
samyati lavdha(bdha)-kîrttiḥ | P[ârth-âgraṇ?]i-
- 13 r=iva va(ba)bhûva⁴ nirasta-sâlyô duḥśâsanâriva(ba)la-sâsana-bhîmasê[na]h ||
[11*] ⁵Vi[kshipta?]-[vai?]ri- ∪ — ∪ nâ | ya[t-ka]rêṇa
raṇâmbhôdhi-mathanê⁶ Mandarâyitam ||[12*] ⁷Vidhvasta[vai]-
- 14 riva[nitâ]-nayanaprapâli-samsakta-kajjalayutâsrujala-pra[vâhai]h | sêshichyamânam=api
chandramarîchi-[hâri sphitâṁ] va(ba)bhûva [nanu] yasya yasô=tichitram ||[13*]
⁸Durvârârâti-mattadvi[rada]-
- 15 ghanaghaṭâṭôpasamghaṭa-chandê samgrâmê [hrishta-yô]dhê [tura]gakhurajâś-
chhanna-dikchakkrav[âlê ||] [valga?]t-pâlidhvaj[âlau] kshatarudhi[rasa]ritprâjya-
sâmantachakrê chakrê Nâgâvalôkam [jha]ṭiti ∪⁹
- 16 lav[a]nê¹⁰ yaḥ parâvritta-mûrtim ||[14*] ¹¹Durvâravairivaravâraṇa-
kumbha[mukta]-muktâphalapra[kara]-nirmmaladantamâlâ | Nâgâvalôkanripa-
[vêśma]ni viprakirṇê yasy=ôddhatam prahasat=iva kripâna-p[âli] ||[15*]
- 17 ¹²Sakalikṛita-sarvvâṅgâ nânâbharanabhûshitâḥ | driśyantê ripavô yasya
nânâbharanabhûshitâḥ [16*] ¹³Yasy=ôtpalachchhavi[mu]shâ s[v]ajal-ônnatêna¹⁴
khaḍgêna tumgatara-bhû[mibhri]-
- 18 [tâm sî]rassu | dhârânipâta-janitair=asrijâm¹⁵ pravâhair=yuddhê
mahâpralaya[kâla?]ghana-[pratitih?]¹⁶ ||[17*] ¹⁷Ahimakara iv=âdya tyakta-
dôshânushamgô himakara iva jâ[ta]h
- 19 śuddha-mûrttiḥ kalâvan | parava(ba)ladalan-ôgrô=nugra-chakshuḥ pratâpi
Parava(ba)la iti puttras-tasya [sâst]=iha bhû[mim] ||[18*]
¹⁸[Tyaktvâ?]mâyâm=adam̐bhañ=cha sakta-kârttasvarâḥ sadâ | bhum[jatê] sîri-¹⁹

¹ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).

² Metre of verses 10 and 11: Vasantatilakâ.

³ The original possibly has 'lântaka êva mûrttaḥ.

⁴ Originally vîbhûva or vîbhûva was engraved.

⁵ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).—I am unable to restore the first half of this verse with any confidence, but the meaning probably is that the king's hand in battle took away fortune from his adversary. Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 203, l. 7.

⁶ Originally raṇâmbhôdhi- was engraved.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.—Compare *Śisupâlavadhâ* XV. 90.

⁸ Metre: Sragdharâ.

⁹ The *akshara* which is missing here I am unable to restore with confidence.

¹⁰ Of these three *aksharas* the first and the last seem to be certain, and the second is either *va* or *va*.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

¹² Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh). See above, p. 250.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

¹⁴ The water of the sword-blade (*asidhârd-jala*, *khaḍgadhârd-payas*, *khaḍgadhârdmôkha*) is often spoken of by poets; compare e.g. *Ēkavall*, pp. 64 and 168, and above Vol. II. p. 307, v. 21.

¹⁵ The plural of *asrij* is similarly used in *Śisupâlavadhâ* xvii, 55 (*asrijî*).

¹⁶ I have little doubt that this is the correct reading; in the original a medial *i* was originally engraved before the *akshara* which I read as *pra*, but it has clearly been struck out.

¹⁷ Metre: Mâlinî.

¹⁸ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).

¹⁹ This word, being repeated at the commencement of the next line, is superfluous here. *Śrîphala* is used in the double sense of 'the fruit of his prosperity' and 'Bilva fruit.'

- 20 śrīphalāny=asya suhṛdō vidviśhō=py=alam ||[19*] ¹Makarakētutulā[hṛita]-
sumdarījana-vilō[lita]lōchana-mā[la]yā | [sva]-śuchibhū[shana]-va[rahmani]
linay-ā[ma]rapurēndra-samō bhuvī yō=bha[vat ||] ||[20*]
- 21 ²Prabhamjanō vairi-mahiruhāpām samāśrī(śrī)tānām dhanadō [janā]nām
[d]in-ā[tu]rāpām [sa]kripō nṛipāpā[m=śkō]=pi yō=bhūch=charitair=anēkaḥ ||
||[21*] ³Vishayēbhyaḥ parityājya [vi]graha[daṇḍa]-li-
- 22 layā | indriyān=īva [yē]n=āsu jītāny=ari-va(ba)lāny=api ||[22*] ⁴Sura-gurur=
iva samya[g=mantr]isa[kt-ā ?]vadhā[na]ḥ sura-patir=iva hēlādārit-ārātīgōtraḥ |
sura-gaja iva ni[tyam] sām[dra-dā]-
- 23 n[ē] pravṛittāḥ sura-girir=iva bhūbhṛinmamḍal-ōtkṛiṣṭabhūtaḥ ||[23*]
⁵Jyārāvakṛiṣṭadṛiḍhakārmuka-mamḍalāgra-bhinnēbhakumbhabhava-lōhita-
kirṇṇahārā | pālīdhvajān=bhujalatāsita-[vā]ṇamālā [ya]-
- 24 sy=ājigāya raṇa-mūrdhani rāja-lakṣmīḥ ||[24*] ⁶Achikarad=dēvakulam sa
Saurēr=idam Hi[mō]rvvidharaśrī[mga]-t[ulyam |] [śubhrā ?]gra[vinyasta ?]-
sita[dhvajāl]i vi(bi)bhartti yasy=āmarasindhu-sōbhām ||[25*] Stambh[as=tu
yā ?]-
- 25 [dṛig ?]=Garuḍadhvajā[dra ?]⁷ p[urā] viśālō Garuḍadhvajō=yam | Harēḥ
puras=tādṛi[śa] ē[va] tēna stambhaḥ samuttambhita ēsha rājñā ||[26*]
⁸Vishṇōḥ kim charaṇas=trivikrama-kṛitēḥ stambh-ākṛitēr=vvā vapuḥ
Sthāpōr=bhū-viva[rā]-
- 26 t=phanindra-ripuṇā Śēshō=thavā prōddhṛitaḥ | ittham bhūri vi[chāra]yadbhir=
amarair-ālōkya ni[śchi]yatō stambhaḥ śuddhasīlāmayaḥ
Parava(ba)la[kṣmā]pāla-kirttipradaḥ ||[27*] ⁹Tasy=āmātyō va(ba)bhūva
[Kṣh ?]i ~ ~ ~
- 27 iti yaḥ sarvvadharm-ādhikārī hēmābhaḥ satyavādī Parava(ba)la-nṛipatēr=
mmū[rddha]-vandyah pra[dhāna ?]ḥ | [tēn=ō]ttu m-g-ā[śmavā(bā)h ?]ur¹⁰=
Mmadhumathana-purō Vainatēy-ōpalakshyaḥ stambhaḥ samstambhit-ārēr=
[upaha ?]-
- 28 [sita ?]-yugaḥ stambha uttambhitō=yam ||[28*] ¹¹Prakṛiṣṭa-varṇṇaḥ ~ ~ ~
[vam ?]sē svabhāva[sam]pādita-[sambhramō] yaḥ | Ha[rsh]ēṇa [padyai]
rachitā prasastir=mmuktāphalālī-śriyam=ātanōti ||[29*] ¹²Pravī[nā]
- 29 [gam]bhiraḥ vividhavadavinyāsa-chaturā dṛiḍhōdāra-grāmth=[āvivu(bu)dha]ja[na-
durjūna[ḥ]idayā] | [prasastir=mmādhurya]prabhṛitigūṇasaṁ[dō]ha-ruchirā
surastr=iv=ābhāti sphaṭikavimalastambha-[likhitā] ||[30*]
- 30 ¹³Utkirṇṇā sūtradhārēṇa Sāhilēna sphuṭ-āksharā | chitrāṅga[vāgvya ?]gra-varṇṇā
[Sarasvat ?]=iva [bhā]satē ||[31*] ¹⁴[Yāvat]= ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ jītō
Lakṣmīḥ sthit-ōrasthalē dēhārdhā Giri[śasya]

¹ Metre: Drutavilambita.² Metre: Upajāti.³ Metre: Ślōka (Anu-ubh).—Instead of *vishayēbhyaḥ* I should have expected the accusative *vishayān*, but this would not have suited the metre.⁴ Metre: Mālinī.—I am somewhat doubtful about the correctness of the first Pāda, and I miss a relative pronoun in the verse.⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.⁶ Metre of verses 25 and 26: Upajāti.⁷ Originally °dhvajādri was engraved, but the sign for i has been struck out or altered to av. I am not sure about the exact meaning of the first half of the verse.⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁹ Metre: Sragdharā.¹⁰ Compare *Śisupālavadha* III. 78, *uttuṅga-taraṅgabāhu*.¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.¹² Metre: Śikhariṇī.¹³ Metre: Ślōka (Anu-ubh). I am doubtful about the second half of this verse.¹⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

31 H[aima]giriġā Śēsh-ōttamāṅgē kṣitiḥ | charinchachchandramarichi-[bhāsura-jalā ?]
 yāvad=di[vi] svaṛddhuni [tāvat=kirttir=ana]śva[r=ā.tu] [nṛipatēr=
 bhūmyās=ta ?]lê śrīmatī ||[32*] Samvat¹ 917 Chaitra-śudi 6 Śu[kr]ē ||
 32 Ōm² namaḥ ||³

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.⁴

(Verse 5.) There was formerly a king whose hands were marked with auspicious discs, who was endowed with fortune, and who, harassing haughty foes and powerful adversaries, was the support of the earth; who with his arm overthrew princes, who warded off hell and destroyed huge elephants,⁵ and who, although thus like Kamsa's enemy (Kṛishna) [whose hand bears a choice disc, who is united with Lakshmī, who harassed haughty foes and powerful adversaries, and supported the earth; who lifted up with his arms the mountain (Gōvardhana), slew (the demon) Naraka, and destroyed (Kamsa's) huge elephant], did not bear Kṛishṇa's body,⁶—the glorious Jējja, praised by the noble.

(V. 6.) While he was king this glorious Rāshṭrakūṭa family was prosperous, a family in which there is pleasing progeny, which is without blemish, noble, large, and free from trouble being like the bamboo, which has pleasing shoots, is free from flaws, high, broad, and without thorns].

(V. 7.) His elder brother, having defeated in battle thousands of Kārṇāṭa soldiers whose might was increased by arrays of enormous elephants, obtained the broad Lāṭa kingdom.

(V. 11.) Jējja's son⁷ was the glorious Karkarāja, who, . . . (causing) the destruction of the forces of adversaries, acquired fame in battle; who removed trouble [and was therefore] like (Yudhishṭhira) the foremost of Pṛithā's sons [who annihilated Śālya]; and whose armies were terrible in chastising the forces of enemies difficult to be chastised [so that he was like Bhīmasēna⁸ subduing the strength of his enemy Duḥśāsana].

(V. 14.) In a battle which was terrific by the collision with the multitude of the close arrays of the furious elephants of the irresistible enemy, where warriors rejoiced and the circuit of the regions was hidden by the dust from the hoofs of horses, where rows of *pīlīdhvaja*⁹ banners were fluttering and the crowd of feudatories was inundated with streams of blood issuing from wounds, he at . . .¹⁰ caused Nāgāvalōka quickly to turn back.

(V. 15.) The blade of his sword, with rows of spotless teeth formed on it by the mass of pearls that were shed by the frontal globes of the choice elephants¹¹ of the irresistible adversary, exultingly laughs as it were in the devastated home of king Nāgāvalōka.

¹ Read *samvat*.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ On the second part of the inscription, lines 32-38, see above, p. 249.

⁴ I consider it sufficient to translate here those verses of the original text only which refer to historical events. The other verses will interest Sanskrit scholars only, to whom they will present no more difficulties than any ordinary classical text. A brief summary of the contents of the inscription has been given above.

⁵ In the case of the king the words *tuṅga-dvīpa* might possibly have to be translated by "the elephants of (king) Tuṅga," where the name Tuṅga would perhaps have reference to one of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ who had *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* (Sahasatuṅga, Śubhatuṅga, Jagattuṅga, etc.).

⁶ For the figure *virōdha* or *virōdhābhāsa*, 'seeming contradiction,' used here by the poet, see above Vol. VI. p. 246, note 13.

⁷ The original has 'his (i.e. Jējja's) son.'

⁸ The word *bhīmasēna* is similarly used in a double sense, e.g. in the *Vāsavadattā*, p. 122, l. 5.

⁹ For this word which occurs also in verse 24, see e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 170 and Vol. VII. p. 227.

¹⁰ Here the original probably has the name of a place containing four syllables and ending with *lavana* or *lavāna*.

¹¹ Compare in *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 107, l. 5: *nistṛimtaghātavidalat-karikumbha-mukta-muktāphalaprakara-*; also e.g. *Śisupālavadha* V. 12.

(V. 18.) Now his son **Parabala** rules here the land, he who has discarded addiction to sin and is therefore like the sun which has severed its connection with the night; who is born of pure body and is versed in all arts, and is therefore like the moon when she has risen with a bright form and with all her digits; who, terrible in cutting up the forces of adversaries, is gentle-looking, and full of prowess.

(V. 24.) At the head of battle the fortune of royalty—her garland of pearls covered with the blood streaming from the temples of elephants that were split by the round-pointed shafts of her strong bow drawn with a twang of the string, and with rows of arrows resting on her creeper-like arms—conquered for him *pīlīdhvajai* banners.

(V. 25.) He caused to be built this temple of Śauri,¹ resembling the peak of the mountain of snow, the white flag on the bright top of which bears the lustre of the river of the gods.

(V. 26.) And like the pillar which was formerly (erected?) on the mountain of Garuḍadhvajā(?),² exactly so was this large Garuḍa-bannered pillar caused to be erected by that king before (the temple of) Hari.¹

(V. 27.) Repeatedly deliberating whether this is Viṣṇu's foot making three strides, or the body of Sthānu³ shaped like a post, or (the serpent) Śeṣha pulled out of a hole in the ground by the enemy of the serpent-king,⁴ the gods on viewing it find out that it is a pillar of pure stone proclaiming the fame of king **Parabala**.

(V. 28.) His prime minister was [Kṣh ?]i . . . administrator of all laws, bright like gold and true of speech, to be saluted with (bowing of) the head by king **Parabala**. He set up before (the temple of) the destroyer⁵ of Madhu this Garuḍa-marked pillar, which with its stone arm raised aloft defies all ages—a pillar of him who has paralyzed his foes.⁶

(Line 31.) The year 917, Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra.

No. 35.—ANMAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF PROLA;

The Chalukya-Vikrama year Forty-Two.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

On a hillock to the south of **Hanumkoṇḍā**⁷ (Anmakonḍa) near Warangal in the Nizam's State, stands the small temple of **Padmākṣhi** which, unlike other buildings attributable to the **Kākatiya** period,⁸ is devoid of any architectural pretensions. The rock close to which the temple stands, bears on a portion of its dressed surface, sculptures of

¹ I.e. Viṣṇu.

² I am not sure about the meaning of these words, the text of which is doubtful in the original. *Garuḍadhvajādri* might be equivalent to *Kṛṣṇagiri*.

³ I.e. Śiva.

⁴ These words clearly indicate that there was a figure of Garuḍa on the top of the pillar.

⁵ I.e. Viṣṇu.

⁶ In my opinion, this might refer either to the king or to the god Viṣṇu.

⁷ This is the form given in Mr. Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p. 46.

⁸ The thousand-pillared temple in the middle of the village of Anmakonḍa was built by Prōla's son Rudra in or about A.D. 1162-63 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, p. 9 f.) and contains some excellently sculptured door-posts. The four gateways which now stand in the open air at Warangal might have belonged to the palace of the Kākatiya kings at that place (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, p. 4). Mr. Cousens, however, thinks that the gateways must have belonged to a great temple in the centre of Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the*

some **Jaina** images seated in a row. In front of the temple is an inscribed quadrangular pillar of black granite bearing in relief within a countersunk square, at the top of each of its four faces, the figure of a squatting Jaina ascetic with his arms folded over his lap crosswise. On the east face of the pillar this figure is flanked by a cow and calf on one side and a dagger and shield (?) on the other. The north face of the pillar bears representations of the sun and moon on the right and left sides, respectively, of the squatting Jaina figure. From these sculptures and from the inscription on the pillar, which is published below, it appears that the Padmākshī temple was originally dedicated to the Jaina¹ goddess **Kadalalāya** and that the pillar was set up there by the lady who built the *basadi* (Jaina temple). At present the Brāhmaṇas of Anmakonḍa, who have somehow got possession of the temple, worship the goddess in it under the name Padmākshī, which they believe to be synonymous with Durgā.² It is not clear how or when the ownership of the temple passed from the Jainas to the Brāhmaṇas.

Anmakonḍa, or, as it is called in the subjoined inscription, Anmakundā (l. 16) or Ammakunde (l. 75), was originally the capital of the Kākatiya kings and was situated in the **Andhra** country.³ The neighbouring town of Warangal (Ōrūṅgallu in Telugu or **Ēkaśilānagara** in Sanskrit) became the seat of government about the end of Gaṇapati's reign and continued as such until the collapse of the Kākatiya family.⁴ Anmakonḍa and Warangal are now stations

Nizam's Territories, p. 47). The temples near the Rāmappā Lake in the Warangal district are (*ibid.* p. 49) of the same type as the great temple at Hanumkonḍa, but more profusely sculptured. The principal temple of this group appears to have been built in A.D. 1213-14 by Rudra of Rēcharla, who was a dependant of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. The village Uparpalle in the Yelgandal district, is also reported to contain some ruined temples attributable to the Kākatiya period (*ibid.* p. 74). The *vimāna* of the Tripurāntakēśvara temple at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district was constructed in A.D. 1254-55 under the orders of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati (Epigraphical collection for 1905, No. 169.) The Padmākshī temple at Anmakonḍa is the earliest known structural monument of the Kākatiya period and this may account for its being plain and devoid of the display of art which is quite characteristic of the later structures of the dynasty.

¹ Jaina remains are mostly to be seen in the western portion of the Nizam's Dominions, which borders on the Bombay Presidency. Anmakonḍa is almost on the eastern border; see the map accompanying Mr. Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, paragraph 7. The goddess Padmākshī to whom the temple is dedicated must be one of the twenty-four *Śāsanadēvīs* of the Jaina mythology. Ambā or Ambikā, the *Śāsanadēvī* of the 22nd Tithāṅkara Neminātha, is supposed to be a form of Durgā. Padmāvati was the *Śāsanadēvī* of Pārśvanātha (Dr. Burgess' *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. V. p. 45 f. and p. 46, note 2). It might, therefore, be supposed that the goddess consecrated by Mallama in the *basadi* at Anmakonḍa was either Ambikā or Padmāvati—called, in Kanarese, Kadalalāya, the meaning of which I have not been able to trace.

³ Above, Vol. III., p. 82, and footnote 4.

⁴ The Gaṇapēśvaram inscription of the time of Gaṇapati states (v. 9) that Rudra, son of Prōla, destroyed many towns and founded quarters named after these towns in the city of Ōrūṅgallu and peopled them with their respective inhabitants; while in the devastated towns he built celebrated temples of Rudrēśvara and settled fresh inhabitants. If there be any truth in this statement, it may be inferred that Warangal, which was already in existence as an important city (see l. 95 of the subjoined inscription also), was greatly improved by Rudra. Rēcharla Rudra, a general of Gaṇapati (see above, p. 256, note 8) is said to have put to flight king Nāgati and founded the temple of Rudrēśvara at the city of Orugallu (Warangal)—perhaps after his own name. Ōrūṅgallu or Orugullu, which was thus improved by the Kākatiya king Rudra, appears to have occupied only a subordinate position in the time of Prōla, Rudra and Gaṇapati, while Anmakonḍa was the capital. No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905-06 which belongs to the time of Rudra and is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1107, Viśvāvasu (= A.D. 1185-86) states that the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kākatiya Rudradēva-Mahārāja was "the lord of Anmakonḍa, the best of towns." Nos. 195 and 223 of the same collection belong to Gaṇapati and are both dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1174, Paridhāyin (= A.D. 1252-53). The former refers to Gaṇapati as "the lord of Anmakonḍa, the best of towns." In Śaka-Saṃvat 1175 Gaṇapati still called himself the lord of Anmakonḍa (Mr. Butterworth's *Nellore Inscriptions*, O. 28). But No. 231 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1176, Ānanta, distinctly states that Gaṇapati was ruling with Orugallu as his capital. Whether his successor Rūtramadēvī (or, as she is called in inscriptions, Rudradēva-Mahārāja) reigned from the newly established capital Warangal or not, it is difficult to say. Her successor Pratāparudra ruled over almost the whole of the Telugu country and portions even of the Tamil country from his throne at Ōrūṅgallu. He is generally known as Ōrūṅgaṇṇi Pratāparudrādēva, i.e. Pratāparudrādēva of Ōrūṅgallu.

on the Hyderabad-Bezavada section of the Nizam's State Railway and seem to have been included about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. in the district of Sabbi-sâyira 'the Sabbi one thousand,' which formed part of the Western Châlukya empire, and to have been conferred by Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI. on his feudatory the Kâkatiya chief Tribhuvanamalla-Bêta.¹ Sabbi-sâyira is not mentioned in other published records and, consequently, its extent cannot be defined until more lithic records from that part of the Nizam's Dominions are published.²

The subjoined inscription³ engraved on the four faces of the pillar above referred to, is written in bold and clear Kanarese characters of the twelfth century A.D. The written surface measures roughly in breadth 1' 3½" on the east and west faces and 1' 2½" on the north and south faces, while in height it is 3' 6", 3' 5½", 3' 7", and 3' 3½" respectively, on the east, north, west and south faces. The sculptures which the four faces of the pillar bear have been noted already. Verse 1, which contains the invocation, and the imprecatory verses (11 and 12) are in the Sanskrit language. Lines 89 to 91 contain an incomplete Sanskrit verse which is evidently meant to be a quotation. The rest of the inscription is in Kanarese prose (ll. 6 to 24, 70 to 88, 91 to 99, and 111 and 112) and poetry (verses 2 to 10). The writing calls for very few remarks. The *anusvâra* is sometimes, as in ancient records, written at the top of the right side of the letter (ll. 1, 3, and 4), and sometimes, as at present, written on the right side of the letter (ll. 86, 98, 100 and 102). The *virâma* occurs once in l. 62 where it is marked by a wavy vertical line added to the top of the letter. The *ê*-sign, which is almost similar in form to the *virâma*, is also attached to the top of the letter, but is horizontal. In ll. 40 and 55, however, the *e* of *de* in the word *perggade* and *é* of *yé* in the word *hridayâscari*, are marked differently by a curved line attached to the left bottom corner of the letter and drawn horizontally to its right. In other cases this sign along with the *ê*-sign first described, marks the *ai*-sign. An attempt is made to distinguish the long *i* from the short *i* but it is not throughout kept up. Among consonants it may be noted, that the length of the horizontal stroke in the middle, which in the case of *pa* ought to be shorter than in that of *sha*, is in some instances lengthened so far as to make *pa* look almost like *sha*. The forms *krîmî*⁴ for *kramî*⁵ in l. 20 and *yējñā*⁶ for *yajñā*⁷ in l. 103 are due to the peculiarities of Kanarese pronunciation.

The record begins with an invocation addressed to the feet of Jinêndra (v. 1) and refers in ll. 6 to 24 to the reign of the *mahârâjâdhirâja*, *paramêśvara* and *paramabhûttîraka*, the [Western] Châlukya king Tribhuvanamalla-dêva [Vikramāditya VI.] and his feudatory the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâkati Bêta (l. 19), who had acquired the five great sounds (*pañchamahâśabda*) and who was 'the lord of Anmakundâ (l. 16), the best of towns.' The hereditary minister of Kâkati Bêtarasa (l. 30) was the *daṇḍâdhipânîtha* Vaija (v. 2). Verse 3 states that Vaija brought his master the *maṇḍalika* Kâkati Bêta (ll. 32 and 37) to the feet of the Châlukya (l. 33) emperor⁴ (*chakrin*) (*viz.* Vikramāditya VI.) and made him rule the district of

¹ See verse 3 below.

² Sebbi or Chhebbi thirty, a small district over which the Western Gaṅga king Pañchaladêva was ruling in A.D. 971, and which took its name from the village of Chabbi or Chhabbi in the Hubli taluka of the Dharwar district (Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 307) seems to be different from the Sabbi-sâyira district which was ruled by the Kâkatiya chief Bêta.

³ No. 106 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902. Mr. Cousens refers to this as No. 4 of the inscriptions at Hanumakondâ and Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p. 48).

⁴ In footnote 7 on p. 91 of Vol. VI. above, Professor Linders questions the propriety of the title *chakrin* (*chakravartin*) as applied to Vikramāditya VI. in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, dated in Saka-Samvat 1081. He presumes that the title *chakrin* is based on the analogy of the epithets *sarvajñachakravartin*, *pratâpachakravartin* and *Châlukyachakravartin* assumed respectively by three of Vikramāditya's successors, *viz.* Sômêśvara III., Jagadêkamalla II. and Taila III. The title *Châlukya-chakrin* applied to Vikramāditya VI. in the subjoined inscription leaves no doubt that this imperial *dirûda* originated with him;

Sabbi-sâyira (l. 34 f.) as a feudatory of that monarch. According to verses 4 and 5 Vaija's son by Yâkamabbe (l. 38 f.) was the *pergâde* Bêta, who became the minister of Kâkati Prôla (l. 43). The only act of this Bêta which the inscription records, is that he constructed ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his native village (v. 5). The wife of this minister Bêta—the son of Yâkamâmbikâ (l. 53 f.)—was Mailama (vv. 6, 7 and 8). Lines 70 to 87 state that she built the Kadalalâya-basadi on the top of the hill (v. 9) and that—in the Châlukya-Vikrama (l. 76) year forty-two, which corresponded to the cyclic year Hêmalambi, on the occasion of the Uttarâyana-samkrânti, which fell on Monday, the 15th day of the dark half of Paushya, while the king Kâkatiya Polalarasa (l. 73), son of the *maṇḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla (l. 72) was ruling at Ammakunde (l. 75),—she gave for the benefit of that temple six *mattar* (l. 86) of land below the tank built and named after herself, by her husband Bêtana-*pergâde* (l. 81).¹ The pillar that bears the inscription was also set up by Mailama on the same occasion (l. 87). Lines 88 to 99 register a gift of ten *mattar* (l. 98 f.) of land to the same temple by the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mêlarasa of Ugravâdi (ll. 92 to 94), a member of the family of Mâdha[va]varman (l. 91) ' (who possessed a fabulous army) of eight thousand elephants, ten crores of horses and numberless foot-soldiers.' The land which Mêlarasa granted was situated below the Kûchikere tank, which belonged to Orungallu (l. 95). This town was under the control of Mêlarasa at the time of the grant. Lines 111 to 112 record the assignment of a *pûga* (*hûga*) coin to the temple sweeper Bôya-Padda, to be paid, apparently from the proceeds of either of the two grants mentioned above.

The late Professor Kielhorn kindly contributed the following remarks on the date of the inscription:—"Ch. V. 42= Ś. 1039 exp.= Hêmalamba. The date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 24th December A.D. 1117. On this day the Uttarâyana-samkrânti took place 14 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise, during the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausya, which commenced 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 0 h. 13 m. before mean sunrise of the following day."

Seven inscriptions of the Kâkatiya dynasty have been published so far.² The earliest of these belongs to the time of Rudra,³ five to that of Gaṇapati,⁴ and one to that of Pratâparudra. The first of these and the Kâñchi inscription of Gaṇapati⁵ supplement one another in supplying the full name of the first historical person of the Kâkatiya dynasty, viz. Tribhuvanamalla Bêtma. The Chêbrôlu record of Gaṇapati⁶ and the subjoined inscription give, instead of Bêtma, the form Bêta. The former of these two records and the unpublished Pâkhâl inscription of about the time of Gaṇapati⁷ mention a certain Durjaya in the Kâkatiya ancestry—the one, as the father of Bêta and the other as the father of Prôla. The Pâkhâl inscription further states that

chakrin is also used in the sense of 'provincial chief;' above, Vol. IV., p. 96.

¹ This tank is, perhaps, to be identified with the one at the foot of the hillock on which the Padmâkshi temple is situated.

² Nos. 534 to 539 and No. 1066 of Appendix to Vol. VII. above.

³ This is his Anmakonda inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1084, published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI. pp. 9 ff. An unpublished record at Tripurântakam in the Kurnool district (No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) gives for him the date Śaka-Samvat 1107. The initial date of the next king Gaṇapati being now fixed at Śaka-Samvat 1121 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II., paragraph 43) it follows that Rudra must have ruled from at least Śaka 1084 to 1121. However, the events recorded in the Anmakonda inscription of Rudra presume a much earlier date for his accession than Śaka 1084.

⁴ These range in date between Śaka 1135 and Śaka 1172. The earliest inscription of Gaṇapati found at Tripurântakam is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1131 which was probably his 10th year. He must have been ruling the country round Bezvâda already in Śaka 1123; see below, p. 262, note 2.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 197 ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. V. p. 142 ff.

⁷ No. 82 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902-03. This is not dated, but records the construction of the (Pâkhâl) tank by Jagadâla-Mummadi, son of Bayyana-Nâyaka, a minister of the Kâkatiya king Gaṇapati. One is tempted to connect Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces, with the chief Jagadâla-Mummadi. The tradition that the kings of Bastar trace their descent from the Kâkatiya king Pratâparudra (above, p. 164 f.) lends further support to the chief's connection with Jagdalpur.

Karikāla-Chôla of the solar race was one of the predecessors of Durjaya. The Kāñchi epigraph quoted above, which also traces the Kākatīyas, as the Chêbrôlu and the Pākhal inscriptions do, to the Sun, Manu, Ikshvāku, and other mythical kings of the Raghu family, does not give the names of either Karikāla-Chôla or of Durjaya. The appearance of these two names in the Kākatīya genealogy is at present difficult to explain satisfactorily. But two facts which may be of some use in this connection have to be registered before passing on to the historical portion of the genealogy. As regards the mention of the mythical king Karikāla-Chôla as an ancestor of the Kākatīyas, attention may be drawn to the fact that the Telugu-Chôdas who invariably claim connection with this mythical Chôla king, became feudatories of the Kākatīyas in the time of Gaṇapati.¹ With regard to Durjaya, the name occurs among the ancestors of two of the contemporary local families of the Telugu country.² The first historical ancestor of the Kākatīya family was Tribhuvanamalla-Bêta. He appears to have been a powerful chief who held sway over some portions of the Andhra country before he became a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas and the governor of the Sabbi one thousand district. The surname Tribhuvanamalla which occurs here as well as in the Kāñchi and Anmakonḍa inscriptions, was probably borrowed from his overlord Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI.

Bêta's son and successor was Prôla, Prôlerāja, Prôdarāja or Poḷalarasa, whose surname Jagatikēsarīn is known to us from the Kāñchi inscription of his grandson Gaṇapati. The importance of the subjoined epigraph consists in its being the earliest Kākatīya record and the only one of Prôla found so far. Like his father Bêta, Prôla appears to have continued as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI.³ The Anmakonḍa inscription of his son⁴ Rudra and the Gaṇapēśvaram record of his grandson Gaṇapati, mention in detail the military exploits of Prôla. These have been fully discussed by Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultsch.⁵ One of the opponents of Prôla was Tailapadêva called "the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas" in the Anmakonḍa inscription. Dr. Fleet has identified him with the Western Chālukya king Taila III. (A.D. 1150-51 to 1162-63). This implies a pretty long reign for Prôla from at least the Chālukya-Vikrama year 42 (= A.D. 1117), the date of the present record, to at least A.D. 1150-51, the first year of Taila III., unless we suppose that Prôla fought with Taila while the latter was yet a prince.⁶ That Rudra, son of Prôla, successfully averted a usurpation of the Chālukya throne after the death of Taila III., by a certain Bhima

¹ See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900, p. 18, Genealogical Table of the Chôdas of the Telugu country, remarks under Ôpilisiddhi II and paragraph 53.

² The Kōṇḍapaḍmatī chief Buddharāja and the *mahīmaṇḍalēśvara* Nambaya—two petty chieftains of the Telugu country on the southern side of the Kṛishnā river—bore the surname 'the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family' (above, Vol. VI. p. 268 and footnote 6, and p. 269). We know from Telugu records that a family of chiefs known by the name Chāgi was contemporaneous with the Kōṇḍapaḍmatī. Nos. 253 and 271 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897 give two or three names in the ancestry of this family and call it the Durjaya-kula born from the feet of Vishnu. No. 255 of the same collection, which is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1148 and which belongs to the time of Chāgi Gaṇarāya-Mahārāja who was probably a member of this Chāgi Durjaya-kula, quotes a verse at the beginning in praise of the king which is almost identical with verse 7 of the Yenamādala inscription describing the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati (above, Vol. III. p. 97 f., text ll. 31 to 36). Unfortunately the inscription is seriously damaged; otherwise, it might, perhaps, have been possible to prove that the local chiefs of the Chāgi Durjaya-kula were borrowing from the royal Kākatīya family of Warangal not only names, but sometimes even the description of the members of its family.

³ This may be inferred from the use of the Chālukya-Vikrama era in the late portion of the subjoined record.

⁴ The Pākhal inscription referred to above, states that Rudra was born in the family of Prôla, which is quite against the testimony of other Kākatīya inscriptions.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 10 and above, Vol. III. p. 83.

⁶ The second alternative seems to be the more probable one, for Prôla is actually stated to have captured Taila in battle and to have released him out of 'loyalty and love' (*bhakti-ānuraḡat*). This may imply the existence of a sovereign on the Chālukya throne different from Taila. *Chālukya-chūdāman* seems to have been a title of Western Chālukya princes who, before succeeding to the throne, generally served as governors of provinces.

whose capital was at Vardhamānanagari,¹ shows the extent of the power wielded by this feudatory family in the last days of the Chālukyas. Prōla's other enemies referred to in the Annamakonda inscription were Jagaddēva, Gōvinda (or Gōvindadaṇḍēśa, as he is called in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription), Guṇḍa and Udaya or Chōḍodaya. Jagaddēva has been identified with Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddēva, the Śāntara chief of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, who was a feudatory, first of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. and then of his grandson Jagadēkamalla II. He must have "stood encompassing the city of Anumakonda" on behalf of the Chālukya emperor in order to avenge himself upon Prōla, who, it may be supposed, was trying to throw off his allegiance to the Chālukyas. It was, probably, as the first step in this direction, that Prōla inflicted the defeat on prince Taila III. as stated above. Indeed, Prōla appears to have extended his military operations into the modern Kistna district as well. For, the next opponent of his was Guṇḍa, the lord of the city of Manthana or Mantrakūṭa which is probably identical with the village of Mantena² in the Nuzvid Zamindārī of the Godavari district. Gōvinda or Gōvindadaṇḍēśa, I would identify with the Gōvindarāja of the Ablūr inscriptions,³ who was the nephew of Anantapāla, the general of Vikramāditya VI.—and with the *daṇḍanāyaka* Gōvindarasa, who in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, corresponding to A.D. 1126-27 was ruling the Koṇḍapaḷḷi three hundred district according to an unpublished inscription at Tripurāntakam.⁴ Here we are told that this *daṇḍanāyaka* Gōvindarasa "burnt Beṅgipura (Vēṅgi?)" and conquered Goṅka.⁵ This Goṅka is apparently identical with the Velanāṇḍu chief Goṅka II., father of Rājendra-Chōḍa.⁶ Udaya or Chōḍodaya, whom Prōla first defeated and then reinstated in his dominions, is according to Professor Hultsch perhaps "to be connected with Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa-Goṅka

Vira Nalamba Pallava Permānadi Javasiṅghadēva, younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI, had such a biruda. Perhaps Taila's defeat by Prōla took place while the former was yet a prince, somewhere in the latter part of the reign of Jagadēkamalla II.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 11. Vardhamānanagari is said to have been burnt by Rudra after marching 'a few steps' from his capital Annamakonda. Dr. Fleet suggests, accordingly, that it should be looked for somewhere in the Nizam's dominions not far from Annamakonda. There are two places with either of which Vardhamānanagari may be identified. One is Vardhanapet, about 20 miles south-west of Annamakonda and the other is Waddamarri, about 50 miles south-west of Annamakonda in the direction of Kalyāna. A later chief of Vardhamānanagari is mentioned in an inscription engraved on the fort wall at Raichur, as a feudatory of Pratāparudra. The record is dated in A.D. 1294 which is the earliest date for Pratāparudra derived from inscriptions (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II., paragraph 14). I quote this from a brief note on the inscription made by the Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Mysore in his Annual Report for the year ending 30th June 1907, paragraph 56.

² There is a place called Mantani in the Yelgandal district of the Nizam's State which is about 50 miles north of Annamakonda.

³ Above, Vol. V. p. 213 ff.

⁴ No. 253 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, paragraph 40.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p. 35. On p. 38 of the same volume, Professor Hultsch refers to the biruda *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha* of Goṅka II. and states that he was a tributary to one of the two branches of the Chālukya dynasty. I think that, in spite of the fact that the Velanāṇḍu chiefs became the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas subsequent to the death of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I (*ibid.* p. 37), the title borne by Goṅka II. was a formal hereditary title and did refer only to the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. No. 227 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district records a gift by Velanāṇṭi-Goṅka in Śaka-Samvat 1028 (= A.D. 1106-07). This Goṅka is identical with Goṅka I. in the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs. The inscription states that he bore the title *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha*, but does not mention the overlord to whom he was subordinate. No. 151 of 1897, however, which is dated in Śaka-Samvat 998, the cyclic year Nala, corresponding to the [7]th year of Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja [Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I.] registers a grant by Velanāṇṭi-Goṅkara (i.e. Goṅka I.), the commander of all forces (*samasta-sēnādhipati*) of the king. This shows that the title *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha* assumed by Goṅka I. when he had become more or less independent in the Telugu country, meant that he was a supporter of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom. We also learn from No. 151 of 1897 that Goṅka I. was the son of Guṇḍāmbikā. He was a *trīśatōttara-sahasrāvanti-nātha* 'the lord of the one thousand and three hundred country' (No. 277 of 1905), while his grandson Goṅka II. was a *trīśatōttara-ṣoṭṣahasrāvanti-nātha* 'the lord of the six thousand and three hundred country' (No. 274 of 1893).

of Velanāṇḍu."¹ Thus Prôla who, in his early career, was a Châlukya feudatory, appears to have gradually grown powerful and to have thrown off the imperial yoke in the latter part of the reign of the Western Châlukya king Jagadêkamalla II., preparing, thereby, the way for Rudra's extensive conquests, which according to the Anmakonḍa inscription, reached in the east to the shore of the salt sea and in the south as far as Śrīśaila.²

The other facts mentioned in the subjoined inscription do not call for any remarks. Mēlarasa of Ugravāḍi who belonged to the family of Mādhavavarman, is not known from other inscriptions. A feudatory family of the time of the Vijayanagara king Krishṇarāya, whose members claim to have been lords of Bezvāḍa and were ruling a portion of the Udaya-giri-rājya, traces its origin to a certain Mādhavavarman of the Solar race and the Vasishṭha-gōtra.³ It is doubtful if this Mādhavavarman could be connected with the mythical Mādhavavarman referred to in the subjoined inscription as an ancestor of Mēlarasa of Ugravāḍi.

TEXT.⁴

East Face.

- 1 Śrīmaj-Jinēndra-pada-padman-a-
- 2 śēsha-bhavyān=avyāt=trilōka-nṛi-
- 3 patīndra-munīndra-vamdyam | niḥ-
- 4 śēsha-dōsha-parikhamaḍana-chamḍa-kā-
- 5 ṇḍam ratna-traya-prabhavam=udgha-

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 83. If this surmise of Professor Hultzsch is granted, Chôḍōlaya may be identified with the Velanāṇḍu chief Kulōttuṅga-Chôḍa-Gonka III (No. 17 of the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs on p. 35 of above, Vol. IV.) whose inscriptions range between A.D. 1138 and A.D. 1157. And the word *Chôḍōdaya*, which literally means 'one who is) born of Chôḍa' may very aptly be applied to Kulōttuṅga-Chôḍa-Gonka III., whose father Velanāṇṭi-Rājendra-Chôḍa is called Chôḍa of Velanāṇḍu in one of his inscriptions at Pālakōḷi, dated in A.D. 1136 (No. 524 of the Epigraphical collection for 1893) and is referred to as king Chôḍi in an inscription at Nidubrōlu, dated in A.D. 1132 (No. 163 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897, text line 27 f.), and probably also in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription as king Chôḍi, the overlord of the Ayya chief Nārāyaṇa I. who was the grandfather of Jāyana, the general of Gaṇapati. This identification of Chôḍōdaya with Gonka III. whose latest date as stated above, is A.D. 1157, if correct, would render probable the statement made in the Aumakonḍa inscription that Chôḍōlaya died out of fear of Prôla's successor Rudra, who burnt his city.

² This is no boast so far as the southern boundary of Rudra's dominions is concerned. The existence of an inscription of his time at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) clearly shows that the actual southern boundary of his kingdom extended even beyond Śrīśaila. Rudra appears to have strengthened his position in the Telugu country by a political intermarriage in the race of Kandhōḍāya-Chôḍa (above, Vol. III. p. 83). Gaṇapati did likewise by taking to wives Nārāmbā and Pērāmbā, the two sisters of his general Jāyana (*ibid.* p. 84). A Tripurāntakam inscription (No. 204 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) states that Gaṇapati's sister Mēlāmbikā married Vakkaḍimallā Rudra, the second son of Buddha 'lord of Nātavāṭi-vishaya.' The same relationship is established by an inscription at Bezvāḍa which is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1123 (above, Vol. VI. p. 159, text line 8) where Nātavāḍi Rudra (not his father Buddha as Professor Hultzsch takes it) is called the *marandī* 'brother-in-law' of Gaṇapati. Gaṇapati's daughter Gaṇapāmbā was given in marriage to the Kōṭa chief Bēta of Amarāvati (above, Vol. III. p. 94). The Kōṭa chief Kēta II., whose mother Sabbamā was the sister of the Velanāṇḍu chief Gonka III. (above, Vol. VI. p. 148), had five queens who were selected from the several petty families which at that time appear to have divided among themselves the country south of the Kṛishṇa river. Two unpublished inscriptions from Amarāvati in the Guntur district (Nos. 261 and 262 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897) give the names of these five queens as Viñjamā of the family of the chiefs of Onginimārga (perhaps identical with Oṅḡrumārga over which Nambaya of the Durjaya family was ruling; see above, Vol. VI. p. 224); Sabbamā of the family ruling the country "to the west of the hill," i.e. the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭis; Pārvaṭi of the family of the chiefs of Kōṇa-Kaṇḍravāḍi; Vāgamā of the family of the chiefs of Kākati and Komaramā, another princess of the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi family. It is doubtful if the Kākati family here mentioned has to be connected with the Kākatiyas of Warangal or if it has to be distinguished as a purely local family which adopted the name Kākati in consequence of its relationship with the Kākatiyas either directly or indirectly.

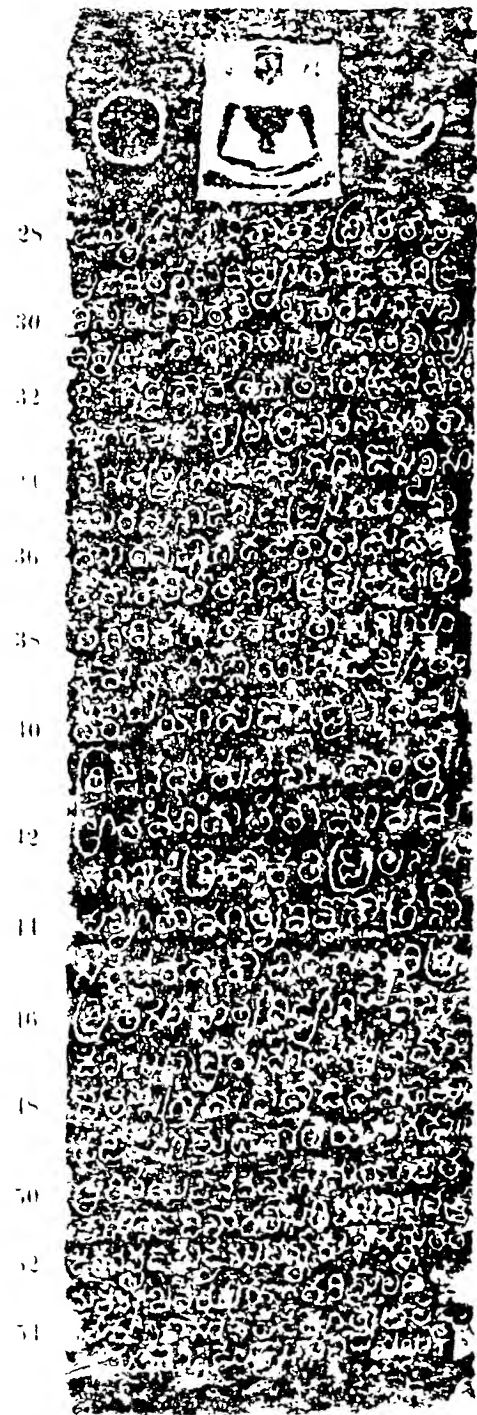
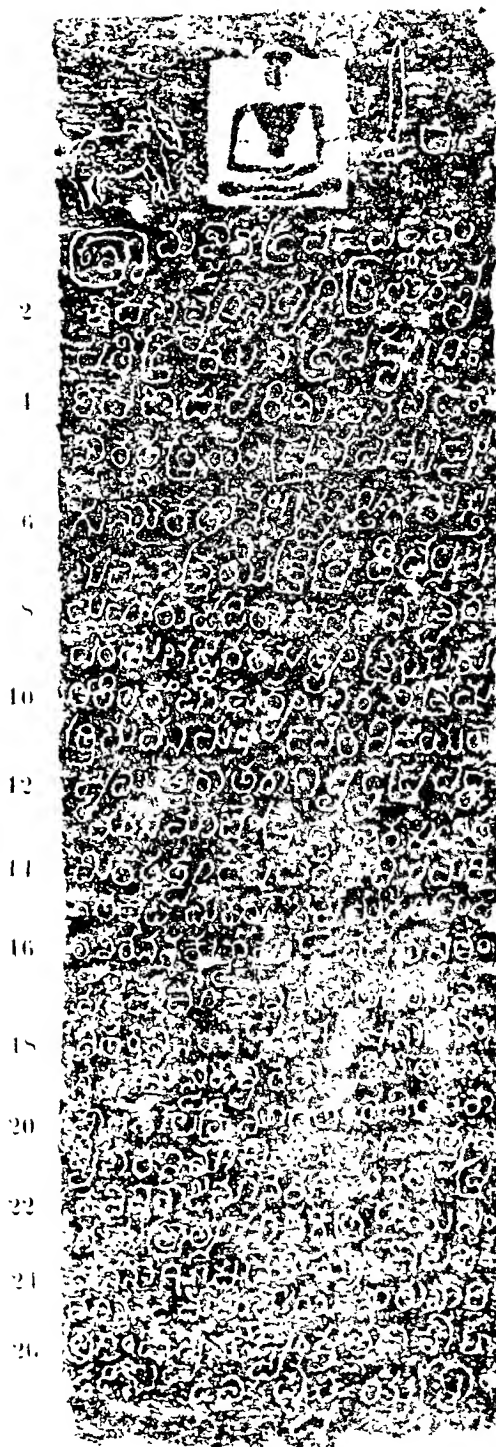
³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-07, Part II., paragraph 73.*

⁴ From two ink-impressions prepared by me in 1902.

Anmakonda inscription of Prola. — Chalukya Vikrama 42.

East face.

North face.

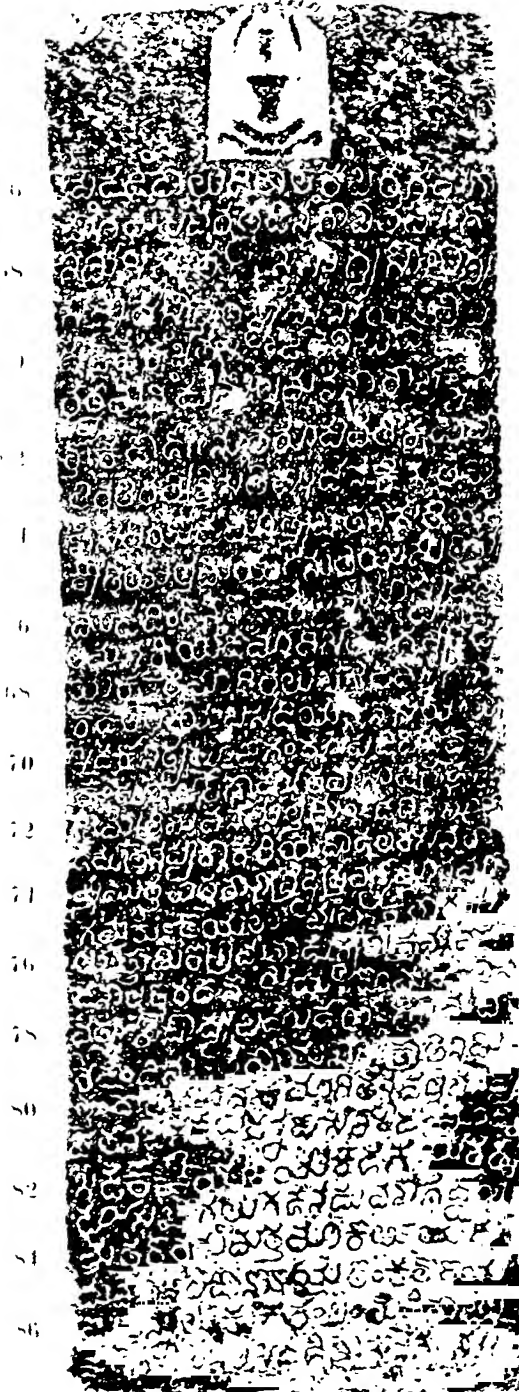


Sten F. Now

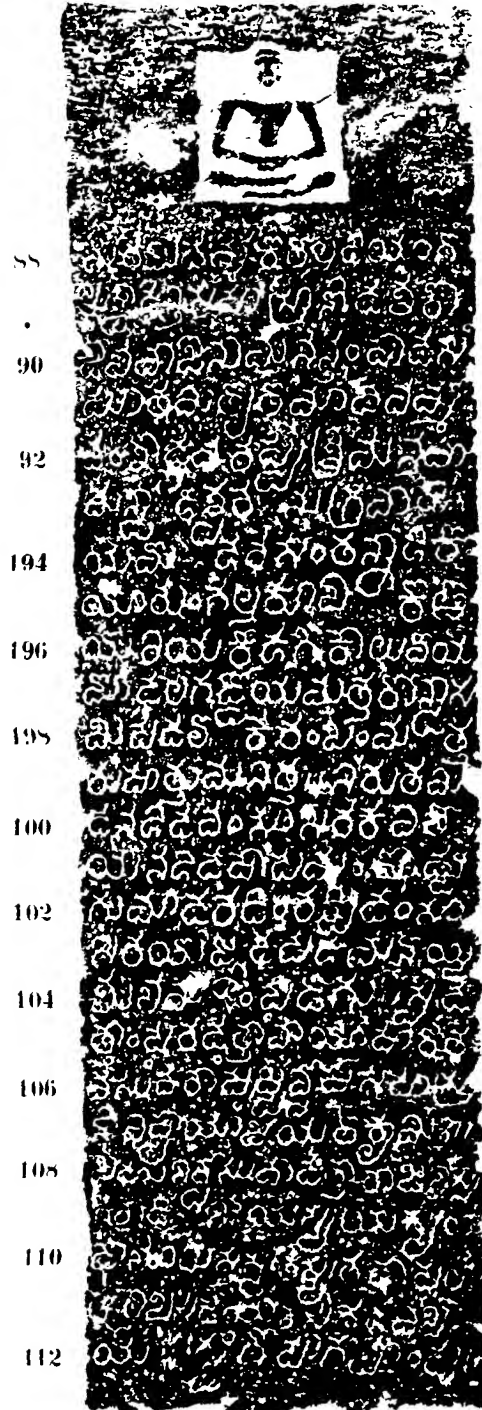
Scale 1/5

Photographed by P. P. P. P. P.

West face.



South face.



- 6 guṇ-aikatānaṁ || [1*] Svasti samasta-
 7 bhuvanāśraya śrī-pri(pri)thvivallabha
 8 mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara
 9 paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśraya-ku-
 10 la-tilakaṁ Chālukya-ābharanaṁ śrīma-
 11 t-[T]ribhuvanamalladēvara vijaya-rā-
 12 jyaṁ=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarddha-
 13 mānam=ā-chāndr-ārka-tāraṁ salutta-
 14 m=ire [||*] Tat-pādapadm-ōpajīvi samadhi-
 15 gatapaṁchamahāśabda mahāmān[ḍa]-
 16 lēśvaran=Anmakundā-puravar-ēśvaraṁ
 17 parama-Māhēśvaraṁ pati-hita-cha-
 18 ritam vina[ya]-vibhūṣhaṇam śrīma-
 19 n-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara[m] Kākati-Bēta-[bhū]-
 20 pāla-kula-kri(kra)māgataṁ tadiya-rā-
 21 jya-bhara-nirūpita-mahāmātya-pa-
 22 davi-virājamāna mān-ōnnata pra-
 23 bhu-mamtr-ō[t]sāha-śakti-traya-sam-
 24 paṁnan-ā[gi] || Ghana-śauryy-āṭōpa[di]m
 25 māntanada mahimeyīm chāru-chāri-
 26 tradiṁ[d=ō]lpina telpim sat-kalā-kausa-
 27 ladi[n=ō]david=āścharyya-[sau]m-

North Face.

- 28 daryyadiṁd=a[rtthi]nikāya-prārthit-ārttha-
 29 [pra]da-vitarana-[vi]khyātan=ādaṁ dharitrī-
 30 [vi]nutaṁ śrī-Kākati-Bētarasana sachi-
 31 vaṁ Vaija-damḍādbinātha || [2*] Agapita-śauryya-
 32 diṁ negaḍḍa[da] Kākati-Bēta-narēndranam jagam
 33 poṁgaḷe¹ Chalukya-chakri-charaṇam sale kā-
 34 nisi tat-prasādadiṁ bagegole Sabbi-sā-
 35 yiraman=ālisi[d=u]dgha-yaśō-
 36 dhināthanam poḷaḷadar=āro maṁḍa[li]-
 37 ka-Kākati-Bētana mamtri Vaijana || [3*] Â-
 38 taṁgam vikasita-kamjāt-ānane Yā-
 39 kamabbegam janiyisidam khyātam
 40 dhareyoḷu pergaḷe Bētam maṁ-
 41 tri-jana-makuṭa-chūḍaratna || [4*]
 42 Âtam Mām[dh]āta-Rām-ōpama-
 43 n=enisida śrī-Kākati-Prōla-bhū-
 44 pa-khyāt-āmātyam vivēk-āgrani²
 45 sakala-kalā-kōvidaṁ sach-charitra-
 46 prītam sāhitya-vidyā-ni[dhi] bu-
 47 da(dha)-vibudh-ōrvviruham satya-dharm-ō-
 48 pētam sva-grāmadōl=māḍidan=ati-ma-
 49 dadiṁ hattu dēvālayaṁgaḷu³ || [5*]
 50 Atisaya-Jaina-dharmma-samay-ōchita-
 51 Śāsanadēvi Bhārati-sati śasi(śi)-bimba-va[ktra]-

¹ Read *poḷaḷe*.

² In the translation I have taken this word to be synonymous with *vivēk-āgrani*.

³ About the *u* here and ll. 55, 68, and 69, which Dr. Fleet thinks to be a form of the *vīrdma*, see above, Vol. V. p. 237.

- 52 daṣaṇa-chehhade śuddha-suvaiṇṇa(ṇṇa)-kumbha-sannuta-ta-
 53 nuvaṇṇa(ṇṇa)-pivara-[pa]yōdharu Maila[ma Yā]-
 54 [ka]māmbikā-su[ta]-tad-amātya-[Bē]ta-[hri]-
 55 day-ēsvai mēcha[a]-Lakshmi bhāvisalu[||][6*]

West Face.

- 56 Padadiṁd=ā-luṭit-ālakam barega[m=am]g-ō-
 57 pāṁgamam pañcha-ratnadin=amg-ōchitam-āge
 58 nirmisi sura-stri-bh[ā]gya-saubhāgya-
 59 samma[da]-sauru[da]ryyaman=āydu tīvi
 60 padedaṁ Kamjāta-samjātan=i su[dati]-
 61 ratnaman=emdu Mailamanan=ār=ār=bba[ṇni](ṇṇi)sa-
 62 r=llōkadol || [7*] Nuta-rūpavati ka[a]va[-
 63 ti rati-Rati Śrī-sati Ghaṭāntakī-sati Vā-
 64 nī-satiy=emḍ=amātya-Bētana satiyam
 65 kshitiy=ellam=eyde nutiyisut=irkku[m ||] [8*]
 66 Mudadiṁd=ene nega[da] [Ra]m-āspade Mai-
 67 lama bhaktiyimḍe māḍisi tanag=abhyuda-
 68 yakaram=āgiralu beṭṭada [mē]gapa
 69 Kadalalāya-basadiyan=eseyalu[||][9*]
 70 Adarkke nitya-pūjegam dhūpa-dīpa-[ni]vēdya-
 71 kkaṁ pūjārig=āhā[ra]¹-vastrādīgalam
 72 śrīmat-[T]ribhuvanamalla-maṁḍalika-bhū[pā]-
 73 la-putran-appa Kākatiya-Polalarasana rā-
 74 jyam=utta[r]-ōttar-ā[bhi]vri(vri)ddhi-pravarddhamānam-ā-
 75 g=Ammakumdeyal-ā-chaṁdr-ārka[ka]-tāram sa-
 76 luttum=ire śrīmach- Chālukya-Vikrama-va[r]sha-
 77 da nālvatt-erāḍe(ḍa)neya Hēmaḷambi-[sam]-
 78 vatsara Paushya-bahula 15 Sōmavā-
 79 rad-amdin-Uttarāyana-samkrānti-nimi-
 80 ttam dharā-pūrvvakam-āgi tan[na] vallabhan-appa
 81 Betana-perggaḍe tanna pesariṁḍam maḍi-
 82 sida keṇey-ēriya keḷagan=eraḍum
 83 hās-aṇe-ga[l*]ṅgala nadu(ḍu)vaṇa gardhde(rdde)[ya]
 84 mattar=eraḍum mattam=ā-keṇeya pa-
 85 du(ḍu)vaṇa nela doṇeya temkal=ereya
 86 mattar=nnūlukum karambam ma[tta]r=ālu(ru)-
 87 maru koṭṭu nirisida=i-śā[sa]na-gaṁbha ||

South Face.

- 88 Mattam=i dharmmakke tellaṭiy-āge[||][*]
 89 A[shṭau] danti-sahasrāpi daśa-kō-
 90 ṭi cha vājīnām=[*] anantam pāda-sam-
 91 ghātam=ity-ētē Mādha[va*]varmma-
 92 vams-ōdbhavar-appa śrīman-mahā-
 93 maṇḍalēsvaran=Ugravā[ḍi]-
 94 ya Mēlarasam tann=ā[li]ke-

¹ In the original the syllables *gāhāra* look like *gāhānta*

- 95 y=Oruṅgalla Kūchikere-
 96 y=ēriya keḷag[e] kâlūveya
 97 modala garḍdeya mattar=ond-â sa-
 98 mīpadale karambari matta-
 99 ru hattuman=itta || Nirutam=i-
 100 dan=alidavam sāsira-kavi[le]-
 101 yan=ali[da] pāpamam [po]rddu-
 102 gum=ādaradim rakshi[si*]dam sâ-
 103 sira-ye(ya)jñada paḷaman=eydi
 104 śubha[ma]m paḍegu[m*] || [10*] Sva-da-
 105 ttam para-dattam vâ yô harêta
 106 vasuṁdharām [i*] shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasr[â]-
 107 ni vishṭhāyām jīyatê kṛimih || [11*]
 108 Bahubhi=vvasudhâ dattâ rājabbis=Sa-
 109 gar-ādibhih [i*] yasya yasya ya-
 110 dâ bhūmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || [12*]
 111 Alli basadiya kasam ge(ga)ḷeva Bô-
 112 ya-[Pa]ddamge pāga voṁdu ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May the lotus-foot of the blessed Jinendra, which (like the lotus) is worthy of being raised by the lords of kings and the lords of ascetics (*residing*) in the three worlds, whose powerful doctrine completely destroys (all) sins (just as the powerful stem of the lotus completely cures the patient of his *dōsha*¹), which is the origin of the *ratna-traya*² (as the lotus is the birth-place of gems³) (and) which has its attention fixed on excellent virtues (*guṇa*) only (as the stock of the lotus is made up entirely of delicate fibre), protect all Bhavyas!⁴

(Line 6 f.) Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva,—the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Prithvivallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramibhaṭṭāraka, the front ornament of the Satyāśraya family, the jewel of the Chālukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase (to last) as long as the moon, sun, and stars.

(L. 14 f.) A dependent on his lotus-feet (was) the prosperous mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, the chief Kākati Bētarasa who had acquired the five great sounds, (who was) a mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, the lord of Anmakundā—the best of towns, a great devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva), (one) whose actions were (directed) for the good of (his) master (and) whose ornament was modesty.⁵

(L. 20 f.) Resplendent in (his) position as the hereditary prime minister (*mahāmātya*) entrusted with the administration of the kingdom of that king (i.e. Bēta), great of self-respect (and) possessing the triple qualifications of pre-eminence, counsel and energy,

(V. 2.) the danḍādhinātha Vaija, minister of the glorious king Kākati Bēta, worshipped by (all the people of) the world for (his) liberality which bestowed desired objects on crowds

¹ *Dōsha* is a medical term and means, according to Dr. Kittel, 'black or red spots on the tongue foreboding death.' It may be that according to Indian medical science, the lotus-stem is a powerful agent in removing this *dōsha*.

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 134, note 3.

³ These are the lotus seeds which as sacred beads are worn round the neck and are called *idāra-maṇi* (lotus-gems) in Kanarese.

⁴ I.e. the Jaina community; see Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II., p. 59, paragraph 6.

⁵ The original appears to have *vinayī* in which case the phrase may be translated "the jewel among the well-behaved;" but as *vinīya-vibhūṣaṇa* is the form which generally occurs in inscriptions, I prefer to read *ya* instead of *yi*.

of supplicants, for (his) surpassing beauty which amazed (those who saw him), for his high proficiency in the sciences, for (his) refined goodness, for (his) charming behaviour, for the greatness of (his) pride¹ (and) for the display of (his) dauntless heroism,—became famous.

(V. 3.) Who does not extol the minister of the *maṇḍalika* Kākati Bêta, Vaija, that master of prodigious fame, who by (his) immeasurable prowess made, amidst the applauses of the world, the renowned king Kākati Bêta to successfully visit the feet of the Chālukya emperor (*chakrin*), (and) to rule by the favour of that (emperor) the Sabbi (one) thousand (district) (in such a way) as to attract the attention (of the world).

(V. 4.) To him and to (his wife) the blooming lotus-faced Yākamaṁbbe was born *pergaḍe* Bêta who, famous (as he was) in the world, was a head-jewel in the diadems of the minister-class.

(V. 5.) He (Bêta), the exalted minister of the prosperous king Kākati-Prôla, who was counted as equal to Māndhātā and Rāma, the foremost among the wise, proficient in all sciences, an admirer of good behaviour, a mine of literary lore, a celestial tree to learned men possessing truth and virtue, built, with great delight, ten houses for gods (*i.e.* temples) in his own village.

(V. 6.) The wife of the minister Bêta, the son of [Yā]kamāmbikā, (was) Mailama, whose face was (as pleasant as) the moon (and) whose lips were (red like) the *bimba* (fruit), the colour of whose body was praised as being fair (and her) full breasts as being golden pots, (who was) the (veritable) lady Bhārati, a Śāsanadēvi (*par excellence*) acceptable to the doctrines of the Jaina religion (and) decidedly, (the goddess) Lakshmi (but) without (the latter's) fickleness.

(V. 7.) Who, who in this world does not extol Mailama saying: "The lotus-born (Brahman) having produced, out of the five gems (such) as best suited the portion of the body (under creation), the (several) limbs with (their) adjuncts from the feet right up to those tremulous curls, (and) having filled (them) with happiness, grace, joy (and) beauty (which he) culled from among the celestial nymphs,—(he) loved (to see) this gem of womankind (—his own creation)."

(V. 8.) The whole world would praise deservedly the wife of the minister Bêta saying: "She possesses praiseworthy beauty; she is full of lustre; (she) is a Rati in dalliance; (she) is the lady Śrī (*i.e.* Lakshmi), (she) is the lady Ghaṭāntaki;² (she) is the lady Vāṇi (*i.e.* Sarasvatī)."

(V. 9.) The thus-praised abode of Rāmā (*i.e.* Lakshmi)—Mailama—having caused to be built with delight and devotion the resplendent Kadālāyā-basadi (temple) on the top of the hill in order that it may bring prosperity to her—

(L. 70.) for the daily worship, incense, lights (and) oblations (in the temple) (and) for food, clothing, *etc.*, of the temple priest,—

(L. 72.) while the reign of Kākatiya Poḷalarasa, son of the glorious king, the *Maṇḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla, was continuously prosperous and successful, at Ammakunde, (to last) as long as the moon, sun and stars—in the forty-second year of the prosperous Chālukya-Vikrama years, corresponding to the Hēmaḷambi-saṁvatsara; on account of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti

¹ The word *māntana* is not found in Dr. Kittel's *Kannāḍa-English Dictionary*. Perhaps it is a poetical form for *mānatana*.

² The Jaina saint Akalaṅka is said in the Mallishēpa epitaph (above, Vol. III. p. 200) to have overcome, along with the Bauddhas, the Buddhist goddess Tārā who had secretly descended into a pot as dwelling place. According to the *Rājaraṣṭ-kathā* (Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II. p. 45) Akalaṅka was helped in his disputation against the Bauddhas by the Jaina goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī and eventually kicked over the pot with his left foot and smashed it. In the present inscription Mailama is apparently compared to the goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī who helped Akalaṅka to smash the pot in which the goddess Tārā had taken her abode.

(which happened) on Monday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Pausya (of that year)—

(L. 80.) gave to that (temple), with libations of water, two *mattar* of wet land (lying) between two flat slabs below the *band* of the tank built in her name by her husband Bētana-pergāde, and four *mattar* of black-soil land (lying) south of the pond (*done*) on the west side of the same tank and six *mattar* of uncultivated land,¹ (and) set up this inscribed pillar.

(L. 88 f.) And as a (subsidiary) gift to this charity the prosperous *malāmanḍalēśvara* Mējarasa of Ugravāḍi, who was born in the family of Mādha[vav]arma, (whose army consisted) of “eight thousand elephants, eight crores of horses and endless crowds of foot (soldiers) etc.,” gave one *mattar* of wet-land at the head of the canal below the *band* of Kūchikere (tank) which belonged to Oruṅgallu (included) within his rule, (and) ten *mattar* of miscellaneous land close to the same (land).

(V. 10.) He that destroys this (charity) shall always incur the sin of having killed thousand tawny cows; (and) he that carefully protects it, shall ever enjoy (that) happiness (which is) acquired as the fruit of a thousand sacrifices (*yajña*).

[Ll. 104 to 110 contain two of the usual imprecatory verses.]

(L. 111 f.) One *pūga*² (is assigned) to Bōya-Padda who removes the sweepings in that temple.

No. 36.—BALAGHAT PLATES OF PRITHIVISHENA II.

By THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates were sent in May 1893 by the Deputy Commissioner of Bālāghāt, a district in the Nāgpur Division of the Central Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which they now belong. In the letter which accompanied them, it was stated that they had been found in the district, ‘some time ago, hanging to a tree in the jungle.’ They were entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle in 1905, with the request that I should edit the inscription which is engraved on them. Other work has prevented my doing so before now.

The plates are five in number, each between $6\frac{3}{4}$ " and $6\frac{1}{2}$ " long by between $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and 4" high; two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii) the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate. This ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and between 3" and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands. On the ring described there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was meant to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it.³

The plates clearly were intended to record a grant of the Vākātaka king Prithivishēna II., but they actually give only the genealogy of the king and break off at the point where his order

¹ I have taken *karambam* to be synonymous with Tamil *karambu*, which, according to Dr. Winslow, means ‘hard and sterile ground.’

² This small coin, more popularly pronounced *kāga*, is equal to ‘one-fourth of a *kaṇa*.’

³ Compare the descriptions of the three sets of plates of Pravarasēna II. in *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 235 and 243 and above, Vol. III., p. 258.

commences. The four inscribed sides contain 35 lines¹ of well-engraved writing. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{4}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the 'box-headed' variety of the southern class of alphabets and are similar to, but less angular than, those of the Dudia plates of the Vakāṭaka Pravarasēna II., published with a facsimile above, Vol. III. p. 260. They include the subscript sign of the rare *jh*, in *ājihita*², l. 31, the sign of the *jihvāmūliya*, in *sūnōh=Kuntalā*³, l. 30, and forms of the final *t*, in *samrāt*, l. 4, and of the final *t* (which does not show in the facsimile), in *vachanāt*, l. 35.² The conjunct *nn* is everywhere written by a sign which is really the sign for *nn* (in *sannivṛṣita*-, l. 6, *utpannasya*, l. 23, and elsewhere); *visarga* is denoted by two hook-shaped lines (e. g. in *sūnōh*, ll. 11 and 20); the signs for *d* and *ḍ* are well distinguished, e. g. in *-vīśakūḍa*-, l. 1, and *śūḍaśy*-, l. 2; and there are two forms of the letter *v*, e. g. in *-vīśakūḍa*-, l. 1, and *vachanāt*, l. 35.—The language is somewhat ungrammatical Sanskrit, and the text is all in prose. In line 10 a passage of no less than 27 *aksharas* has through carelessness been omitted by the writer. As regards orthography, the rules of *saṁdhi* are constantly neglected (as in the three cognate grants); the (long) *ā* is several times written where the vowel should be short, and (the short) *i* is throughout employed for both *i* and *ī*; the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *-pautriṇah*, l. 16, and *-śrīṇah*, l. 27, and instead of *ri* in *śrī*-, ll. 17 and 25. Besides, the dental and lingual nasals are confounded in *kūrunya*-, l. 12, *maṇō*-, l. 13, and *-ānusirīṇah*, l. 20; the word *aṁsa* is written as *ansa* in line 6, and *vaiṁsa* as *vaṁsa* in lines 8, 24, 27 and 33; *sh* is doubled after *r* in *varshsha*-, l. 14, and *dh* before *y* in *-addhyaksha*, l. 35. With °*patir-abhya*° for °*paty-abhya*° in line 28, where the *r* of °*patir*- looks like a *saṁdhi*-consonant, we may compare *-bbalam-aivaryya*- for *-bbalaivaryya*-, in line 15 of the Dudia plates, above, Vol. III. p. 261, where *m* is used in a similar way.³

With two exceptions, the text down to the word *Pravarasēnasya* in line 26 is practically identical with that of the three published grants⁴ of the Vakāṭaka king Pravarasēna II.; like those grants, it gives the genealogy of this king, commencing with Pravarasēna I., and enumerating after him his son's son Rudrasēna I., his son Prithivishēna I., his son Rudrasēna II., and his son (from Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta) Pravarasēna II. Of the exceptions referred to, one is that our inscription commences with *Vēmbāra-vīśakūḍa*-, 'from (his) residence Vēmbāra,' in the place of which the Chammak and Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II. have *Pravarapurāt*-, 'from Pravarapura.' Our grant therefore was to have been issued from Vēmbāra, a place which I have not been able to identify. The other point of difference is that, while the grants of Pravarasēna II. commence with *drishṭam*, or *drishṭam svasti*, or *drishṭam siddham*, this inscription contains no such expression, but at the beginning of line 1, before the word *Vēmbāra*-, leaves an empty space just where one would have expected something like *drishṭam*. The omission and the vacant space, in my opinion, are rather significant. Contrary to what I have said in my remarks on the Dudia plates, above, Vol. III. p. 259, I am convinced now that *drishṭam* (and the Prākṛit *dīṭham* of the Mayidavōlu and Hiraḥaḍagalli plates⁵) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen,' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders.⁶ Such a remark

¹ In preparing the accompanying facsimile, the last line on the first side of the second plate unfortunately was at first overlooked; it is really line 18, and the lines marked in the facsimile as lines 18–34 are really lines 19–35.

² There is a final *m* in line 27 (line 26 of the facsimile), but it seems to be out of place where it stands.

³ Other passages where *m* looks distinctly like a *saṁdhi*-consonant are *tēna manēka*- for *tānānēka*- in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 309, line 10, and *prarēṣayitāyā manyathā* for *prarēṣayitāyā anaythā* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 257, line 13.

⁴ See above, p. 267, note 2.

⁵ Nos. 617 and 618 of my *Southern List*.

⁶ Compare the remarks of the late Prof. Buhler, above Vol. I, pp. 9 and 10, and of Prof. Hultzsch above, Vol. VI, p. 88. Sir W. H. Sleeman, speaking of certain kings of Oude, in his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol. I, p. 179, says that to their orders a seal was affixed in their presence bearing the inscription *mohalīza shud*, 'it has been seen.' Like *drishṭam*, *jūḍ'am* is used in the body of an inscription in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, p. 92, l. 21 (*jūḍtam*=*mahāmantri-śrī-Māhaskēna*).

could of course have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished, and it is missing here because our grant was not completed. The engraver apparently acted just as a writer or copyist of the grant would have done.

After Pravarasēna II. our inscription in lines 26-35 mentions his son, the *Mahārāja* Narēndrasēna, and after him his son — born from the queen (*mahil'vī*) Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikā,¹ a daughter of the lord of Kuntala — the *Mahārāja* Prithivishēna [II], a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishnu).² Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence' in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune; his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess.³ Prithivishēna II. is described as 'being a receptacle of splendour and forbearance, who raised (his) sunken family.' The name *Prithivishēnasya*, in line 35 is followed by *vaśanvat*, 'at his command'; but of the king's order only the words 'all superintendents' are given by these plates.

In the Vākātaka stone inscription published in *Archæol. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 124 ff., the verses 10 and 11, which would have given the names of the successors of Pravarasēna II., are unfortunately much mutilated. The name of Pravarasēna's son and successor, 'who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years of age, ruled well, has quite disappeared, and the son of that unknown king according to the published text was Dēvasena. As has been stated above, according to our grant Pravarasēna's son Narēndrasēna took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother), married a daughter of the king of Kuntala, and was succeeded by his son Prithivishēna II. The stone inscription in verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of Kuntala by apparently Prithivishēna I., and in verse 18 speaks of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, Andhra . . . [as having been subjected by one of the later Vākātakas]. According to the present inscription Narēndrasēna had his commands honoured (or obeyed) by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava. The first and last of these three countries are well known. The situation of Mēkala (according to the Topographical List of the Brihatsaṃhitā in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 185, a mountain or a people) is indicated by the fact that the river Narmadā is called *Mēkala-kanyā*, 'the daughter of Mēkala, and that that river springs from the hill Amarakantak (in Long. 81° 48' and Lat. 22° 40') in the ancient Chēdi country.³

Here and in the cognate plates the Vākātaka kings have the title *mahārāja* followed by the word *śrī* prefixed to their names, and before the title there stands in each case the genitive *Vākātakānām*; e.g. *Vākātakānām mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya*. Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genitive *Vākātakānām* were governed by the title *mahārāja*: 'the illustrious Pravarasēna, the great king of the Vākātakas,' or 'the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna.' The matter is not of great importance, but it may be as well to state that from the grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable. In my opinion, the genitive must be taken to qualify, not the title *mahārāja*, but the whole phrase *mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēna*, and more especially the word *Pravarasēna*, the chief component of the phrase, so that the meaning would be 'the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Pravarasēna of the Vākātakas,' i.e. 'of the family of the Vākātakas.'⁴ I have already had occasion to point out that we similarly have the genitive *Maitrakānām* in the Valabhī plates, where there is no title by which this genitive could be governed; *Vishṇukunḍinām* above, Vol. IV. p. 195, l. 2; and

¹ The name *Ajjhitadevī* we also find in the Kāritalāi plates of the Mahārāja Jayasātha; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 118.

² The reading of the original text is not absolutely certain here.

³ Compare *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII., Plate I., and the verse cited by Dr Bhandarkar above, Vol. IV., p. 280.

⁴ The same remark applies to the genitive *Bhārasivānām* in line 10 of the inscription.

Kadambūnim in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 26, l. 5 and Vol. VII. p. 35, l. 4, and above, Vol. VI. p. 14, l. 4, and p. 18, l. 5.

The inscription, not having been finished, contains no date of any kind, but it may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the 8th century A.D.

TEXT.¹*First Plate.*

- 1 . . . ²Vēmbāra-vāsakād=agnishṭôm-āptōryām-ōkthya-
- 2 shōḍaśy-atirātra-vājapēya-bṛihaspatisava-sādyā-
- 3 skra-chaturāśvamēdha-yājinaḥ³ Viṣṇuvṛiddha-sagōtra-
- 4 sya samrāt⁴ Vākātākānām=mahārāja-śrī-⁵Pravarasē-
- 5 nasya ⁶sūnōs=sūnōḥ atyanta-Svāmi-Mahā-
- 6 bhairava-bhaktasya⁷ ansa-⁸bhāra-sannivēśita-⁹Śiva-
- 7 liṅg-ōdvahana-Śiva-superitushṭa-samutpādita-
- 8 rājavanśānām¹⁰=parākram-ādhigata-Bhāgiratthy-āmala-¹¹
- 9 jala-¹²mūrdhnanābhishiktānām=daśāśvamēdh-āva-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 bhṛitha-snātānām=Bhāraśivānām=¹³mahārāja-śrī-¹⁴Rudrasē-
- 11 nasya sūnōḥ atyanta-māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-
- 12 kārunya(nya)-śaurya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-māhā-
- 13 tmya-dhimatva-pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmāvijayitva-¹⁵map[ō]-¹⁶
- 14 nairmmāly-ādir-¹⁷guṇa-samuditasya varshsha-śata-
- 15 m=abhivarddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sādhana-santāna-putra-
- 16 pautri(tri)ṇaḥ Yudhishṭhira-vṛittēr-¹⁸Vvākātākānām=mahā-
- 17 rāja-śrī(śrī)-Prithivishēnasya sūnō[h*] bhagavata-
- 18 ś=Chakrapāṇē[h*] prasād-ōpārjita-śrī-¹⁹

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 samudayasya Vākātākānām=mahārāja-śrī-²⁰Rudra-
- 20 sēnasya sūnōḥ ²¹pūrvvarāj-ānuvṛitta-mā[r*]gg-ānu(nu)sā-

¹ From the original plates.

² At the commencement of this line there is an empty space sufficient for about three *akṣaras*. One would have expected here the word *dṛiṣṭam*, with which the three grants of Pravarasēna II. begin.

³ This sign of *visarga* is clearly visible in the original. Here and in other places below the rules of *samdhī* have not been observed.

⁴ The plates of Pravarasēna II. have *sumrād* (?), *sashrat*, and *samrāṭaḥ*. Read *samrājah* (or *samrājō*).

⁵ Read *-śrī-*.

⁶ The *akṣara* *sū* is clear in the original.

⁷ Here is a mark in the original which looks like the upper half of a *visarga*.

⁸ Read *aṁsa-*.

⁹ In this word and everywhere below the conjunct *nn* is denoted by a sign which is really the sign for *nn*.

¹⁰ Read *vanśānām-*.

¹¹ Read *-Bhāgiratthy-āmala-*.

¹² Read *-mūrdhakhī-*; compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 237, l. 6.

¹³ Here the words *mahārāja-śrī-Bhavanāga-daśhitrasya Gautamiputrasya putrasya Vākātākānām* of the cognate plates have erroneously been omitted.

¹⁴ Read *-śrī-*.

¹⁵ Read *-dhimatto-pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmavijayitva-*.

¹⁶ Read *-manō-*.

¹⁷ Read *nairmmāly-ādi-*.

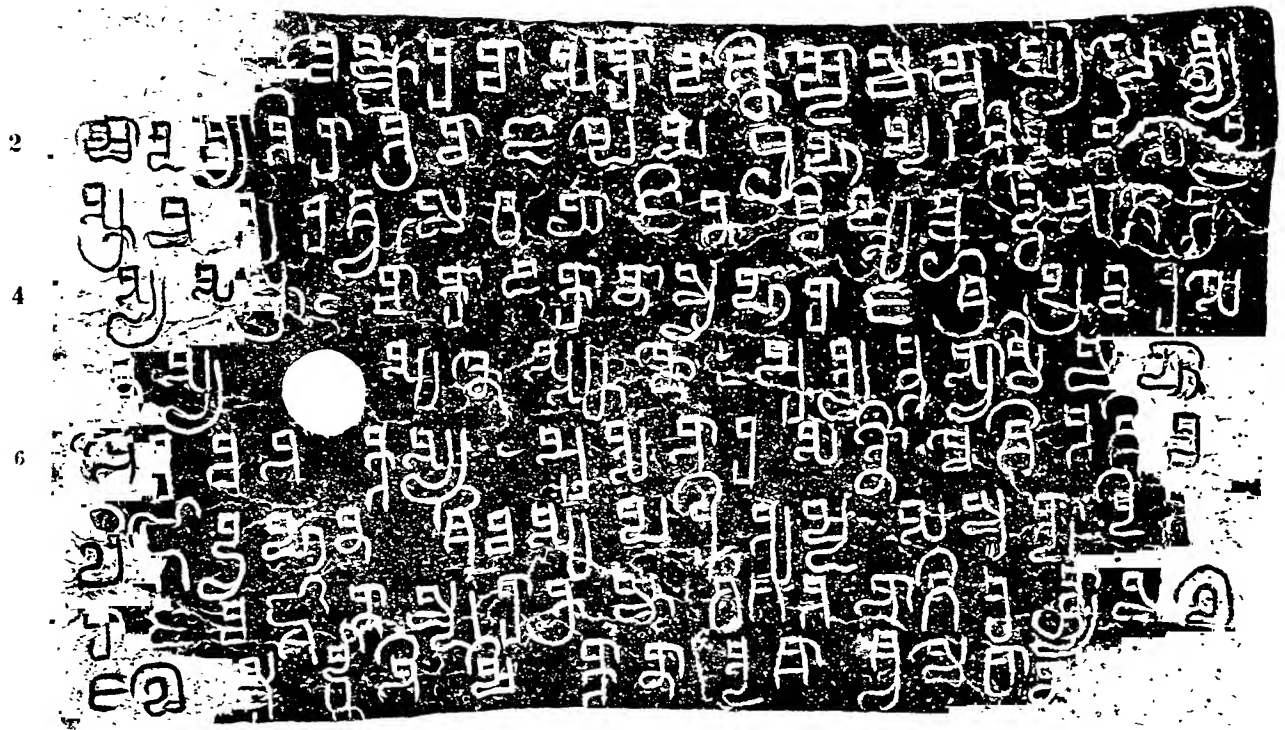
¹⁸ Originally *evī* was engraved.

¹⁹ One would have expected *prasāddā=upā-*.—Read *-śrī-*.

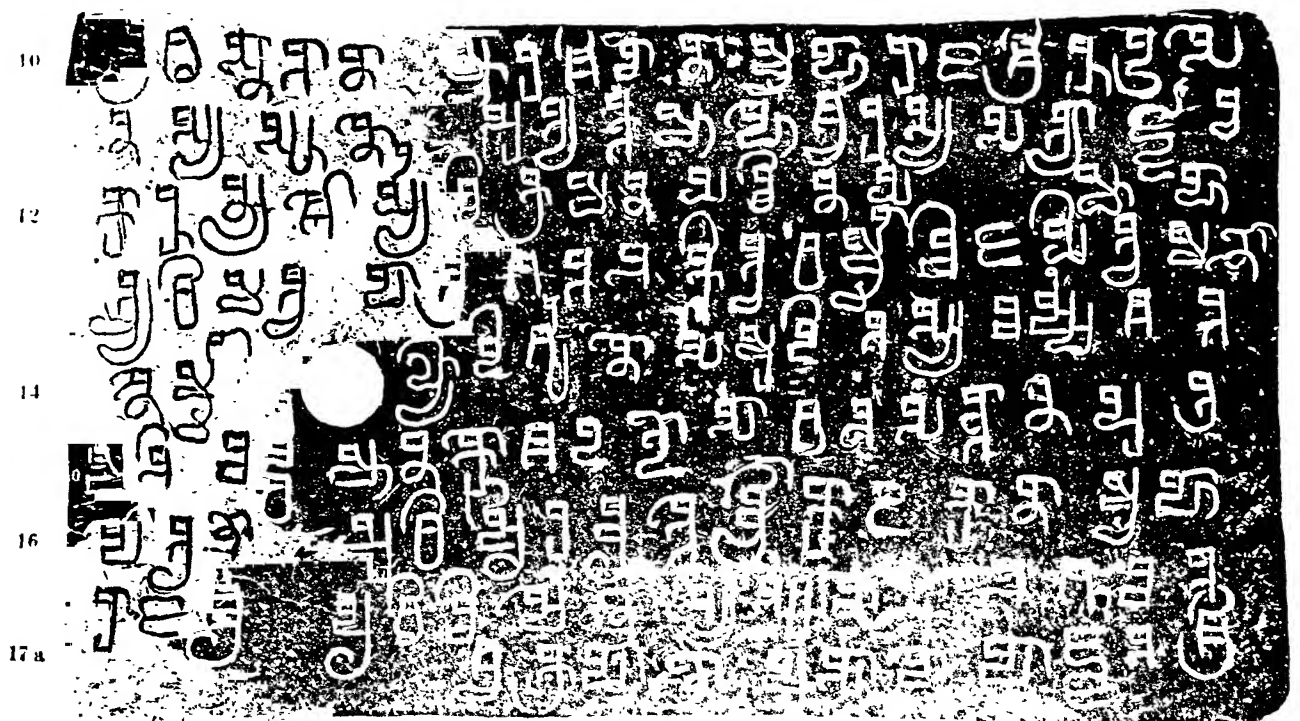
²⁰ Read *-śrī-*.

²¹ Of the three grants of Pravarasēna II., only the Siwanī grant has the passage from here to *°dvishah*; see *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 246, lines 14 and 15.

i.



ii a.



ii b.

17

20

22

24

26

Handwritten text in a script, likely Indic, on a dark background. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A large, solid black circular mark is visible in the middle of the text, approximately one-third of the way across the page.

iii a.

27

30

32

34

Handwritten text in a script, likely Indic, on a dark background. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A large, solid black circular mark is visible in the middle of the text, approximately one-third of the way across the page.

- 21 riṇaḥ sunaya-bala-parākram-ōmcbhinna-¹sarvvadvi-
 22 śhaḥ mahārājādhirāja-śrī-²Dēvagupta-sutāyā-
 23 m=Prabhāvatiguptāyān=utpannasya Vākāṭa-
 24 ³kavaṇś-ālaṇkārabhūtasya Śambhōḥ prasādād=dhra(dhri)-
 25 ⁴ta-kārttayugasya ⁵Vākāṭakānā[m*]=mahārāja(ja)-śrī(śrī)-
 26 Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ pūrvvādhigata-guṇa-
 27 ⁶viśāva[sā?]d=apahrīta-vaṇśasīyaḥ⁷ Kōśalā-⁸

Third Plate.

- 28 Mēkalā⁹-Mālav-ādhipatir-abhyarchchata-¹⁰sāsanasya pra-
 29 tāpa-pralātārisanasya¹¹ Vākāṭakānām-mahā-
 30 rāja-śrī-¹²Narēndrasēnasya sūnōḥ-Kuntalādhipati-
 31 sutāyā[m*]=mahādēvyām=Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikāyām-u-
 32 tpannasya tējaḥ-kshamā-sannidhānabhūta-¹³
 33 sya¹⁴ dvimagna-vaṇśasy¹⁵=ōddharttuḥ Vākāṭakānā-
 34 m-paramabhāgavata-mahārāja-śrī¹⁶-Prithivishē-
 35 nasya vachanāt¹⁷ asmatsantakā¹⁸ sarvv-āddhyaksha

No. 37.—ORISSA PLATES OF VIDYADHARABHANJADEVA.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

There is no information as to where or when these plates were first obtained. In 1887 they belonged to Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and the inscription which is engraved on them was published in that year, with a facsimile, by the late Dr. Rājēndralāl Mitra, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 154 ff. In November 1895 the plates were presented by the Commissioner of Orissa, through Mr. C. L. Griesbach, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they have now been entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle, with the request to re-edit the inscription.

There are three substantial copper-plates, the edges of which are slightly raised, and of which each measures between 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ " and 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ " long by between 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. They slide on a copper ring, which passes through a hole, which is about $\frac{5}{8}$ " distant from the middle of

¹ Read -ōchchhinna-.

² Read -śrī-.

³ Read -kavaṇś-.

⁴ Instead of this *ta-* the Chamrak and Siwani grants of Pravarasēna II. have *ti-*, which seems to me preferable.

⁵ Here some *akṣhara* (perhaps the initial *i*) was engraved, but has been erased.

⁶ The reading is doubtful. The first *akṣhara* of the line is *vi*, the superscript *i* of which, though faint, is distinctly visible in the original; and the second appears to be *śvā*. The third *akṣhara* looks more like *ya* than *śa*, and is followed by a sign which looks like a form of final *m*, and has probably been struck out. The *śa* and what follows is clear.

⁷ Read -vaṇśasīyaḥ.

⁸ Read Kōśalā-.

⁹ Perhaps *Māikāḍa-* has actually been engraved; read *Mēkalā-*.

¹⁰ Read -pātī-ābhārchchita-.

¹¹ Read -prajāśrīśāsanasya (?).

¹² Read -śrī-.

¹³ Read -bhūta-.

¹⁴ Here again there is a mark which looks like part of the *visarga*.

¹⁵ Read -vi(?)magna-vaṇśasy-.

¹⁶ Read -śrī-.

¹⁷ This final *i*, the sign for which is very small, is really visible in the original plate. In *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 207, l. 17, the text has *vaṇśasī* [*i**].

¹⁸ Read -santakā-, and compare above, Vol. III. p. 261, l. 18.

the proper right margin of each plate. The ring, which had already been cut when the plates came into my hands, is between $\frac{5}{16}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and about 3" in diameter, and on to it is soldered a roughly circular metal seal, between $1\frac{1}{16}$ " and $1\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. The seal contains in relief on a countersunk surface, in the upper half, a couching lion facing to the proper right, and in the lower half the legend

*śrī-Vidyādhara-
bhañjadévasya*

in northern characters which are between $\frac{3}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ " high.

Before the plates were used for the grant now engraved on them, they had already served for another grant, the four last lines of which, though faint, are almost completely legible on the first side of the first plate, and of the writing of which more or less distinct traces remain also on the other sides of the plates. The characters of this earlier grant belong to what I have elsewhere¹ called the Gañjām variety of the northern alphabet; and the lines with which it ended, compared with the end of the Gumsūr grant² of Nêṭribhañja, published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. VI. p. 669 f. and Plate xxxiii., would seem to show that the grant was issued by a chief of the same family. The four lines (on the first side of the first plate), so far as I am able to read them, are:—

- L. 1. Svayam-ādishtō rājā dūtakō-tra [Mār]tandah || Likhitamū-cha³
sāndhivi-
2. grahika-Ārkka[dēvēna]⁴ || Lāñchhitam [rā]jñī-śrī-Mānikya-mahādē-
3. vyā || Utkirṇam ch-āksha[sā]li-Kumāra[dattēna] || ⁵ samvat . . .
4. di⁶ . . . ||

The grant now recorded on these plates is engraved on the second side of the first plate and on both sides of the two others. The engraving is deep and well done, and in a perfect state of preservation. In three places (in lines 10, 22 and 35) there is some doubt about the actual wording of the text, either because the engraver altered what he had originally engraved, or because portions of the letters of the earlier grant spoken of above are mixed up with the new writing; the rest may be read without any difficulty. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters belong to that variety of the northern alphabet which we find, e.g. on the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman, treated of above, Vol. VII. p. 101 f. Of the consonant signs the most characteristic are those for *h* (e.g. in *Hurasya Śēśāhēr*, l. 4), *t* and *tt* (e.g. in *prakāṭa*, l. 9, and *-vighattitā*, l. 6), and *n* (e.g. in *-vāna-prāna*, l. 1), of which the last, in combination with palatals, also serves for the palatal nasal (e.g. in *Bhañjāmalā*, l. 14, = *uktañ=cha*, l. 27, and *lāñchhitam*, l. 35). Among other conjuncts attention may be drawn to the signs for *ksh*, *gg*, *gbh*,

¹ See above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

² The published text, which was furnished to Mr. Prinsep by Kamalākānta Vidyālakāra, is quite untrustworthy. According to Mr. Prinsep's lithograph of Lieutenant Kittoe's copy, the passage with which we are concerned here, so far as I can make it out, would be *svayam-ādishtō rājā dūtakō-tra bhañja-śrī-Stambhadēvaḥ likhitam=cha edadhivigrahañ Kā[kka]kēna utkirṇa[m] ch=ākshasāli-Durggadēvēna || lāñchhitam*

³ Read *likhitam=cha*.

⁴ Read *grahik-Ārkka*.

⁵ Read *samvat*; the three *akṣaras* by which this word is followed are illegible.

⁶ This *di* is followed by a sign which possibly is a letter-numeral for 10; and before the sign of punctuation there is another sign which looks like the symbol for *ōh*. The two signs show fairly well in the accompanying facsimile. I may add that there are letter-numerals also in the last line of the Bāmaṅghāt grant of Raṇabhañja, published with a facsimile in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XL. Part I. p. 165 f., and in lines 35 and 36 of one of the Gañjām grants of Daṇḍimabādēvi, above, Vol. VI. p. 139 and Plate.

⁷ The same sign for *h* (which is not given by our palaeographic Tables) we find in the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman, in the Gumsūr plates of Nêṭribhañja, and on the second side of the plate of Daṇḍimabādēvi, above, Vol. VI. p. 138. It was also used in the grant originally engraved on these plates. A similar form of *h* we find in several varieties of the southern alphabet.

dbh and *mbh* (e.g. in *-vikshôbha-daksham*, l. 1, *°vargga*, l. 10, *-Digbhañjadēvasya*, l. 12, =*udbhā-* at the end of line 4, and *-Stambhadēva-*, l. 36). There is a special sign for final *t*, in *-ānyat*, l. 18, *nyat*, at the commencement of line 19, *°jāvat*, l. 21, and *°rādhāt* for *°rôdhāt*, l. 22. Of initial vowels the text contains only *a* (for *ā*), *ī*, *u* and *ē*, in *achandrā°*, l. 21, *iva*, ll. 5 and 6, *iti*, l. 33, *Upamany[u]-*, l. 23, *urtkirṇa*, l. 38, and *ētaḍ°*, l. 19. As regards medial vowels, *ā* is sometimes denoted by a short superscript stroke or by a small hook on the right of the consonant-sign, as in *lābhañja°* at the commencement of line 13, and in *Bhañjāmala°*, l. 14; and there are two signs¹ of the subscript *u*, one of which may be seen e.g. in *jayatu*, l. 1, and *bhuvana°*, l. 2, and the other in *-sura°*, l. 7, *-rīpu°*, l. 10, *Vañjulvakā-*, l. 8, and *-vrahubhir-*, l. 27, etc.; the former of the two signs is used also to denote medial *ū*, for which there is no separate sign in these plates. Two forms of medial *ē* may be seen e.g. in *Śēshāhēr=a(i)va yē*, l. 4, and *pra(prā)lēyāchala-*, l. 5; and similarly two forms of medial *ô*, e.g. in *kirttayô vilô°*, l. 35. The sign of *anusvāra* is sometimes placed after the consonant-sign, as in *°padaṃ yathārham*, l. 17. The signs of *virāma* and *avagraha* do not occur, and a sign of punctuation is found only in lines 20 and 25 (where in either case it is out of place) and at the end of the grant. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are two verses in lines 1-8, and four imprecatory verses in lines 27-35; the rest of the text is in prose. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; *visarga* at the end of a word is ten times omitted; and single consonants are used instead of double ones in *chatusimā-* for *chatusimā-*, l. 19, =*anurôdhū cha* for =*anurôdhāch=cha*, l. 26, and five or six times in the words *data* and *dati* for *datta* and *datti*. (lines 25, 28, 29, 31, 32 and perhaps 23). There is besides some confusion of the short and long vowels, especially in the case of *i* and *ī*, where *ī* is used instead of *i* no less than nine times (e.g. in *nikasha*, l. 3, *rīpu*, l. 10, *salila*, l. 21, etc.); and *ū*, as has been already stated, is everywhere written by the sign for *u*. A few times the writer or engraver has omitted an *akshara*, as in *Vidyādhahhañja°* for *Vidyādharaḥhañja°*, l. 15, the chief name of the inscription which is correctly given on the seal; and altogether the grant has been written rather carelessly.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the ornament of the spotless family of the Bhañjas,² the *Mahārāja Vidyādharaḥhañjadēva*, also called king *Dharmakalaśa*(?), who was a son of *Śilābhañjadēva*,³ grandson of *Digbhañjadēva*,⁴ and great-grandson of *Raṇabhañjadēva*; and its object is to record a grant which was issued by the king from *Vañjulvaka*.⁵ Like the Gumsūr grant of *Nētribhañjadēva Kalyānakalaśa*, it opens with two verses which glorify the (third) eye of Hara (Śiva) and invoke the protection of the waves of the divine Gaṅgā. In lines 15-27 the king informs the *Sūmantas*, *Bhōgins*⁶ and others, the [lords of] *viśhayas*, and the people generally who dwell in the *Ramalavva*, *viśhaya*, that with pouring out of water he gave the village of *Tuṇḍurāva* in that district,

¹ Which of the two signs is used, depends on the consonant to which the sign is attached; thus, *k* and *ṣ* always take the curve-shaped sign and *p* and *s* always the straight or hook-shaped sign. In line 17, where the curve-shaped *ṣ* is attached to *p*, the *akshara* intended to be denoted is *pṣ* (of *pṣajayati*), not *pṣ*; the same remark applies to the *ṣ* of *nīrddhuta°* (for *nīrddhūta°*) in line 11. But in the case of *bh* and *bhā*, *ṣ* and *ṣ* are both denoted by the same (curve-shaped) sign.

² Compare e.g. *Gaṅḍamalakulatilaka*, above, Vol. III. p. 18, l. 12, and *Kadamod(māḍ)malakulatilaka*, *ibid.* p. 223, l. 22.

³ In line 5 of the Gañjām plates mentioned in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 33, No. 218 (and of which Dr. Fleet has given me an impression), the name is spelt *Śilābhañjadēva*. Above, Vol. III. p. 353, l. 33, a place *Śilābhañjapattī*, which was in *Ôdra-dēśa* (Orissa), is mentioned.

⁴ The name *Digbhañja* also occurs in the Bāmanghātī plates of *Raṇabhañja*, where there can be no doubt about the reading of it.

⁵ The original has *viśhaya-Vañjulvakāḍi*.

⁶ Compare e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 298, l. 18: *-sūmanṭa-bhōgika-viśhaya-pati-*; *ibid.* p. 142, l. 25 (in one of *Daṇḍimahādēvi*'s grants) we have the term *bṛihadbhōgin*.

rent-free,¹ to the *bhaṭṭa* Dārukhaṇḍī—a son of Śūridēva(?) and grandson of Gaurichandra—of the Upamanyu *gōtra* and Bahvṛicha *sākhā* (of the Rīgvēda); and he enjoins future kings (*rājaka*) to protect this gift, and (in lines 27-35) quotes four imprecatory verses from the *dharmaśāstras*.

The inscription (in lines 35-38) ends with four statements, introduced severally by the participles *lāñchhitam*, *pravēṣitam*, *likhitam*, and *utkīrṇam*. About the meaning of the two last there can be no doubt: the grant was written by the *sāndhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war) Khambha, and engraved by the *akṣhaśālīn*² (or goldsmith) Kumārachandra. The term *pravēṣitam* I have not found in similar surroundings in any other grant; but since this word takes the place here of the phrase *svayam-ādīśhīṭō rājñā dātakō=tra* of the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṛibhaṇḍa and of the earlier grant on these very plates³ (where that phrase in both cases appears in company with *lāñchhitam*, *likhitam* and *utkīrṇam*), I think that it must likewise be taken to refer to the business of the *dātaka* and that the words *pravēṣitam* *Kēśavēna* must be translated 'brought (to the donee's) home by (the messenger) Kēśava.' The passage commencing with *lāñchhitam* I am unable to explain properly. According to Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VII. p. 227, *lāñchhana* denotes the device used on the seals of copper-plate charters, etc., and *lāñchhita* therefore probably means 'furnished with such a device' or 'marked with a seal' (*mudrayā mudritam*).⁴ We find the word in the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman, above, Vol. III. p. 46, l. 50, *lāñchhitam* Jayasīnghēna; in the Gañjām plates of Pṛithivīvarmadēva, above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 35, *lāñchhitam* *śrī-mā(ma)hādēvyā*; in the grant which was originally engraved on these plates, above, p. 272, *lāñchhitam* [*rā*]jñī-*śrī-Māṇikyā-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the queen, the glorious Māṇikyā-mahādēvi;' and it occurs also in the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṛibhaṇḍa, where the words by which it is followed cannot be made out with confidence.⁵ In the present case our text appears to give us *lāñchhitam* *śrī-Trikalīṅga-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the glorious Trikalīṅga-mahādēvi,'⁶ which would be similar to what we find in the earlier grant on these plates; but these words are followed by *tējaḍikēna*, which may be corrupt and the meaning of which is quite obscure, and after that again we have the instrumental *śrībhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva-mantriṇā*, 'by the minister, the *bhaṭṭa* Stambhadēva,'⁷ which, for want of the meaning of the obscure word, I see no way of connecting with what precedes. It is curious that in at least two of the passages where the word *lāñchhitam* occurs the marking with the seal is stated to have been performed by a queen.

Our inscription contains no date of any kind, and for the present it seems impossible to fix its age even approximately, because we know nothing that is certain about the chiefs of the Bhaṇḍa family during the Middle Ages,⁸ and possess no dated inscriptions with the same alphabet. With all due reserve I would say that the inscription may perhaps be assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

¹ In the wording of the grant the expressions which are characteristic of the locality to which the grant belongs are *sambandha* (in line 19, used in the sense of *sambaddha*), *saliladhārā-purakṣarṇa vidhina*, and *akaratvāna* (for which by mistake *karatvāna* has been engraved). Compare e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 45, l. 36, and Vol. VII. p. 101.

² On this word, which in Sanskrit is generally spelt *akṣhaśālīn* (e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 276, l. 24, and Vol. XVIII. p. 145, l. 26), see now Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol. VII. p. 107, note 4.

³ See above, p. 272 and note 2.

⁴ According to Yājñavalkya I. 319, the *śāstana* of a king should be *svamudrāparīkṣitam* (i.e. *sva-mudrayā Garuḍa-vardhādī-rūpay=ōpari bāṭis=chikṣitam=akṣitam*). And above, Vol. III. p. 302, l. 74, there is a verse according to which a charter becomes faultless when it is *mudrā-suddha*, 'faultless as regards the seal,' etc.

⁵ See above, p. 272, note 2.

⁶ Similar names are *Chōḷa-mahādēvi* and *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*.

⁷ In the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṛibhaṇḍa the *bhaṭṭa*, the illustrious Stambhadēva, is mentioned as *dātaka*.

⁸ A traditional date in the Śaka year 754 (A.D. 832) is given for one of the Bhaṇḍa (Bhunsu) chiefs in Mr. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 3.

As regards the localities, the inscription mentions *Vañjulvaka*, from where both this grant and the Gumsûr grant of Nêtribhañja were issued, the *Ramalavva vishaya* and in it the village of *Tuṇḍurāva*. I have not found the names of these places on the sheets of the *Indian Atlas* where I have looked for them.

TEXT.¹*First Plate ; Second Side.*

- 1 Ōm² [||*] ³Jayatu Kusumavā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshóbha-daksham svaki-
- 2 ⁴raṇaparivêshôrijityā-⁵jirṇpēndulêkham [||*] tribhuvanabhavan-â-
- 3 ntar=dyôtabhâsvat-pradipam⁶ kanakanî(ni)kasha-gauram vibhru⁷ nêtram
- 4 Harasya [||*] ⁸Sêshâhêr=ava⁹ yê phapâ[h*] pravilasanty=udbhâ-
- 5 svarēndu-tvisha[h*] pra(prâ)lēyâchala-śringakôṭṭa(ta)ya iva tva-
- 6 ṅanti ya(yê)=tyunnatâ[h*] [||*] nrittâtôpa-vighatṭitâ iva bhujâ râ-
- 7 janti yê Sâ[m]bhavâs=tê sarvvâgha-vighâtina[h*] surasa-
- 8 rit[t*]ôy-ôrmmayah pânt[n] vah [||*] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Vañjulvakâ-¹⁰

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 d=astil¹¹ śri-vijaya-nilayah prakatagunagana-gra-
- 10 sta-samastari(ri)puvargga[h*]¹² ¹³[śri-Dharmma?]kalaśa-nâmâ râ-
- 11 jâ nirdhdhuta¹⁴-kalikalushakalmasha[h*] śri-Rapabhañjadêva.¹⁵
- 12 sya prapautra[h*] śri-Digbhañjadêvasya¹⁶ naptâ śri-Śi-
- 13 lābhañjadêvasya sutah paramamâhêśvarô mâtâpi-
- 14 tṛi-pādānudhyâtô Bhañjāmalakula¹⁷-tilakô mahârâ-
- 15 ja-śri-Vidyādha[ra*]bhañjadêvasya¹⁸ kuśali Ramalavva.¹⁹

¹ From the original plates.² Denoted by a symbol.³ Metre : Mālini.⁴ Originally *raṇapiri* was engraved, but the *i* of *pi* has been struck out.⁵ Read °*shaurjitya*.—Compare *Raghuvamśa* v. 74 : *svakiraṇaparivêshôdbhêda-sūnyâḥ pradīpāḥ*.⁶ Read °*pradīpāḥ*.⁷ Read *babhru*; this word is synonymous with *piṅgala*, and Śiva is *piṅgalākṣha*. Compare also above, Vol. VI. p. 200, l. 1 of the text.—The Gumsûr grant has *chêru*. [In a letter which never reached the author I suggested that *ribhru* is correct and should be translated "brow-less."—S. K.]⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Read °*iva*.¹⁰ These four *aksharas* are quite clear in the original. Dr. Rājēndralāl's text has *Valjalakāḍ*. The Gumsûr grant appears to have *Vāñjulvakāḍ*, which by Kamalākānta was misread *Vāñchalikāḍ*.¹¹ Read *t* | *Asti śri*.¹² The *risarga* which I have added here and below before *śri* is not absolutely necessary.¹³ The words in these brackets are conjectural. As will be seen from the facsimile, four *aksharas* were originally engraved here, but they were partly struck out or altered; and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that remnants of letters which were originally engraved on these plates are mixed up with the new letters. I consider it certain that the first *akshara* is intended to be *śri* (for *śri*), and that the last contained the conjunct *mm*.—The corresponding passage of the Gumsûr grant is : *Asti jayaśri-nilayah prakatagana-grasta-sarvaripugarevâḥ śri-Kalyāṇakalaśa-nâmâ rājâ*.¹⁴ Read *nirdhdhuta*.¹⁵ In the facsimile the first *akshara* (*ra*) of this name might be read *era* (and was read so by Dr. Rājēndralāl), but in the original it is distinctly *ra*, and what looks like *e* is a remnant of what was originally engraved on the plate.¹⁶ This name is clear in the original; and so is the next. Dr. Rājēndralāl read the two names *Dicabhañja* and *Śiltbhañja*.¹⁷ Dr. Rājēndralāl read *Bhañjanala-kula*.¹⁸ Read °*dêvas=sa*.¹⁹ The first three *aksharas* of this name are clear in the original; the last might be read *edā*. Dr. Rājēndralāl read *Vamalabhañja*, but regarded the letters as doubtful.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 16 viśhay-ê yathânivâsi-sâmantâ-bhôgi-bhogyâdî¹-vi-
 17 śhaya-janapadam yathârham mânayati pu(pû)jayati vò(bò)-
 18 dhayaty-âdisati ²ch-ânyat sarvvataḥ ³śivam=asmâkam-a-
 19 nyat⁴ êtat[v]ishaya-samvandha-⁵Tuṇḍ[u]râvagrâma⁶ chatuṣmâ-
 20 paryantâḥ⁷ grâmô=yam || mâtâpitrôr=âtmanas=cha puṇy-â-
 21 bhivṛiddhayê ⁸achandrârka-samam kâlam yâvat salî(li)ladhâ-
 22 râ-puraḥsarêṇa vidhinâ guṇ-ânurâdhât⁹ karatvêna¹⁰[bhogyâ ?]
 23 Upamanya-¹¹gôtrâya datê-pravarâya¹² Ba(ba)hvṛicha-śyâkha-¹³

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 24 ya Gôrichandraḥ¹⁴ naptâ Śuridêvasya suta bhâtta-Dâru-
 25 khaṇḍi || nâmnê pratipâditô=smâbhis=tad-êśhâ datî-ddha-¹⁵
 26 rmma-gauravâd=asmâkam-anurôdhâ¹⁶ cha bhavishyad-râjakai[ḥ*]
 27 pratipâlanîy=êty=¹⁷uktañ=cha dharmma-śâstrair=vvaḥubbir=vva-
 28 sudhâ datâ¹⁸ râjabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-âdibhir=yasya yasya yadâ
 29 bhu(bhû)mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam ||[*] Sva-dattâm para-datâ¹⁹ vâ
 30 yô harêta vasundharâm [*] sa viśṭhâyâ[m*] kṛimî²⁰ bhutvâ pi-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 tṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatê ||[*] Mâ bhu(bhû)d=aphala-śaṅkā vah para-dat=ê-²¹
 32 ti pārthivâḥ [*] sva-dânât=phalam=ântyam²² paradat-ânupâla-

¹ The akshara *bhō* of *bhogyâdî* has not come out well in the facsimile, but is quite clear in the original. In my opinion, the word *bhōgi* before *bhogyâdî* is superfluous and has been engraved by mistake ; and for the following *viśhaya-janapadam* I should have expected something like *viśhaya-pattî=jânapadâs=cha*.

² Read *cha* | *Anyat*.—The Gumsûr grant apparently has :—*âdisati cha sarvvataḥ śivam=asmâkam=anya* | *viditâ=astu bhavatâm=êtatviśhaya*—.

³ Originally *śivim* was engraved, but the *i* of *vi* has been struck out.

⁴ This second *=anyat* is superfluous.

⁵ Read *-sambandha-* (for *-sambaddha-*).

⁶ Read *°grâmat=chatuṣṭmâ-*.

⁷ Read *paryantô*. The following *grâmô=yam* and the sign of punctuation are superfluous.

⁸ Read *°ddhaya â-chandrârka-sama-kâlam* ; the following *yâvat* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *°rôdhât*.

¹⁰ Instead of *karatvêna*, we require *akarātṛvêna*, which (like *akartkṛitya*) occurs often in other inscriptions and is quite distinct in the lithograph of the Gumsûr grant (though Kamalākānta's text gives *âkaratnêna*). The following two *aksharas* are conjectural. In the Gumsûr grant *akarātṛvêna* is possibly followed by *dhūñjaḥ bhîḥ* (for which the text has *bhamjâdri*).

¹¹ Read *Upamanyu-*.

¹² As the word *dattâ* below is several times written *data*, this might stand for *dattê-* (or perhaps *datta-*) *pravarâya* ; but I am unable to explain the expression. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI. p. 256, l. 43, we have *Upamanyava-sigôtrâya* | *Āstīyana-savrahmachārīṇā bhāṭṭapravara-Vṛthēkarātamiṣṭrâya*, where *bhāṭṭapravara* is equally obscure. The Upamanyavas had three *pravaras* — Vāsishṭha, Âbharadvasu and Indrapramada ; compare M. Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 385.

¹³ Read *-śâkhâ-*.

¹⁴ *Gaurichandrasya naptê Śûri(?)dêvasya sutâya bhâtta-Dârukhaṇḍî-nâmnê*.

¹⁵ Read *dattîr=ddhâ-*.

¹⁶ Read *°dhâch-*.

¹⁷ Read *=êti* | *Uktañ=cha dharmma-śâstraiḥ* | *Bahubhir-*.—Metre of the verses up to the commencement of line 33 : Ślôka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁸ Read *dattâ*.

¹⁹ Read *-dattâm*.

²⁰ Read *kṛimîr=bhâtêdâ*.

²¹ Read *-datt=ê-*.

²² Read *=ananyam pravardatt-*, as e.g. above, Vol. III., p. 45, l. 48 ; p. 343, l. 26 ; etc. Instead of *ânantyam* other grants have *ânandyam* (above, Vol. III., p. 348, l. 19, p. 353, l. 45), or *anantam* (Vol. III., p. 357, l. 50), or *atyantam* (Vol. VIII., p. 142, l. 25).

ia.



Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

ib.



ii a.



E. Hultzschi.

ii b.

16

15

20

22

iii a

24

26

25

30

iii b.

32

34

36

35

- 33 na(nê)[[*]] Iti¹ kamaladalâmvu(mbu)vindu-lôlâ[m*] śriyam=anuchi-
 34 ntya man[u]shya-jivitaṃ=cha² [*] sakalam=i(i)dam=udâhṛitaṃ=cha vudhvâ³
 35 na hi [pu]rushaiḥ para-kirttayô vilô[pyâḥ[*]]Lâñchhitam śri-Tri[ka ?]||⁴
 36 űga-mâ(ma)hâdêvy[â] tējaḍikêna⁵ śri-bhaṭṭa-Stambhadêva-mant[r]i(tri)ṇâ⁶
 37 pravêṣita[m*] Kêśavêna⁷ likhitam ⁸sânddhivigrihi-śri-Khambhê-
 38 na urtkirṇṇa⁹ ch=âkshasâli(li)-Kumâracharṇḍêna¹⁰|| tha¹¹ [||]

No. 38.—GHATIYALA INSCRIPTIONS OF KAKKUKA; SAMVAT 918.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

The subjoined inscriptions are all engraved on a column standing *in situ* in Ghatiyâlâ, twenty-two miles west-north-west of Jôdhpur. The column is not far distant from an old ruined Jaina structure, now called *Mâtâ-ki-sâl*, which contains an inscription edited by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 516. Further particulars in connection with these ruins will be found in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907. Inscription No. I is engraved on the eastern, and the remaining ones on the western, face of the pillar. The inscriptions are so weather-worn that it is not possible to take good impressions. With patience and perseverance, however, almost the whole of the inscriptions can be deciphered with certainty on the original stone itself.

Inscription No. I contains 20 lines of writing, which covers a space of 2' 3½" high by 1' 6" broad. The characters agree with those of the inscription found in the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl*. The language is Sanskrit. The first seven lines are in prose. Lines 8—16 contain five verses. Then the date is given in prose in l. 17. Then a verse occurs which is followed by a line in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is only once denoted by the sign for *v*, in *kuṭumvakam*, l. 8; consonants are doubled after *r*; *visarga* followed by *s* has been once changed to that letter in *dêvyâs=sutô*, l. 7; the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvâra* before *ś* in °*vansa*°, l. 1; *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*; and *visarga* has been omitted once before the following *sta* in *ayam=ustambhita stambhō*, l. 16.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Vinîyaka (Ganapati). Then is set forth in prose a genealogical list of the feudatory Pratihâra family which is brought down to Kakkuka, to whose reign the inscription belongs. It agrees with the lists furnished by the inscription in the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* and the epigraph of Bâuka found in the Jôdhpur city wall. It is followed up by five verses, the first two of which merely contain conventional praise of Kakkuka without giving any historical information. The third verse says that Kakkuka obtained great renown in the countries of Travani, Va'la and Mâda, amongst (the people known as) Ârya, in Gurjjarattrâ, and in Parvata in the Lâṭa country. Most of these names are repeated in verse 16 in the other

¹ Metre: Pushpitâgrâ.² Read -jivitaṃ cha.³ Read buddhva.⁴ Read *śri-Trikali*-. A sign of the medial *i*, which was prefixed to the akshara *tri*, has been struck out. In the place of *ka* (?) another letter was originally engraved.⁵ With the exception of the *d* in brackets, the nine *aksharas* at the beginning of the line are clear in the original.⁶ The *ed* at the end of the line and the *ved* at the commencement of the next line, which show in the facsimile, seem to me to be remnants of the inscription which was previously engraved on these plates.⁷ The *aksharas savê* of this word contain certain marks which were not engraved by the engraver of the present inscription and which were struck out by him.⁸ Read *sândhivigrahi-śri-* or *sândhivigrahika-śri-*.⁹ Read *utkirṇṇam*.¹⁰ Read °*chandrêna*.¹¹ For this mark, which is distinctly *tha*, compare *s g. Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII., p. 140, note 4s.

inscription of Kakkuka in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*. Thus, Travaṇi is the same as Tamaṇi there, and also occurs in this unaltered form in verse 18 of the Jôdhpur inscription of Bâuka. Similarly, Valla is mentioned in both these inscriptions. Mâda is given in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription in conjunction with Maru (*Maru-Mâda*). Jêsalmêr is still called Mâda, and Maru proper can only be the Sheo, Mallâṇi and Pâchpadrâ districts of the Jôdhpur State. Ārya and Gurjaratrâ are doubtless the Ajja and Gujjarattâ of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Ārya is unidentifiable, but is perhaps the same as that mentioned in Varâhamihira's *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, Cap. V, v. 42. Gurjaratrâ, as has been shown by me elsewhere,¹ comprised the districts of Dîdwanâ and Parbatsar of the Jôdhpur State. Lâta, as was also pointed out by me, embraced about this time the larger portion of the present Gujarât of the Bombay Presidency.² Parvata, which is apparently said to be in Lâta, is unknown to me. Does Parvata, however, here simply mean a mountain and refer to some such inroad of Kakkuka as that mentioned in the expression *gahîṇa gôhaṇâim girimmi* in verse 17 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record? Or perhaps Parvata may be taken to be a distinct country, and connected with the *Pârvatîyas* of the *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, Cap. XVII. v. 16.

Verse 4 of our inscription tells us that Kakkuka erected two columns, one at Rôhimsaka and the other at Maḍḍôdara. Exactly the same information is conveyed by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record, excepting that for Rohimsaka we have there Rôhimsakûpa. Rôhimsaka is undoubtedly the same as this Rôhimsakûpa or the Rôhimsakûpaka of our inscription No. 2, and is to be identified with Ghatiyââ. Maḍḍôdara, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is Maṇḍôr, five miles north of Jôdhpur, which is locally believed to have been a seat of Pratihâra power and is full of very ancient ruins, and where a fragment of a Pratihâra inscription was discovered by me last season.³ The next verse informs us that the column on which the inscription has been incised was erected by Kakkuka. Precisely the same information is given by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra-sudi 2 budhê Hasta-nakshatrê, the same as that mentioned in the latter inscription. And further we are told that here a market was established, and the village peopled with *mahâjana*, i.e. big folk. The very same thing is alluded to in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record. The inscription really ends here so far as the purport of it is concerned, but a verse follows which has something of the character of a *subhâshita*. Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that it was composed by Śrî-Kakkuka himself, as the line in prose at the end informs us.

Inscription No. II contains 11 lines of writing covering a space of 1' 3" high by 1' 2½" broad. Excepting the opening words *Om siddhîh*, it is in verse up to l. 9, and the rest in prose. The palæography and orthography do not call for any remarks other than those made in connection with inscription No. I. The first verse invokes the blessings of Vinâyaka (Gaṇapati) who, we are told, was placed on the column to ensure prosperity, and, as a matter of fact, the

¹ *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI., pp. 414-415.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

³ Another ancient name of Maṇḍôr is Maṇḍavyapura mentioned in verse 10 of the Jôdhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Bâuka. In the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907, p. 30, I have said that though this inscription stone was found in the city wall of Jôdhpur, it must originally have been at Maṇḍôr, as all stones for the fortification of the fort had been brought from the latter place. This conclusion is confirmed by the first *pâda* of the verse just referred to, which is *Mâṇḍavyapura-durgbesmin*. The word *asmin* shows that the stone originally was at Maṇḍavyapura, i.e. Maṇḍôr. Maṇḍavyapura, again, is spoken of both as a city and fort, and Maṇḍôr remained so till the prince Jôdhâ removed his capital from there to Jôdhpur. Even to this day some of the portions of the ramparts of Maṇḍôr have been preserved. As the verse in question states that certain Pratihâra brother princes erected ramparts round Maṇḍavyapura fort, it is plain that it was in the possession of the feudatory Pratihâra princes. This is also corroborated by the fact mentioned in the text that last season I found a part of a stone inscription belonging to the Pratihâras. In it the name of Kakka could be distinctly read, and some reference to his son made therein could also be traced. But who that son was — whether Kakkuka or Bâuka — is not certain. The name Maṇḍavyapura occurs even so late as V. E. 1319 in the Sûndhâ hill inscription of Châchigadêva (above, Vol. IX., p. 78, l. 86).

pillar is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Gaṇapati, facing the cardinal directions. The next verse informs us that the village of Rōhinsakūpaka (Ghaṭiyālā) had formerly become unsafe on account of the Ābhīras (Ahirs),¹ and had consequently not been a place of residence for good people. Verses 3 and 4 tell us that Kakkuka, the favourite son of Kakka, of the Pratihāra race, constructed a market place decorated with variegated streets, went to the houses of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas (*prakṛiti*)² and Vaiśyas, and, promising them means of livelihood, established the *mahājana*, the big folk there. We thus fully understand what the *Mātā-ki-sāl* epigraph and our inscription No. I mean by saying that Kakkuka established a *haṭṭa* and *mahājana* at Rohinsaka or Rohinsakūpa. Owing to its being infested by the Ābhīras, whose predatory instincts even to the present day are not quite extinct, the place must have become deserted, but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by inducing men of the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had defeated and ousted the Ahirs. The verse following expresses a wish for the permanence of the prosperity of the *mahājana*, and of the fame of Kakkuka. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra Sudi 2 which, though the further details of it are not given, is, it will be seen, identical with that specified in our inscription No. I and the *Mātā-ki-sāl* epigraph. Next, we are informed that the inscription was written by a *Maga*, called Mātriravi, and was engraved by the goldsmith Kṛishṇeśvara, doubtless the same who incised the Jōdhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka. It is followed up by the name of the *sūtradhāra* or mason who probably dressed the stone and erected the column, but the name is lost.

The fact that Mātriravi is called a *Maga* is very interesting. On the original stone the letters *ma* and *gē* are quite distinct, and, though *na* is not so distinct, it is clear enough. No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained as to Mātriravi being spoken of as a *Maga*. *Maga* is another name for the *Śākadvīpiya* Brāhmaṇas, about whom the late Professor Weber wrote a very learned and exhaustive paper. Round about Jōdhpur there is a class of Brāhmaṇas known as *Sēvaks*, most of whom are religious dependants of the *Ōsvā Śrāvaks*. They call themselves *Śākadvīpa* Brāhmaṇas, and know that their story is told in the *Nāmagrantha* of the *Sūrya-purāṇa* and also in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*. That the *Śākadvīpiyas* were originally foreigners has been clearly shown by Professor Weber. But it is only our inscription that furnishes a specific date, viz. V. E. 918, when we can positively assert that Magas lived and were known by this very name in Rājputānā at least.

Inscription No. III is of two lines containing nothing but verse 5 of Inscription No. I. Inscription No. IV consists of four lines containing two verses. They possess the flavour of *subhāshitas*, and have each one and the same last *pāda*, saying that six things are dear to Kakkuka. What those six things are has been specified in the verses themselves.

No. I.

TEXT.³

- 1 ओ विनायकाय नमः ॥ आसीत्प्रतीहारवन्धुगुरु-⁴
- 2 सहजः⁵ श्रीहरिचन्द्रः [।*] अनेन राज्ञीचक्षियभद्राया जा-
- 3 तः श्रीमान्मुतः श्रीरञ्जितः [।*] अस्माच्छ्रीनरभटः [।*] अ-

¹ For some remarks on Ahirs, see *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI. pp. 430-433; for fuller information still, see my monograph contributed to the *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*.

Prakṛiti, which is the same as *payā* in verse 20 of the *Mātā-ki-sāl* inscription, here doubtless signifies the Kshatriya class, as it is distinguished both from the *vipra* (Brāhmaṇa) and *vaṣik* (Vaiśya) classes. This is rather an unusual sense of the word, and so far I have not seen it used in this sense anywhere else.

From the original stone.

⁴ Read °वन्धु°.

⁵ Read °सहजः°.

- 4 तः श्रीनागभटः [1*] अतः श्रीतातः [1*] अतोपि श्रीयशोवर्धनः [1*]
 5 अस्माच्छ्रीचन्दुकः [1*] अतश्च श्रीशोलुकः [1*] अस्माच्छ्री[भते]टः [1*] अतः
 6 श्रीभिक्षादित्यः [1*] अतः श्रीगुणान्वितः श्रीकक्कः [1*] अनेन
 7 राज्ञीश्रीदुर्लभदेव्यास्तुतो जातः श्रीकक्कः ॥
 8 सन्तः कुटुम्बक¹ यस्य स्थिरः कामः सितं यशः ।
 9 विपुला चपलं² बुद्धिराग्रही गुणसंग्रहे ॥ [1*]
 10 न्दायभंगी भवेत्कीपो रागोपि जनपाल[ने] ।
 11 गुरुभ्यश्च भयं यस्य भूषणं दीनरक्षणं ॥ [2*] येन
 12 प्राप्ता महाख्यातिस्त्रवण्यां वल्लमाडयोः । आर्ये-
 13 षु गुर्जरन्नायां लाटदेशे च पर्वते ॥ [3*] तेन महोदरे स्त-
 14 अस्तथा रोहिण्यके कृतः । उभावप्युन्नतिं नीतौ स्वपक्षा-
 15 विव जन्मदौ ॥ [4*] श्रीमत्कक्कवोरिण कुलदोषेन
 16 धीमता । अयमुस्तम्भित³ स्तम्भो यशःस्तम्भ इवोन्नतः ॥ [5*] संव-
 17 त् ८१८ चैत्रशुदि २ बुधे हस्तनक्षत्रे । अक्ष हट्टो महाजनस्य
 18 स्थापितः ॥ श्री [1*] यौवनं विविधैर्भोगैर्मध्यमं च वयः
 19 त्रिया । इदभावश्च धर्मेण यस्य याति स पुण्यवान् ॥ [6*]
 20 अयं श्लोकः श्रीकक्केन स्वयंकृतः⁴ ॥

No. II.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्री सिद्धिः [1*] दिवा राज्ञौ च संध्यायां — — —
 2 — संकुले । सिद्धिं करोतु सर्व्वेन स्तम्भधामा वि[ना]-
 3 यकः ॥ [1*] रोहिण्यकूपकग्रामः पूर्व्वमासीदना-
 4 श्रयः । असेव्यः साधुलोकानां आभोरजनदारुणः ॥ [2*]
 5 विचित्रवीथिसंपूर्णं हट्टं कृत्वा गृहाणि च । विप्रव-
 6 णिगप्रकृतीनां गृहं गत्वा प्रियेण च ॥ [3*] श्रीमत्कक्कस्य पुत्रेण
 7 सप्ततीहारजातिना । कक्केन स्थितिं दत्वा स्थापितोऽत्र महा-
 8 जनः ॥ [4*] महाजनस्य सदृढिः लाभः⁷ पूजा सुखं भृतिः । श्री-
 9 कक्कस्य कुन्दाभा कीर्त्तिर्भवतु शाश्वतो ॥ [5*] संवत् शतं ८१८ चै-

¹ Read कुटुम्बकं² Read मुक्तम्भित.
placed over *kṛt*.³ From the original stone.⁴ I do not understand the position of चपलं here.⁵ Read स्वयं कृतः; the *anuvāda* of 'yam' must have been inadvertently⁶ Read लोकांशामासीत्.⁷ Read सदृढिर्लाभः.

- 10 चसुदि २ [१*] लिखितं मगे[न] मातृविषा [१*] उत्कीर्णं हेमकारेण
[क]ण्णे-
11 श्वरेण ॥ सूत्रधारोच्च नि..... विष्णु ॥

No. III.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री[मत्क]कुक्कवीरेण कुलदीपे[न] धीमता । अ-
2 यमुत्तम्भित स्तम्भो यश[ः*]स्त[म्भ] इवोन्नतः ॥

No. IV.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री[१*] वल्लकी काकलीगीतं शरच्चन्द्रश्च मालती ॥
2 विनीता स्त्री सतां गोष्ठी ककुक्स्य 'पृयाणि षट् [॥१*]
3 न्यायमार्गे 'गुरोर्भक्ति[ः*] पुच्छे स्नेहः कृतज्ञता ॥
4 प्रिया वाम्नागरी वेषः ककुक्स्य पृयाणि² षट् ॥ [२]

No. 39.—SARANGARH COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

Sarangarh is the capital of a feudatory State of the same name in the Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces, 32 miles south of Raigarh, the capital of another State and a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The chiefs of these two States are Rāj-Gōṇḍas. The plates in question are in the possession of the Rāj family and first came to my notice in the beginning of the year 1903 at my last visit to Sarangarh. As they were locked up and the keys were not available at the time, the then Superintendent of the State, Rai Sahib Ālam Chand, promised to send them to me when I asked for them, but my reversion to the executive duties before I could return to head-quarters, followed by Paṇḍit Ālam Chand's retirement from service, left them where they were, until the present Superintendent, Munshī Akbar Khān, took active steps in the matter at the instance of Rai Bahadur Pandā Baijnath, B.A., Dīwān of the Bastar State, and sent them on to me on the 7th January 1903. Thus the recovery of the plates first discovered over forty years ago is as much due to the interest of the above gentlemen as to the readiness of Rāja Jawāhar Singh to lend them for examination.

The exact date and the details of the first discovery are not now forthcoming, but the plates are said to have reached the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 7th December 1864.⁵ Dr. Rājendra Lāl Mitra published them in that Society's Journal in 1866, where he stated that they were presented to the Society by Lieutenant G. Bowie of the Sambalpur Police Corps, but when Dr. Fleet wrote his Gupta inscriptions about 1888, and searched for the plates, he could not

¹ From the original stone.² Read प्रियाणि.³ Read गुरोर्भक्तिः.⁴ Read स्तम्भः.⁵ See *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXV., p. 215.

find them. He then recorded that as the published version was not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced he was unable to include this inscription in his volume.¹

The fact appears to be that the plates were never presented to the Society. They were simply lent by and finally returned to the owner, the Śārangarh family, whose State was in those days included in the Sambalpur district, now transferred to Bengal.

These facts combined with the absence of a facsimile copy of the record in Dr. Rājendra Lal's notice, together with certain misreadings of the text, afford, I venture to think, sufficient reasons for re-editing this inscription.

There are two copper plates, each measuring $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, and the weight of the two together is 12 ozs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ drs. About 1" from the proper right margin each plate has a hole, roundish on one side and squarish on the other, the diameter being about $\frac{1}{8}''$. These were intended for stringing the plates on the ring, the loss of which has deprived our inscription of its last portion, which must have been engraved on a third plate. The lost plate must have contained about 5 or 6 lines² which can almost be restored from other inscriptions of the same king, and of Mahā-Jayarāja, all of which are composed in exactly the same wordings, the names of villages granted and the donees being of course different. In our inscription only some of the imprecatory verses are lost as also the date at the end, which of course cannot be restored. Judging from other inscriptions of this king the date must have been in regnal years, so that it could not have been of much help beyond fixing the priority or otherwise of our inscription as compared with others.

The plates recovered are in an excellent state of preservation. One is inscribed on one side and the other on both in characters of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The letters are very neatly and well formed, their average size being about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The accompanying plate gives a facsimile copy, from impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The language is Sanskrit prose except the usual imprecatory verses, here attributed to Vyāsa. As regards orthography, there is very little to be noticed beyond what has been already done by Dr. Konow with regard to another inscription of the same king recently found at Khariar.³ As the composition is almost identical, the peculiarities are common to both. The *upadhānāya* occurs in line 3 in *-pradaḥ=parama-*. The same sign, viz. 2 dots, has been used for *visarga* and a pause. Ordinarily *mātrās* for *u*, *ṛi* and *ḷi* alone are attached at the foot of letters, but in this inscription there is a curious example in line 12 where the sign for *ḍ* in *anumōditaḥ* is partly exhibited by a top and partly by a foot stroke, all other *ḍ*'s being represented by the top strokes for *ā* and *ē*; compare *vikkramōpanata-* of line 1.

The inscription was issued from the town of Śarabhapura and records the grant of a village named Chullaṇḍaraka situated in the *bhukti* or subdivision of Tuṇḍaraka by the Queen and the royal family of Rāja Mahā-Sudēva and assented to by him, to a number of learned priests, viz. Bhāskaravāmi, Prabhākaravāmi, Barbbarisvāmi, Bōtasvāmi, Dattasvāmi, Vishṇusvāmi, Phalguvāmi, Svāmikīrttisvāmi and Śaṃkaravāmi, all of the Kauśika *gōtra*. One of these, Vishṇusvāmi, is apparently identical with the donee of the Khariar plates. He also belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra* and received a village in the Khariar zamīndārī from this king. Neither these two nor the third charter of this king, which was obtained from Raipur, throw any light on the dynasty to which he belonged or on

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 193, footnote 2.

² Eighteen lines of our inscription remain; the Khariar plates have 23 lines, the Ārang plates of Jayarāja 24, and the Raipur plates of Sudēva 28, but these last ones are much smaller in size than the others. Our plates are slightly bigger than all the three sets.

³ See above, pp. 170 and ff.

2 2
 4 4
 6 6

ii a

8 8
 10 10
 12 12

ii b

14 14
 16 16
 18 18

his date. Dr. Konow has conjectured that the Śarabhapura kings might have been Rāshtrakūṭas. They were ascendant in the Central Provinces about the 8th century to which period the characters of our inscription belong. But Dr. Konow, for reasons pointed out by him, regards the identification as yet very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura, which recurs in the other two grants of Mahā-Sudēva, and in the Ârang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, has not yet been identified. I identify Tundaraka with the present Tundrā, about 6 miles south of Seorī Nārāyan on the Mahānadī and about 35 miles west of Sārangerh. It is now included in the Balôdā Bazār tahsil of the Raipur district. The village Chullandarakā must have been somewhere close to Tundrā, but I am at present unable to trace it. If it exists we would now find the name in a form like Chulāndur, a characteristic Chattisgarhi name, some similar ones which I remember being Machāndur, Palāndur, Kachāndur, etc. It appears to me that another village granted by Mahā-Sudēva in his Raipur charter was not very far away from Tundrā. It is called Śrisāhikā,¹ which I take to be the present Sirsāhi, also included in the Balôdā Bazār tahsil, and situated about 25 miles south-west of Tundrā. Mahā-Jayarāja of the Ârang plates, who belonged to the same dynasty, also seems to have granted a village in the same part of his kingdom, viz. Pāmva,² which I identify with Pāmgarh,³ about 21 miles north of Tundrā and included in the Jānjgir tahsil of the Bilāspur district. Pāmva and Śrisāhikā are stated to be included in the Pūrvārāshṭra or Eastern country, and we know from the Khariar plates that to the south the kingdom extended at least up to Khariar. This leads to the inference that the territories of Mahā-Sudēva included a large portion of Mahā-Kōsala, or roughly speaking Chattisgarh division.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [*] Śarabhapurād=vikkram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuṭa-chūdāmaṇi-prabhā-pra-
 2 sēkāmbu-dhōta⁶-pādayugalō ripu-vilāsini-simant-ōddharana-bētur=vvasu-
 3 vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ=paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitri⁷-pād-ānuddhyātās=śrī-Mahā-Sudē-
 4 va-rājāḥ Tundaraka-bhukṭiya-Chullandarakē prativāsi-kuṭumbinas=sa-
 5 mājūāpayati [||*] Veditam=astu vō yath=āyam grāmaḥ tridaśapati-sadana-sukha-
 6 pratishṭhākarō yāvad=ravi-śāsi-tārā-kirana-pratihata-ghōrāndhakāram ja-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 gad=avatishṭhatō tāvad=upabhōgyas=sanidhis=sōpanidhir=achātabhaṭaprávêśya-
 8 sarvva-kara-visarjijitāḥ rājya-mahādēvi⁸-rōjakulāḥ mātāpitrōr=ātmanas⁹=cha pu-
 9 ny-ābhivṛddhayē udakapūrvvam¹⁰ Kōśika-sagōtra-trisahasraavidya-Bhāskarasvāmi-
 10 Prabhākarasvāmi-Barbharisvāmi-Bōṭasvāmi-Dattasvāmi-Vishṇusvāmi-
 11 Phalgusvāmi-Svāmikirttisvāmi-Śaṅkarasvāminā[||*] tāmbraśāsanēn=ātisri-
 12 shṭō bhūtv=āsmābhīr=anumōditāḥ [||*] Tē yūyam=ēvam=upalabhy-aishām=ājñāśrava-

¹ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 197.² Ibid, p. 192.³ The adjunct garā seems to have been added when a mud fort, which still exists, was built there.⁴ From the original plates.⁵ Expressed by a symbol.⁶ Read -dhōta-. [It is possible that the sign read as ḍ here and in Kōśika, l. 9, should be read as su. The two mātās are separated by an interval, which is not the case where ḍ is intended. This remark also applies to the other plates of this king.—S. K.]⁷ Read -pitri-.⁸ Read -rōjakulāḥ.⁹ Read -ātmanas=.¹⁰ Read Kōśika=.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 13 na-vidhêyâ bhûtvâ yathôchitam bhôga-bhâgam=upanayantas=sukha[m*]
 prativatsyatha [||*]
 14 Bhavishyatas=cha bhûmipân=anudarśayati || ¹ Dānād=viśiṣṭam=anupālana[m*] pu-
 15 rāpām² dharmmêshu niśchitadhiyaḥ=pravadanti dharmmaḥ || (I) tasmā[d*]
 dvijāya suvi-
 16 śuddha-kula-śrutāya dattām bhuvam bhavatu vō matir=ēva gōptum ||
 Tad=bhavadbhi-
 17 r=apy=ēshâ dattir=anupālayitavyâ [||*] Vyâsa-gītāmś=ch=âtra ślōkân=udâhara-
 18 nti || ³ Agnêr=apatyam prathamam suvarṇam (II) bhûr=vvaishnavi sūryyasutâ⁴

TRANSLATION.⁵

Om! Hail! From Sarabhapura. The illustrious Mahâ-Sudêva Râja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre from the crest jewels in the tiaras of the chiefs who have been subjugated by (his) prowess; who is the cause for the doing away with the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies; who is the giver of riches, of land and of cows; who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of his mother and father—issues a command to the householders living in Chullandâra in the territorial sub-division (*bhukti*)⁶ of Tundâra :—

Be it known to you that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of (our) ensuring the happiness of the abode of (Indra), the lord of the gods—which has been conveyed by a copper charter accompanied with (pouring) of water, by the Royal Consort⁷ and the Royal Family to Bhâskarasvâmi, who knows the three thousand⁸ (verses?) Prabhâkarasvâmi, Barbbarisvâmi, Bôtasvâmi, Dattasvâmi, Vishṇusvâmi, Phalṅgusvâmi, Svâmikîrttisvâmi,⁹ (and) Śaṅkarasvâmi (all) of the Kausika gôtra, to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, together with its treasures and deposits, not to be entered by the district officer¹⁰ and soldiers; (and), free

¹ Metre Vasantatilaka.² Read *purâṇâ*.³ Metre Indravajrâ.⁴ The remaining portion of the verse is : -*s=cha gâvâḥ | dattâs=trayaḥ=lôka bhavanti lôkâ yaḥ kâñchanaṁ gâm cha mahîm cha dadyât ||*.⁵ I have freely adopted the language of other translators of similar inscriptions, especially of Drs. Konow and Fleet.⁶ *Bhukti* was an old territorial division, the exact meaning of which has not yet been ascertained. It occurs in other inscriptions (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 218, note 5) and sometimes becomes permanently attached to names such as Jêjabhukti, the ancient name of Bundelkhand, which was corrupted into Jajhauti in Al Beruni's time; (see above Vol. I., p. 218, and Sachau's *Al Beruni's India*, Vol. I., p. 202).⁷ Mr. Venkayya suggests to take Râjyamahâdêvi as the name of the queen.⁸ The original is *trisahasra-vidya*, which Dr. Râjendralâl has taken to be a part of the proper name Bhaskarasvâmi, but I think it is an adjectival phrase eulogising his learning which extended to the knowledge of three thousand of—what is not stated. Probably he knew three thousand *ślōkas* of some very important and difficult work, considered as a great achievement in those times.⁹ [The proper form of the name is certainly *Kîrttisvâmi*, but the second part of the preceding name has been repeated by mistake.—S. K.]¹⁰ The word is *châṭa*, usually translated 'irregular troops,' which translation I adopted in my Betul and Ragholi plates. Dr. Vogel, some time ago, kindly drew my attention to this point giving a more plausible explanation of the word. He wrote to me :—

'On my first visit to the ancient Hill State of Chamba (Panjab) I learnt that the head of a pargana there has the title of *châr*, which is evidently derived from Sanskrit *châṭa*. The *châr* collects the villagers who have to do work (forced labour) on behalf of the State; he arranges for load carriers and supplies in case the Râja or some traveller visits his district. I have little doubt that the *châṭa* of the copper plates is the same as the *châr* of the Chamba State. In the Chamba copper plates published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey (1902-03) I have therefore rendered the word by 'district officer.' It was clearly a

from all taxes,—has been sanctioned by us, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourself. Being aware of this you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment.

And he enjoins upon future kings.—The ancients whose minds are fixed upon religion say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from making a grant); therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brāhman of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.

And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to the God Vishnu and (cows are) the daughters of the sun: (therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow and land).¹

No. 40.—PATIAKELLA GRANT OF MAHARAJA SIVARAJA
[GUPTA] SAMVAT 283.

By R. D. BANERJI.

This inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was discovered several years ago by a peasant in a cornfield in the zamindāri of Patīakellā in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. It is the property of an Ōṛiyā Brāhman, who, I hear, regularly worships it. The Rāja of Patīakellā made it over to Bābu Nagendra Nātha Vasu, the Honorary Archæological Surveyor to the Mayūrbhañja Estate. Nagendra Bābu made it over to me some six or seven months ago for decipherment.

The inscription is engraved on a single plate of copper, measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by $2\frac{3}{4}$ ". To the left there is an oval projection, $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long, to which a lump of brass or bell metal is attached. On the top of this lump there is an oval cavity, showing traces of the seal. But no letters or symbols are discernible at present. Both sides of the plate are inscribed. Altogether there are eighteen lines of writing in this grant. The writing was fairly well-executed, but its preservation is not very good. One corner of the plate is missing and has carried away portions of the dates with it. Fortunately the date can be made out correctly from the portions still remaining. In this grant the date was given twice. First of all we read in the second line *tryadhikāsittytara* . . . and secondly at the end of the eighteenth line *Samvat 200* . . . Thus tens and hundreds are all fairly certain. I am indebted to Dr. Konow for the reading of the symbol for two hundred.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and are in every respect similar to those of the Muṇḍēśvari inscription of Udayasēna, from the Shāhābād district. The Muṇḍēśvari inscription is dated in the [Harsha] year 30 (635 A.D.).² The peculiarities of the characters of our grant are as follows:—

- (a) Among the ligatures the only noticeable feature is to be found in the *ā* mark, which is expressed in two different ways while attached to the same letter *na*. Cf.

privilege of importance that the head of the district was not allowed to interfere with the granted land; in other words, he was not allowed to collect labourers or to demand supplies, etc., on behalf of the State."

¹ These words which must have been engraved in the third plate have been supplied to make sense.

² The Muṇḍēśvari inscription has been found in two pieces. The second portion was presented to the Indian Museum so far back as 1891. The first portion containing the date was found among the *débris* around the temple and sent to the Indian Museum in 1904. For the Muṇḍēśvari temple, see *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (1895), p. 370. Dr. Bloch has referred to this inscription twice. See *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1902-03, p. 20, and *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-03, pp. 42-43. The inscription will be published below, pp. 289 and ff.

punyābhivriḍḍhayē in l. 8 with *vrīhadbhōgikādhikarāṇy=ēva*, l. 7. The *ē* mark is unusual in *-pūrvvakēṇ=d-* in l. 9.

- (b) It is interesting to note that this Cuttack grant shows a greater affinity to the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription than does the Gañjām grant of Śaśāṅka,¹ while the latter shows a marked affinity to the Bôdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269.² Thus the *ya* in the Bôdh Gayā inscription and the Gañjām plate is bipartite, while in the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription and the present grant it is of the usual early Gupta type, i.e. tripartite. Similarly the lingual *sha* in our grant and the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription shows a cursive base line unlike the acute angle type of the Bôdh Gayā and Gañjām inscriptions. This form of *sha* is also to be found in the Nepal inscription of the year 316.³
- (c) The presence of the acute angle is noticeable only in the dental *sa* and *ma*, as is also the case in the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription. But some letters show a well-defined acute angle at their lower extremities in alternative cases; cf. the *dha* in *-hārādhiḡama-* (l. 5) with that in *-dīdhīti-* in l. 3, and *vrīhadbhōgikādhikarāṇy=* in l. 7.
- (d) The characters of our grant differ from those of the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription in so far as the lingual *ṇa* in the latter is exactly similar to the *ṇa* of the early Gupta type, while the *ṇa* in our grant has larger space between the right and left curves.
- (e) The characters of this grant show a greater affinity to the Gôlmāḍhiṭōl inscription of the Gupta year 316 than to the contemporary Nepal inscriptions. The paleography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the 6th and ending with the first half of the 7th century A.D. can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal. The inscriptions of the Harsha year 34, the Gupta year 316, the Harsha years 39 and 45 show very clearly the change which came over later Gupta characters in the last half of the 6th century and the 50 years following that. Thus the Gôlmāḍhiṭōl inscription of the year 316 shows in its characters very little departure from those of the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman.⁴ The Patan inscription of the year 34⁵ exhibits a further step onwards, as it is more allied to the Gañjām grant of Śaśāṅka than our grant or the Gôlmāḍhiṭōl inscription. The next inscription, that of the Harsha year 39⁶ and the short record of the year 45 of the same era, are inscribed in characters which are very much akin to the Bôdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman and the Madhuban and Banakhêra grants of Harshavardhana.
- (f) The letters *da* and *ṭa* resemble each other very closely. Thus, *vrīhadbhōgikādhikarāṇy=*, l. 7, looks like *vrīhaṭbhōgikādhikarāṇy=*.
- (g) There is little difference between *va* and *cha*. Thus, *-chala-taraṅga-*, l. 1, looks like *-vala-taraṅga-*, while *Śivarājah*, l. 5, looks like *Śicharājah*.

As regards orthography two or three departures are noticeable, such as *-maṅgura-*, l. 1, *-vaṇsa-* and *-āṣṭṭy-*, l. 2, *gēhattō*, l. 8.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by a feudatory chief named Śivarāja to a number of Brāhmanas during the reign of his suzerain Śagguyayana of southern Tōsali. Śagguyayana is styled *Paramamāhēvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Paramadēvatādhidaivata*, which clearly shows his imperial position. The title of the suzerain and the name of the

¹ Above, Vol. VI., p. 143.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 274, pl. XLIA.

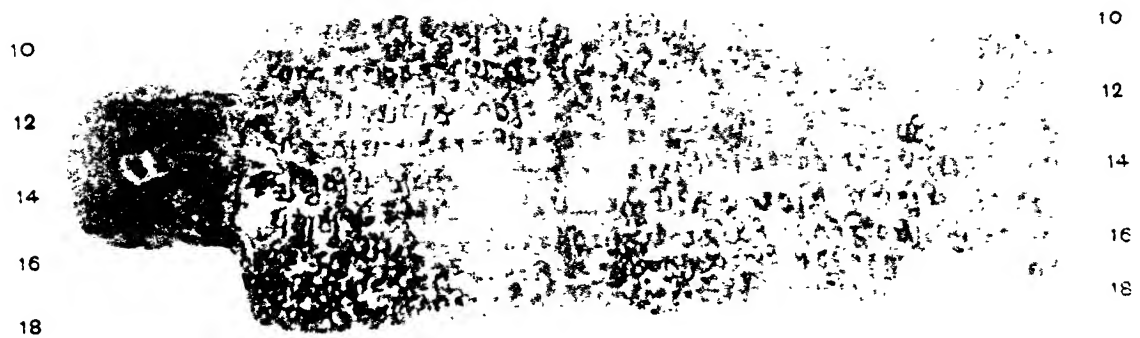
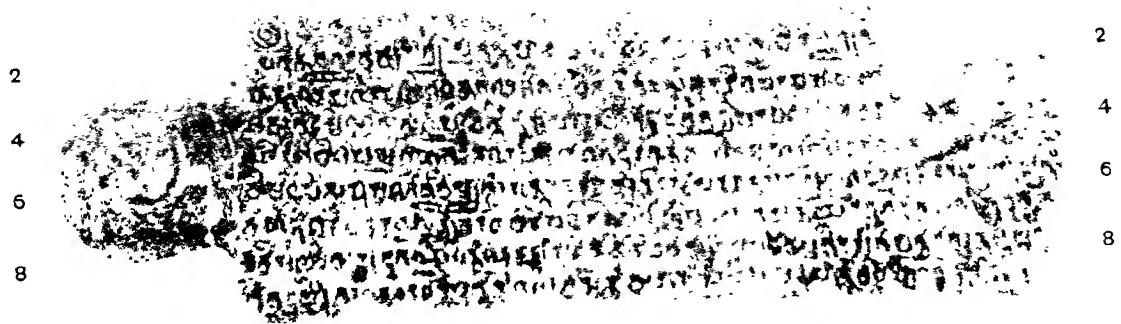
³ Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 72, pl. VIII.

⁴ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 160, pl. XXII.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 169. and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 74.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 170, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 77, pl. X.

Patiakella Plate of Sivaraja.—[Gupta] Samvat [283].



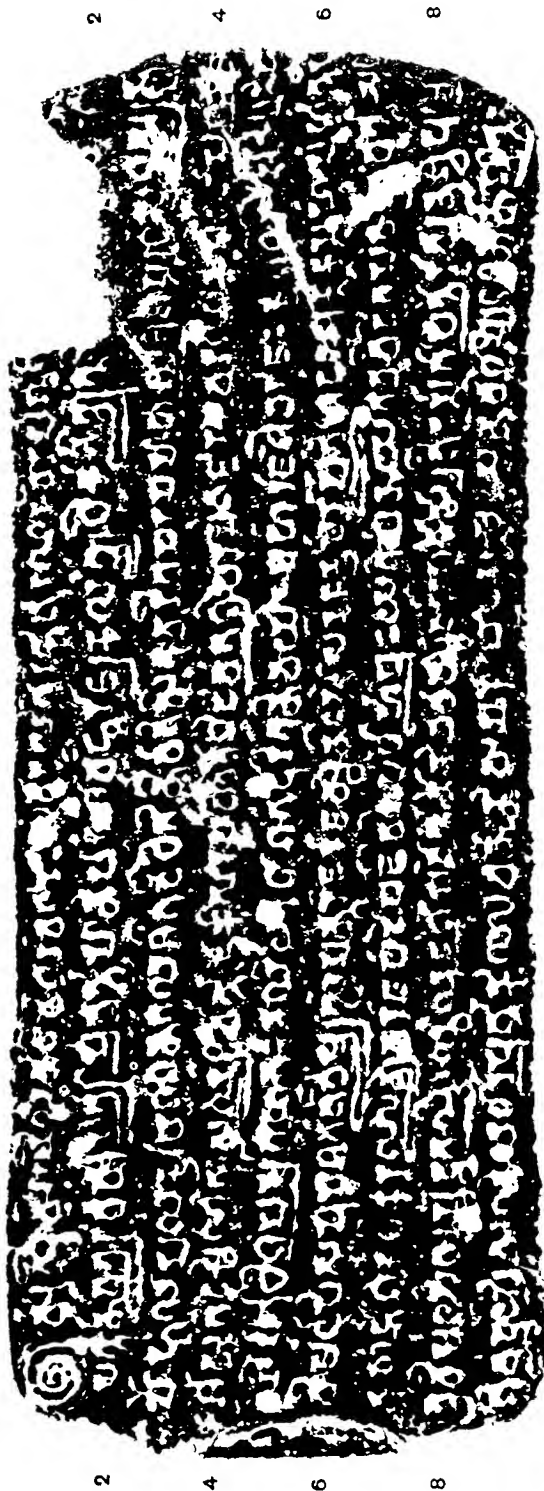
STEN KONOW

W GRIGGS COLLOTYPE

SCALE 0.57

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

First Side.



Second Side.



donor points to Śaivism, but the names of several donees such as Viṣṇusvāmi, Rēvatisvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, *etc.*, show a Vaiṣṇava taint. The document was issued from Vōrttanōka, which was the Imperial capital (l. 4) as well as the residence of the feudatory chief (l. 8). The grant consisted in the village Tanḍralvalu. It was given to several Brāhmaṇas belonging to separate gōtras and *charaṇas*. The date has already been discussed. There can be little doubt about the fact that it is a Gupta year. Thus our grant was incised after the Bōdh Gayā inscription and before the Gañjām grant, the Nepal inscription of the year 316, and the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription. The second line mentions the kings of the Māna race, *Mānavāṇsa-rājyakūlā*. This dynasty has been mentioned in two 12th century inscriptions only, *viz.* the Nawādā inscription of the Śaka year 1059,¹ which has been recently purchased by the Archaeological Survey and brought to the Indian Museum, and in the Dudhpani rock inscription.²

I am afraid it is beyond my power to identify the geographical position of the village mentioned in the Patīakellā grant. Neither the *viśaya* nor the *bhukti* or the *maṇḍala* has been mentioned in the grant, but in lines 5-6, we find *asminn=ēva viśayē*, which probably indicates that the name of the *viśaya* was also Vōrttanōka.³ I now edit the inscription from the original plate:—⁴

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [*] salila-nidhi-vēlā-vaḷa[yita-cha]la-taraṅg-ābharapa-ruchira-maṅgura
- 2 pattanavatyā[m] vasumatyā[m] pravarttamāna-Māna-vaṇṣa-rājya-kālē tryadhik-āsittya-
ntta[ra] . . .
- 3 Maudgal-āmala-kulē gagana-tala-śitadidhiti-nivātē sita-charitē Paramamāhēśvara-
śrī-Śagguyayyanē⁶
- 4 śāsati dakṣhiṇa-Tōsalyā[m] Vōrttanōkāt-paramadēvat-ādhidaivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭā-
raka-charapa-kamal-āmala-kṣau-
- 5 nī⁷-hār-ādhigama-pratihata(h)-kalyug-āgata-durita-nichaya(h)(yō) mahārāja-
Śivarājah kuśalī asminn=ēva
- 6 viśayē samupagat-ābhaviśhyat-sāmanta-rāja-rājasthānīy-ōparika-kumārāmātya-
tadāyuktaka-mahāmahattara-
- 7 vṛihadbhōgikādhikarāṇy=ēva rājapādōpajīvi yathārha[m] śrāvayati mānayati cha
viditam=a[stu] bhavatām ya[th=ā]-
- 8 ttra viśayē sambaddha-Tanḍralvalu⁸-grāma(mō) Vōrttanōk-⁹[āvavāsa-
gē(?)hattō-smābhīh mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇy-ā-
- 9 bhivṛiddhayē salila-dhārā-pūrvvakēṇ=āchandr-ārka-sama-kāli-ākshayanīvi(nivī)-
dharmmeṇa¹⁰ nānā-gōtra-

¹ Above, Vol. II., p. 333.

² Above, Vol. II., p. 346.

³ [The locality cannot be far from Tōsal], which we know from Aśoka's Dhauli edicts, and which must be located in the neighbourhood of Dhauli. It seems more likely to explain *asminn=ēva viśayē* as *Tōsal=viśayē* than as *Vōrttanōkaviśayē*.—S. K.]

⁴ [It has proved impossible to get good impressions of the plate. The subjoined reproductions are the best that could be obtained.—S. K.]

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ [I am unable to see *Śagguyayyanē*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading; I think I see *Śambhūya-gyē=nu*.—S. K.]

⁷ [I read *Amala-śrēni*.—S. K.]

⁸ [I see *Tuṇḍilvaluja-grāma*.—S. K.]

⁹ [I read *Vōrttanōkē ch=Avāsa* . . . but cannot make out the rest.—S. K.]

¹⁰ Read *śālam=akṣa*. Compare above, Vol. VI., p. 133; Vol. VII., p. 101, note 1.

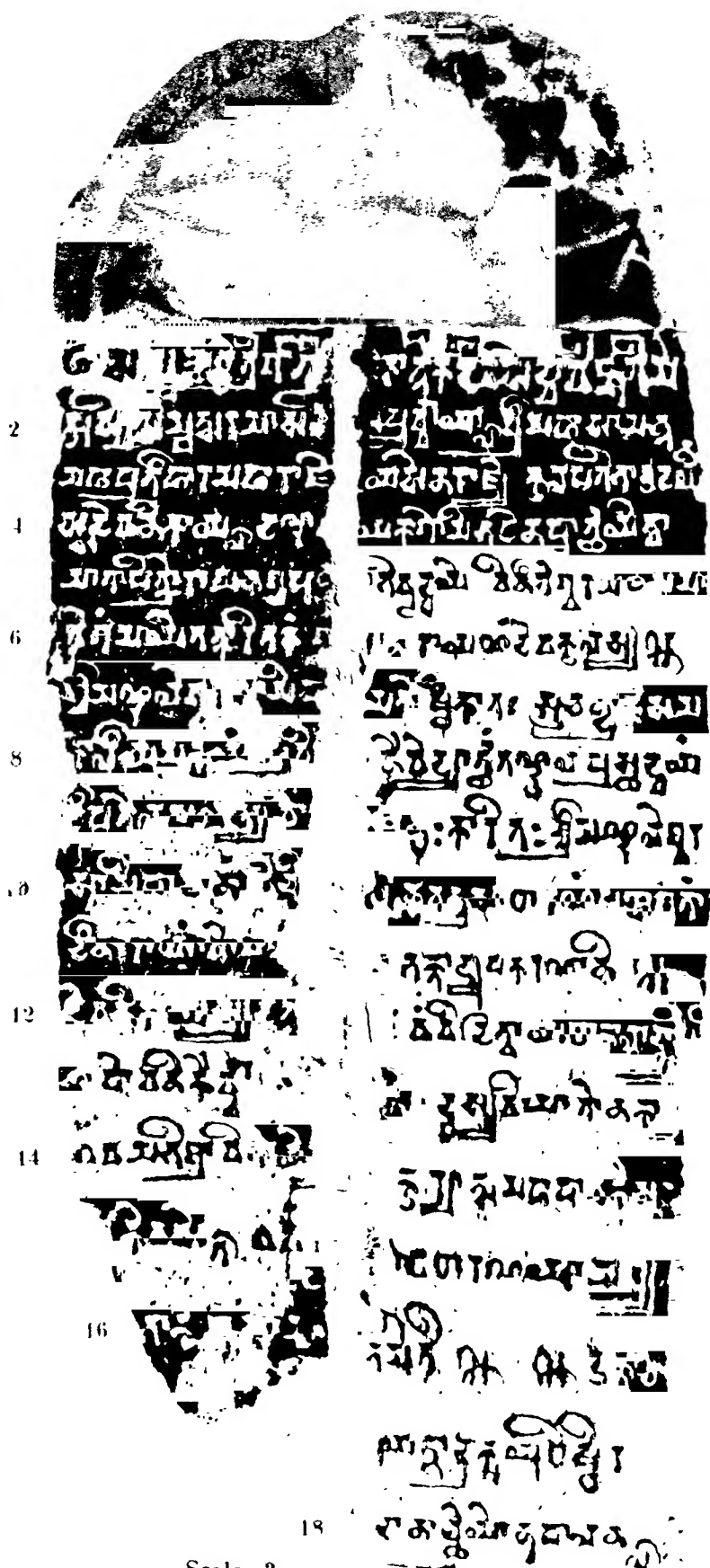
Second Side.

- 10 charapēbhya Anuruddhasvāmi-Gōmidēvasvāmi-Śūrasvāmi-Vōppasvāmi-Pitṛisvāmi-
 11 Haruṅgasvāmi-Chandrasvāmi-Bhadrāsavāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Pushyasvāmi-.karasvāmi-Rōhipī-
 svāmi-
 12 Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi-Mahāsēpasvāmi-Vishṇusvāmi-Yadusvāmi-Mātraḍasvāmi-Nāgasvāmi-
 Bhōgasvāmi-
 13 Ana[nta ?]svāmi-Prabhākarasvāmi-Nāva . . rasvāmi-Dīpisvāmi-Jam[vu]svāmi-Gōmisvāmi-
 Valasvāmi-
 14 Jyēsthāsavāmi-Adarśanadēva-Dhanadēva-Kumārasvāmi-Jyēsthāsavāmi-Rēvatisvāmi-
 Prāya(?)svāmi-
 15 Pushyasvāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Vappasvāmi-Śravasvāmi-Gōpālasvāmi-Gōmisvāmi-ēbhyaś-
 tāmra-
 16 -paṭṭi-kṛitya saṁpradattaḥ [*] Pūrvvarājakṛitō dharmm[ō]=nupālaniyaiti(ya iti)
 matvā bhavadbhiḥ[*] Dharmmaśāstrēśhv=api śrūyatē [*]
 17 Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ -Sagarādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā
 bhūmiś=tasya tasya [tadā phalam] [||*] [Shashṭim] varsha-
 18 sahasrāṇi svarggē tiśṭhati bhūmidah [*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=
 ēva narakē vasēt [||*] Samvat¹ 200

TRANSLATION.

In the [two hundred] and eighty-third year of the rule of the Māṇa family on the earth, full of cities, which has the shores of the ocean as its bracelet, the moving waves as its trinkets and the radiant *maṇigura* fishes as its . . . In the spotless family of Mudgala, when the great worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Śagguyayyana, whose character was white and who was undisturbed like the moon in the sky, was ruling in southern Tōsalī, *Mahārāja Śivarāja*, whom the accumulation of sins could not approach on account of his obtaining from the lotus-like feet of the Paramabhattāraka, the God of Gods, the spotless position of a ruler of the earth, being in good health, from Vōrttanōka honors all present and future feudatory chiefs, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Uparikas*, officers of the heir-apparent, *Tadāyuktakas*, great nobles, tax-collectors and other dependants of the king in this *vishaya* in due form and proclaims:—"Be it known to you that the village Tandṛalvalu, belonging to this *vishaya*, from (the residential house at?) Vōrttanōka, for the increase of the merit of my father and mother and myself, after having poured out water, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon subsists, everlastingly, as a permanent endowment, is given by writing on copper plates to Anuruddhasvāmi, Gōmidēvasvāmi, Śūrasvāmi, Vōppasvāmi, Pitṛisvāmi, Haruṅgasvāmi, Chandrasvāmi, Bhadrāsavāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, . . karasvāmi, Rōhipīsvāmi, Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi, Mahāsēpasvāmi, Vishṇusvāmi, Yadusvāmi, Mātraḍasvāmi, Nāgasvāmi, Bhōgasvāmi, Ana(ṇṭa)-svāmi, Prabhākarasvāmi, Nāvarasvāmi, Dīpisvāmi, Jam(vu)svāmi, Gōmisvāmi, Valasvāmi, Jyēsthāsavāmi, Adarśanadēva, Dhanadēva, Kumārasvāmi, Jyēsthāsavāmi, Rēvatisvāmi, Prāyasvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Vappasvāmi, Śravasvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, Gōmisvāmi, belonging to various *gōtras* and *charaṇas*. A law laid down by former kings should be observed, thinking so (you should observe my gift). It is heard in the laws (two of the ordinary benedictory verses follow). Samvat 200.

¹ Read *Samvat*.



Scale 3

No. 41.— MUNDESVARI INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASENA.
THE [HARSHA] YEAR 30.

By R. D. BANERJEE.

This inscription was discovered among the débris which had accumulated around the temple of Mundēśvari in the Bhābua subdivision of the Shāhābād district.¹ It seems that sometime after the incision of the inscription some ignorant person sawed it lengthwise in halves. The two halves of the inscription were discovered and brought to the Indian Museum at different dates. The second half seems to have been discovered by the late Babu Purna Chandra Mukhārji so far back as 1891-92. The first half, which is the more important part of the inscription, as it contains the date, was discovered in 1902.² Impressions on tin foils were then sent to Dr. Bloch. The inscription was finally brought to the Indian Museum in the beginning of 1904. The two halves have now been joined together and placed on a masonry pedestal in the Inscription gallery of the Museum.

The stone measures 2' 8" by 1' 1" and contains eighteen lines of well-executed writing. In the first half of the inscription the first fifteen lines are clear, but the sixteenth line has been much damaged and the seventeenth and eighteenth lines have been lost altogether. With the exception of the last two lines, which contain one of the usual imprecatory verses, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

In a previous paper I have fully discussed the palæography of this inscription.³ The only orthographical peculiarities are the substitution of *ba* for *va* in *sambatsara*, and the use of *i* instead of *m* before *s*. Letters with a superscribed *rēpha* have been doubled. Final forms of *m* are to be found in ll. 2, 4 and 18, and of *t* in l. 15. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all, though it would have been in its place in ll. 14 and 18. Note also the form *kāritakam* in l. 6.

The inscription records a grant of two *prasthas* of rice and a *pala* of oil to the god *Maṇḍal-śvara* by a *kulapati*⁴ named *Bhāgudalana*. It is dated in the year 30 in the reign of the *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahārāja* *Udayasēna*, who is not known from other sources. Judging from the affinity of the characters of this inscription with those of the years 34 and 39 from Nepal,⁵ the era is most probably that established by Harshavardhana. The mutilation of the central portion of the inscription by sawing the stone into two halves has caused a series of gaps. Some of these can be filled up, but lines 11 and 15 are quite unintelligible. I now edit the inscription from the original stone.

TEXT.

- 1 Om⁶ Samba(mva)tsarē trīṣṣati[tamē] Kārttika-divasē dvāviṁsatimē
- 2 asmin=samba(mva)tsara-māsa-[diva]sa-pūrvvāyām śrī-Mahāsāmanta-
- 3 Mahāpratihāra-Mahārāj-[Ōda]yasēna-rājyē kulapati-Bhāgudalana-⁷
- 4 s=sa dēvanikāyam daṇḍa[nā]yaka-Gōmibhaṭṭēna prārthayitvā
- 5 mātāpitrōr-ātmanas=cha pu[nyā]bhivṛddhayē Vinitēśvara-mathasamā-
- 6 vēsam matham=śtat=kāritakam [śrī-]Nārāyaṇa-dēvakulasya

¹ *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (published by the Public Works Department, 1895) pp. 370--371
Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1902-03), pp. 42-43.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1902, p. 20.

³ See above, p. 285 f.

A teacher who maintains ten thousand pupils at his own cost is termed a *kulapati*. See *Vāchaspathya-śhikḥānam*.

Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, pp. 72-73.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

The final *na* of this word has been added above the line.

- 7 śrī-Maṇḍalēśvara-svāmi-[pādā]ya kōshthikātaḥ ā-chandr-ārka-sama-
 8 kālīyam=akshayaṁ prati[dinam] naivēdyārttham taṇḍula-prastha-dvayaṁ
 9 dīpa-taila-palasya ch=ō[pani]bandhaḥ kārītaḥ śrī-Maṇḍalēśvara-
 10 svāmi-pādānām vichohhi[tti-vi]śrānta-tantra-sādhāraṇam pañchāsatām
 11 dīnārāṇām gōba . . . ja-bhaktādy-npakaraṇāni¹
 12 dēvanikāyasya datta[m²=ētaḍ=ē]vaṁ viditvā yathākāl-ādhyā[sibhi]-
 13 r=āpōvanikair³=vṛā ya[thāni]baddhasya vighātō na kā[rya]
 14 ēvam=abhiśrāvītō yō[=nyathā]kuryāt=sa mahāpātakaḥ=sa[ha]
 15 [nara]kō vasēt ēvam . . . vadhāraṇayā madhya . . .
 16 bhāka . . . tam=iti || Ukta[n= cha]
 17 yatnād=raksha Yudhishtira
 18 dānāch=chhrēyō=nnpālanam.

TRANSLATION.

Hail. In the year 30, on the twenty-second day of Kārttika, on the above-mentioned year, month and day, in the reign of the great feudatory, the *Mahāpratihāra*, the *Mahārāja* [Uda]yasēna, the *kulapati* Bhāgudalana, having applied to the Council of gods (?Brāhmaṇas) through the *daṇḍanāyaka* Gōmibhaṭa built this *maṭha* of the *dēvakula* of Nārāyaṇa, to increase the merit of his father and mother and of his own self, near the temple of Vinitēśvara. For the lord Maṇḍalēśvara provision has been made every day, as long as the Sun and the Moon last, everlastingly, to provide two *prasthas* of rice for the votive offering and a *pala* of oil for the lamp from the treasury. Fifty *dināras* current up to the frontiers of the Lord Maṇḍalēśvara- with rice and other ingredients. Knowing it to be a gift of the Council of gods, the merchants who trade on the waters(?) and who arrive at the proper time⁴ should not hinder this arrangement. Having heard this, whoever acts to the contrary shall live in hell with great sins O! Yudhishtira, preserve with care preservation is preferable to gifts.

No. 42.—INSCRIPTION ON THE UMBRELLA STAFF OF THE BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM SAHET MAHET.

By T. BLOCH, PH.D.

The stone bearing this inscription was discovered by Rākhāl Dās Banerjī in April, 1908, in the Lucknow Museum. As Dr. Vogel tells me, it is a red sandstone slab, 3' 1" high, 11½" wide, and 4½" thick. "It is broken off at the top, just where the octagonal portion begins. Here the four corners are provided with an ornament in the Mathurā style. The lower portion of the slab is carved with a seated female figure, apparently unfinished. The back of the column is cut off straight." The photograph of the stone, supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, shows that this carving has been done at a later time, perhaps when the stone was intended to be used for some building. It has destroyed a good many letters in the second half of the inscription, while the first half has become almost entirely obliterated by sharpening knives on it.

However, enough remains to make it absolutely clear that the inscription was identical with the dedicatory epigraph on the pedestal of the large standing Bōdhisattva from Sahet

¹ The sign at the end of this line has been added in order to fill up the vacant space.

² [I would read *dattāsy=ētaḍ*.—S. K.]

³ [I read *tāpōvanikair*.—S. K.]

⁴ [I would translate: those who come and worship from time to time or the cessation of the *tāpōvana*.—S. K.]

Buddhist inscription from Set Mahet.



Scale 35

From an impression supplied by Dr. J. P. Vogel



From a photograph.

Collotype by Gebr Plettner.

Mahêt, which has been edited by me, above, Vol. VIII. pp. 180-181. This fact is of considerable interest. First it shows that I was right in explaining the word *dāṇḍas=cha* in line 2 of the Sahêt Mahêt image inscription as "a staff for supporting the umbrella over the head of the Bôdhisattva" (*l. c.* p. 180). Secondly,—and this is by far the most important point connected with this inscription,—we now know for certain that the Sahêt Mahêt statue was found by Cunningham *in situ*, or, in other words, that no possible doubt can be raised against the correctness of Cunningham's identification of Sahêt Mahêt with Śrāvastī.¹ For although the records of the Lucknow Museum are not as clear as one would have expected them to be in regard to the provenance of the stone, Dr. Vogel has pointed out to me some very conclusive evidence, which in my opinion makes it certain that the stone was found by Dr. Hoey during his excavations at Sahêt Mahêt in 1885. The only possible doubt that could be, and has been, raised against the bearing of the Sahêt Mahêt, now Calcutta Museum, statue upon the question of the identity of Sahêt Mahêt with Śrāvastī, turned around this point: did Cunningham find the Bôdhisattva image at Sahêt Mahêt in its original position, or had it been shifted to this place from somewhere else? Strange though such a transportation would appear to us *prima facie*, it still has been, as far as I know, an assumption that seemed to recommend itself to certain scholars. I am afraid their position has now become definitely weakened by the discoveries above referred to.

Unfortunately no further help is given to us by the new inscription for restoring the missing words in the beginning of the inscription on the pedestal of the Bôdhisattva statue in the Calcutta Museum. Only the two letters *vapu* in the beginning of line 2 show that I was right in restoring the second word in the Calcutta inscription as *dēvaputrasya*, and further in ascribing the Calcutta statue to the time of either Kaṇishka or Huvishka. However, this is a very small matter, for which hardly any additional proof was required owing to the occurrence of the name of the *Trēpiṭaka Bala*, the donor of the Calcutta image, in a Mathurā inscription of the year 33 of Huvishka.²

I now edit the inscription from impressions and a photograph, kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel.

TEXT.

1.[dê]
2. vapu[trasya]
3. [v]ihâr[i]-
4. [sya] [bhikshu]-
5. sya [Balasya trēpiṭa]kasya
6. dānaṃ Bôdhi[sa]tvô chh[a]traṃ³ dāṇḍas=cha
7. Śāvastiyê [Bhagavatô chaṃ]ka[m]ê Kôsamba-
8. [kuṭiyê âchâ]r[yy]â[naṃ Sarvvâ]s[t]ivâdina[m]
9. [pa]r[i]gra[hê].

No. 43.— TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARNATH.

BY STEN KONOW.

During the excavations in Sârnâth in February 1907, I found a fragment of a stone umbrella lying between the bases of two small brick *stûpas* to the west of the main shrine exca-

¹ Dr. Vogel informs me that Paṇḍit Dayâ Râm Sahni has discovered additional proof, that even in the days of Gôvinda-chandra of Kanauj, the traditional identity of the two places was still alive. See *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1908, pp. 971 and ff.

² See above, Vol. VIII., p. 182.

³ It is doubtful, if the word was written *châḍātrâṃ*, as in the inscription on the pedestal. However, the next word clearly is *dāṇḍas=cha*, and not *dāṇḍas=châ*, as it is spelt on the pedestal of the statue.

vated by Mr. Oertel in 1905. On the inner cavity of the fragment a Brâhmî inscription was engraved in four lines, the fourth running along the rim. The inscription, which is complete, covers the whole inner surface of the fragment, and the umbrella had therefore probably been broken when it was engraved.

The fragment is $17\frac{3}{4}$ " long and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, and the umbrella to which it belongs must have had a diameter of nearly six feet. The letters are deeply cut, and their height varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The characters are Brâhmî of the second or third century A.D. The forms of *ma* and *sa* are ancient, and the same is the case with *ya*. The shape of individual letters is not, however, constant. Thus the *na* of *imâni*, l. 1, differs from the *na* in *gâmini*, l. 4; the *du* in *dukkha* in lines 2, 3 and 4 has different shapes; the *dha* of *nirôdhô*, l. 3, is angular, while it has been rounded in l. 4, etc. The form of the compound *kkha* is of some interest, the *kha* being open at the bottom. In *bhikkhavê*, l. 1, however, the bottom line has apparently been added by mistake under the following *vô*. The two *kkhas* in l. 2 differ from each other and on the whole, the form of this ligature is not the same in any two places.

The language is the Pâli of Buddhist literature, but with several misspellings, and other mistakes. Thus in l. 2, we find *dikkhavê* instead of *bhikkhavê*, and *arâyasachcham*, l. 3 *ariyayachcham*, and in l. 4 *arisachcham*, all instead of *ariyasachcham*. These slips, taken together with the uncertainty in the formation of the individual letters, can only be accounted for by the supposition that the inscription was cut by an engraver who did not understand the original. The occasional introduction of the Sanskrit *saṃdhi* in *-samudaya ariyaya(sa)chcham*, l. 3, points in the same direction.

The inscription contains a short enumeration of the four *ariyasachchas*, the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhas. These four truths form the essence of the famous Benares sermon, and our inscription is accordingly very appropriate in the spot where the Buddha first "turned the wheel of the law." In this connection it is of interest to note that the great majority of the statues unearthed in Sârâsth represent the Buddha in the *Dharmachakramudrâ*, delivering his first sermon. The enumeration of the four noble truths or axioms is of the same conventional kind which is so common in Pâli literature, and though I have not found the exact quotation, I do not doubt that the passage cut on the stone is meant as a quotation from the Canon. Our inscription, therefore, furnishes a valuable *epigraphical* proof for the existence of a Pâli Canon in the second or third century A.D. It is also of interest as the first old Pâli inscription found in North India. I here take the word Pâli to mean the language of the Southern Canon, the only use of the word which I consider as justified.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Chatt[â]r-imâni bhikkhavê ar[i*]yasachchâni
- 2 katamâni chhattâri dukkha[m] di(bhi)kkhavê arâ(ri)yasachcha[m]
- 3 dukkhasamudaya² ariyaya(sa)chcham dukkhanirôdhô³ ariyasachcham
- 4 dukkhanirôdha-gâmini cha⁴ patipadâ ari[ya*]sachcham

TRANSLATION.

Four, ye monks, are the noble axioms. And which are these four? The axiom (about) suffering, ye monks; the axiom (about) the cause of suffering; the axiom (about) the suppression of suffering, and the axiom (about) the path leading to suppression of suffering.

¹ From the original stone.

² The stone perhaps has *nirôdha*.

³ Re *gama*.

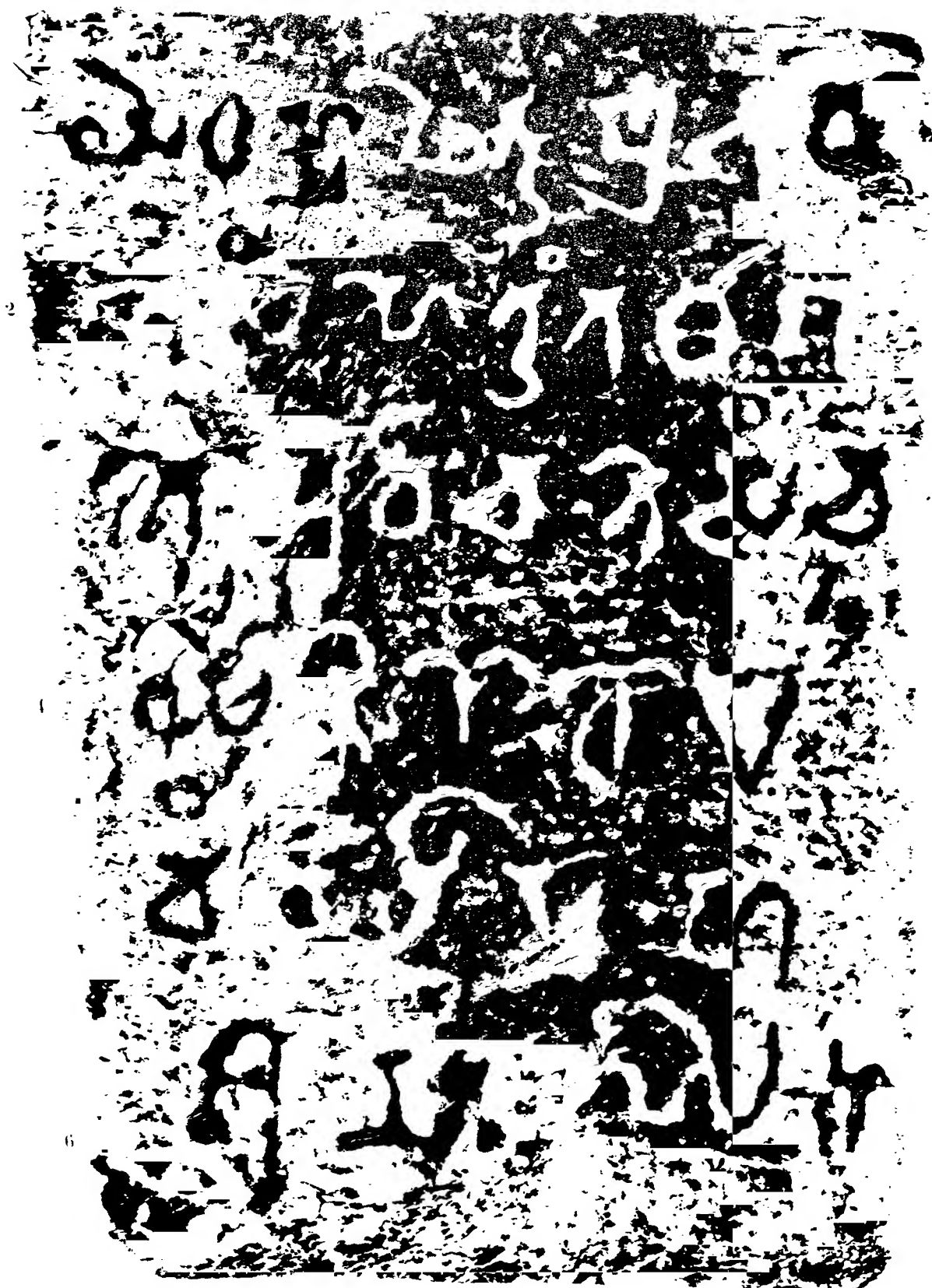
⁴ The act of going seems to be *cakka*.

Sarnath stone umbrella inscription.



Scale 1/5

Sarnath Buddhist inscription.



Sten Konow.

Scale 6

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

Another inscription written in Pāli was discovered during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in the winter of 1908, on the back of a slab containing conventional representations of scenes of the Buddha's life. I publish it here from impressions prepared in my office. The writing covers a space of 12' × 9', and the height of the individual letters is $\frac{1}{2}$ "-1".

The characters belong to the 4th, or, perhaps, the 3rd century A.D. The tripartite *ya* is almost identical with the *ya* of the Allahābād *prasasti*, while the *sa* has the older form with a hook, and not with a loop. The date of the inscription is of interest for the history of Buddhist iconography.

The language is mixed Pāli, the forms *-prabhavā* in line 1, and *-śramaṇō*, l. 6, not belonging to the dialect. The inscription contains the common formula *yē dhammā*, etc.

TEXT.

- 1 Yē dhammā hētu-prabhavā
- 2 tēsaṃ hētum tathāya-
- 3 tō avocha tēsaṃ cha
- 4 yō nirōdho ē-
- 5 vaṃ vādī mahā-
- 6 śramaṇō.

No. 44.—SPURIOUS LAPHA PLATE OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA. SAMVAT 806.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

At the request of Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., Zamindārī Settlement Officer, Bilāspur District, I have examined a copper plate in the possession of a Zamindār at Lāphā, named Dahirāj Singh, who is over sixty years of age and whom I had the pleasure to meet. He was good enough to lend it to me for taking an impression to accompany this note. He informed me that the plate was given to one of his ancestors, who first came from Delhi and took service at Ratanpur as one of the gate-keepers of the Ratanpur Fort and also as a guard of the Rānī's palace. He used to live in the Bhādimūdhāpārā, one of the quarters of Ratanpur town. This portion of the town was eventually given to him as a *mū'āfi*, and afterwards the present copper plate grant is said to have been given bestowing on him 120 villages belonging to the Lāphā Fort. The present Zamindārī contains only 75 villages and the Zamindār informed me that before Mr. Chisholm's settlement in the year 1868, there were only 60 villages in it.

The plate is rectangular, measuring $9\frac{1}{4}$ " × $4\frac{5}{8}$ ", having a smooth surface, inscribed on one side only. There are two small holes on the top. The writing covers $7\frac{1}{2}$ " × $3\frac{1}{2}$ ", leaving out the *Śrī* at the top.

The record consists of 8 lines surmounted by a prefatory one, the middle portion of which is spaced down, apparently for ornamental purposes. This line and the word *śrī* at the top together with *śrī* 5 at the commencement and *śubham=astu* and the date in figures at the end are in prose. The rest is in verse, consisting of 5 *anushṭubh ślōkas* which are numbered, except the *ast*. There are altogether 206 letters including 9 figures.

The style of writing is Ōṛiyā, and there are not less than 25 letters which are distinctly borrowed from the alphabet of that language. All the *mātrās* or vowel signs have been marked according to what is in vogue in the present Ōṛiyā writing. The letters *ja*, *da* and *va* have been invariably written in the Ōṛiyā form. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. Thus in verse 2 we find *sūrasīmantu-* instead of *sūrasīmanta-*.

The inscription purports to record the gift of 120 villages appertaining to the Lamphā (Lāphā) fort to a noble named Luṅgā, who had come from Delhi, by the Haihaya king Prithvī-dēva, on the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in Sāmvat 806. For what services the gift was made and on what conditions, is not stated, but it was to be hereditary and it was given because the king's "mind was pleased with the *Kauraviya*"¹ which apparently means that he was pleased with the Kavar tribe, to which the donee belonged, presumably for their military services. What strikes one most at the first glance is the freshness of the metal, the clean cut and the modern characters, and this rouses suspicion. The intermixture of Ōriyā letters is in itself suspicious. They might, however, be old and indicate that the plate is an old one. On looking for the date such an idea gets partially confirmed, but the suspicion again revives as soon as we learn from the Zamindār that, since the grant was made, only 27 generations have supervened. The Zamindār thinks the date to be of the Vikrama era, so that the plate would be about 1,159 years old. This would give, on the average, 43 years to a generation, which is absurd. A critical examination of the record affords as easy an evidence of its being spurious. The characters are in reality all modern, having been taken from the Hindī and Ōriyā alphabets. The inscriptional alphabet of the Chhattisgarh Haihayas has a peculiarity of its own, not easily describable, but which distinguishes it from the modern alphabet. The most distinctive letters are *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, *bha* and *śa*, but in all instances where these letters occur in the present plate, they have no such distinctive features. The style of the record is also modern. I have not come across any Haihaya inscription with a *śrī* at the top, which modern writers usually put in. Again the word *śrī Krishnachandra*, which is apparently meant as an invocation, is a modernism, similar phrases being *śrī-Rāma*, *śrī-Gaṇēśa*, etc. In all Haihaya inscriptions, the invocation is *Om namaḥ Śivāya*, i.e. I bow down to Śiva. The forger, who, I believe, had seen many of the Haihaya inscriptions, forgot the distinctive Haihaya invocation owing to the story of Śrī-Krishṇa being uppermost in his mind, and he thought that as Krishṇa was so well pleased with Mayūradhvaja, the supposed ancestor of the Haihayas, an invocation to that deity would be most appropriate. The next phrase, calling the record *vijaya-lēkha* or the victorious writ, meaning royal record, is another novelty of the Ōriyā type, in which, as in Dravidian languages, the addition of *vijaya* or victory to every act done by a high personage is a matter of etiquette. A *Rāja* does not go, he conquers *vijaya karuchhanti*, he does not eat, he conquers the kitchen, he does not answer the call of nature, he conquers the latrine, and so on. I have not come across any other grant being distinguished as *vijaya-lēkha*. The next phrase refers to a seal, which is nowhere to be found. The prefatory phrases done, the record proper again begins with a modernism, viz. *śrī* 5. This reminds one of a Hindī letter-writer which was used in schools, some years ago, in which there was a couplet to the effect that 6 *śris* should be recorded for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or son. This must have occurred to the writer's mind, more particularly because he was, as I suppose, a school-master himself and was probably teaching the *Paṭtrahitaishinī* to his pupils.

Now with regard to the date, the Vikrama year 806 or 749 A.D. is impossible. It goes back to a period when probably the Haihayas had not at all come to Chhattisgarh. From inscriptions we have a date 1114 of Jājalladēva² I, who was fifth in descent from Kaliṅgarāja, the first Haihaya, who is said to have conquered Dakṣiṇakōśala. Taking then the date of Kaliṅgarāja to be 1000 A.D., the present grant would have been made by the Haihayas 250 years before they began to rule in Chhattisgarh. Even if we suppose that it refers to the Kalachuri era, it would be equivalent to 1054 A.D., i.e. almost contemporaneous with the commencement of Haihaya rule. Prithvirāja was fourth in descent from Kaliṅgarāja and was the father of Jājalladēva I. The date of this plate would place a difference of 60 years between

¹ [Perhaps *Kauraviya* is intended.—S. K.]

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 34.

श्रीकृष्णचिन्म

श्रीहरचक्रमुद्राचतुनस्रा

विजयस्यसि

श्री ५ ॥ स्वस्ति श्री भक्त हानादी विनाजः क्षितिर्वेदनांदा ॥ पृथोन्वदोम
 न्हाद निगोप्युजा सिपेयाम्बुजा ॥ १ ॥ न्हेदपोऽनाजि सविता स्त्रनशा मन्ना
 न्से विनः ॥ मन्नाद्विद्वत्तमदाध्यानिवा ए प्रहा ॥ २ ॥ दिष्टीगत
 म्निस्त्रादिलुङ्गाख्या यमहात्मन्ना ॥ ३ ॥ पृथ निदं शेषमंक्ता नक्षी यद्य स्त्रि
 श्री ॥ ३ ॥ लोकोद्भिनिग्रामधिंशो ननब्रान्ता भिनिम् ॥ सन्त्रिभ्यन्
 निसाभ्याषा नोऽस्माध्यासिना दिक्का ॥ ४ ॥ न्द्यमिष्यन्ति क्रूपा लाः वा
 लन्नी-या सौम्यनिर्गतेः ॥ मद्दत्ता लिखिता ताम्रपत्रिभा दधम्रि
 ता ॥ ५ ॥ अभिभू ॥ माधवदि ॥ १ ॥ संमन्त्रेण्य ॥ ८ ॥ ६ ॥

father and son, if we suppose that both records were written in the first year of their reigns. This is again improbable. These kings moreover had not then gone to Ratanpur.

On the whole, I come to the conclusion for reasons stated above that this grant to Luṅgā is a *luṅgā*¹ affair and was perpetrated somewhere between 1860 and 1870 by a Sanskritist of Ratanpur, whom I do not desire to name out of respect for his Sanskrit learning. I suppose 'chill penury' induced him to undertake a work which he would not have otherwise done. The record does not show any adequate cause for the grant being made, and it is noteworthy that exactly double the number of villages of those which the Zamindārī contained before Mr. Chisholm's settlement were recorded as granted by the Haihaya Rāja. It may be noted that when this record was written the change of the tribal name of the donee or his descendants from Kavar to Tavar had not been mooted or at least had not been seriously taken up, otherwise we should not have had the phrase *Kauraviya-prasannadhīh* in verse 3. There is a family genealogy of the Lāphā Zamindār, written in the year 1927 or 1870 A.D., which shows that the tribal name had then been changed to Tavar.

TEXT.²

Śrī.

Śrī Kṛṣṇachandra

vijayalēkhā

śrī-lēkhaka-mndrā chaturasrā.

- 1 Śrī 5 || Svasti śrīman-mahārājādhirājā kṣhiti-nvékarāt³ || (1) Prithvidēvō ma-
 2 hōddarsi-maulyudbhāsi-padāmva(bu)jāh || 1 || Haihayāmnarāja⁴-savitā sūra-sāmanta-
 3 sēvitāh || (1) mahōdbhata-bhātākīrṇa-sainyō vairigaṇaprahā || 2 || Dily-āgata-
 4 susūrāya⁵ Luṅg-ākhyāya mahātmanē || (1) dadē vṛitim⁷ vamsāparām
 Kauraviya-prasanna-
 5 dhīh || 3 || Lāphā-durgam=ayi(pi) grāma-vimsōttaraśatōnmitām || (1) samvatsarē
 6 ras-ābhr-āsht-ātītē Māgh-āsīt-ādikē || 4 || yē bhavishyamti bhūpālāh pā-
 7 laniyā sad=ēti taih || (1) maddattā likhitā tāmra-patrē Mādhavasūri-
 8 nā || Śubham=astu⁸ || Māghē vadi || 1 || Sammansarē⁹ 806.

TRANSLATION.

Śrī.

The illustrious Kṛṣṇachandra.

The Victorious writ.

The illustrious writer's regular seal.

Śrī 5. Hail.

(Verse 1.) The illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* Prithvidēva, the king of many countries (is) very intelligent. (His) lotus feet are shining with the diadems (of kings prostrating before him).

(V. 2.) (He is as it were) the sun amongst the descendants of the Haihayas and is served by his brave feudatories. His army is full of very extraordinary soldiers. He is the destroyer of his enemies.

¹ The word in Hindi means "mischievous."

² Read *kṣhiti-andkarāt*.

³ Read *sūra-sāmanta*.

⁴ Read *vṛitim*.

⁵ Read *-astu*.

⁶ From the original plate.

⁷ Read *Haihayāmbhōja*.

⁸ Read *susūrāya*.

⁹ Read *Samvatsarē*.

(V. 3-4.) His mind being pleased with the Kauraviyas¹ (Kawars) he gave to the very brave noble named Luṅgā, who had come from Delhi, 120 villages with the Lamphā fort. for maintenance from generation to generation, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the Māgha month in the expired year (symbolically expressed by) flavour (6) sky (0) and eight (8).

Future kings should always respect my gift written on the copper plate by Mādhava Śūri. Let good fortune attend. The first day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 806.

No. 45.—ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA. KALACHURI SAMVAT 347.

By K. B. PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

These two plates belong to a Rajput family residing at Ābhōṇa, a village in the Kalavana tāluka of the Nāsik district. I obtained them on loan through my friend Mr. N. C. Kelkar. They are inscribed on one side only, and measure $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7$ ". The writing is carefully engraved and is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from the Sarsavṇi plates of Buddharāja edited by Dr. Kielhorn in this Journal, Vol. VI, pp. 294 and ff. They include numerical symbols for 300, 40, 7, 10 and 5 in line 34. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five imprecatory and benedictive vers. in lines 28-33, the text is in prose.

The inscription is one of Śaṅkaragana, the son of Kṛishṇarāja, of the family of the Kāṭachchūris. It records an order of Śaṅkaragana, issued from his camp at Ujjayinī, to the effect that he granted a hundred *nivartanas* of land in the village of Vallisikā situated in the district of Bhōgavardhana to a Brāhmaṇa named Ālmapasvāmin, of the Gautama *gotra*, belonging to the Taittiriya *sūkhī*, who was a resident of Kallāvana, at the request of Gōggā. The inscription is dated, in words and numerical symbols, on the 15th day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa of the year 347,² which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, so that the date corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 595.

The Kāṭachchūri Śaṅkaragana is identical with the father of Buddharāja, who issued the Sarsavṇi grant. The wording of the two inscriptions is practically identical, with the exception of the portion referring to the grants themselves. There is, of course, nothing in our inscription to correspond to lines 14-17 of the Sarsavṇi plates, which refer to Buddharāja.

Of the localities occurring in our inscription, Kallāvana is the modern Kalavana in the Nāsik district. Vallisikā and Bhōgavardhana I cannot identify.

In line 20 of the present inscription we find the technical expression *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvṛṣyam*, which so frequently occurs in other inscriptions, and which has usually been rendered "not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers." I invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the following passage, in which Śaṅkarāchārya uses it,³—

*tasmāt tārṅika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-rāj-āpravṛṣyam abhayaṁ durgam idam alpabuddhy-agamyam
śāstra-guru-prasāda-rahitais cha. Ānandajñāna gives the following explanation,—
advaitē virōdh-āntar-ābhāvē=pi tārṅika-samaya-virōdhō=st=ity=āśaṅky=āha tasmād
iti | pramāṇa-virōdh-ābhūtas tach-chhabd-ārthau | āryamaryādām bhindā-*

¹ Or, if we read *Kauraviya*, "he gave to the very brave and noble Kaurava (Kawar) named Luṅgā."

² [In the photo-lithograph No. 47 has been wrongly printed instead of 347.—S. K.]

³ *Bṛihadāranyakō u nishadbhāṣyaṭīkā*, Ānandasrama edition, pp. 311 and ff.

1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ५. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ६. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ७. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ८. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ९. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 १०. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ११. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 १२. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 १३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 १४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 १५. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 १६. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE 0-8

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

STEN KONOW

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nās chūṭā vivakshyantē | bhaṭās tu sēvakā mīthyā-bhāṣiṇas tishām survīśām
rājānas tārīkās ta'r apravīśyam anāikramāṇiyam idam brahmaikāntam
yūrat.

TEXT.

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्ति[॥*] विजयस्कन्धवारदुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलविमल-
विपुले
- 2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्त्वापाश्रयदुर्लभे गाभीर्यवति
स्थित्य-
- 3 नृपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटचूरीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रि-
कयेव कीर्त्या
- 4 भुवनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरक्कलङ्घदोषरहितकुलकुमुद-
- 5 वनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्यश्रयविशेषलोभादिव सकले-
राभिगामिकै-
- 6 नितरैश्च गुणैरूपेतस्म्यन्नप्रकृतिमण्यलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्धनं च
वृत्तिरव-
- 7 शोभिना नियतमखलितदानं च धर्मदत्तगरिष्ठा वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि-
- 8 शङ्खं विचरता वनराज्य इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नवा-
णाय विशदः परा-
- 9 भिमानभङ्ग्य शिञ्जितं विनयाय विभक्तं च दानाय प्रदानं धर्माय
धर्मः श्रेयोवा-
- 10 मये तस्य पुत्रः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथयतुरुदधिभलिलासादितयशा धनद्वरुणेन्द्रा-
न्तक-
- 11 समप्रतापः स्वराज्यलोपातोर्जितराजश्रीः प्रतापा(पा)तिशयोजनतममश्रसामन्त-
- 12 मण्डलः परस्मरापीडितधर्मार्थकामनिषेवो प्रशतिमात्रमुपरितोषगभीरोन्म-
- 13 हृदयस्मयकप्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावामधर्मकिञ्चिद्विरोत्सवा-
- 14 नां नृपतिशानां प्रतिष्ठापयितालुच्छितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनाम्ब-
क्षपणसमभिल-
- 15 धितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृ-
- 16 पादानुध्यातः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय-
- 17 पतिराष्ट्रसाममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समाप्तापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

Second Plate; First Side.

- 18 भोगवर्धनविषयान्तर्गतवस्त्रिसिकाग्रामे उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्त्तनिना(नेन)
 19 भूमेर्निवर्त्तनशतम् सर्वादानसंग्राह्यं सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमि-
 20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-
 भोग्यं
 21 कल्लावनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसब्रह्मचारी आह्वणस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्य-
 देवा-
 22 भिहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृदये गोमा-
 विज्ञापनया
 23 उदकातिमर्गेणातिसृष्टं यतोऽहंश्चैरन्यैर्जगामि नृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-
 24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलीकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयस-
 25 श्च गुणानाकलय्य भोगसामान्यभृददानफलेऽसुभिः शशिकररुचिरं चिराय
 यशस्विचोर्षुभि-
 26 रयमस्महायोनुमन्तव्यं¹ पालयितव्यञ्च [।*] यो वाञ्छानतिमिरपटलावृतमति-
 राच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य-
 27 मानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्तस्यादित्युक्तञ्च भगवता
 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥*]
 28 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चादुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ विख्यात-
 29 वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं
 हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्व्य-
 30 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
 फलम् ॥ पूर्वदत्तां
 31 द्विजातिभ्यो यद्वाद्रुच युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालन-
 मपिच ॥ यानीह
 32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्दानानि धर्मात्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्भुक्त्वात्यप्रति-
 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः
 33 पुनराददेत ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारिंशदुत्तरके आवणशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
 महापितु-
 34 पतिपाशुपतद्रुतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविश्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतवाट्चलि-
 नेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७ आवण शु १० ५

¹ The Saravali plates read *sāmānya-bhōga-bhā-*.

TRANSLATION.¹

Line 1. Om! Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Ūjjayinī. In the lineage of the *Katachchûris*, which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the firmament, clear on the approach of autumn, illumined by the mass of the rays of the excellences of many jewels of men (as the ocean is adorned by the rays of its gems); which is difficult to be crossed, because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals), full of gravity and desirous of keeping within the bounds of what is proper (just as the ocean is full of depth and desirous of keeping within its shores), there was the glorious *Kṛishṇarāja*, who illumined the world with his fame, as the moon with light, agreeable to all men; who was from his birth solely devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), just as the moon solely rests on Śiva; who (though) free from defects, yet like the moon (who has a spot) revives the beauty (prosperity) of his family resembling a forest of night lotuses; who was resorted to by all virtues which attract² men to a king and by other qualities, as if through a desire to obtain a very suitable abode; who was endowed with all the constituent parts of royalty; who had properly enjoyed the fruits of his regal powers; who resplendent with his illustrious family, the flow of his liberality being ceaseless and the majesty of his power well-known, roaming fearlessly, subdued the regions, as the chief in a herd of wild elephants, with the ceaseless flow of its rutting juice, displaying the greatness of its strength, roaming about fearlessly breaks down rows of forests; whose sword was used to protect the helpless; whose wars were made to humble the pride of his enemies; whose learning aimed at modesty; who acquired wealth to make gifts; who made gifts in order to acquire religious merit, and acquired religious merit in order to obtain final bliss.

(L. 10.) His son, the glorious *Śankaragana*, a great devotee of Śiva, the lord of countries bounded by the eastern and western ocean, and other lands, who meditated on the feet of his parents; who had no rival in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; whose might was equal to that of *Kubêra*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra* and *Yama*; who acquired the fortune of great kings by the strength of his arm; to whom, by reason of the excess of his prowess, the circle of all feudatory kings bowed; who enjoyed religious merit, wealth and pleasure without allowing them to encroach upon one another; whose profound and lofty mind was satisfied with mere submission; who performed religious acts by giving away, in charity, the immense wealth acquired by properly protecting his subjects; who re-instated families of kings who had long been dethroned; who uprooted those that were too proud; who granted to the afflicted, the blind and the poor, the object of their desires which exceeded their sanguine expectations,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, *bhōgikas*, heads of provinces, districts, and villages, officers and others:—

Be it known to you. For the increase of the religious merit and fame of our parents and ourselves we have granted, at the request of *Gōggā*,³ with pouring out of water, a hundred *nivartanas* of land,—by a *nivartana* measuring forty on both sides,—in the village of *Vallisikā* situated in the province of *Bhōgavarddhana*, together with all receipts, free from all *ditya*, forced labour, and *prātibhēdikā*, according to the maxim of *bhūmichhidra*, not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lies,⁴ to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons for as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure,—to *Āhmaṇasvāmin*, a resident of *Kallāvana* belonging to the *Gautama gōtra*, and a student of the *Taittirīya śākhā*, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites,—wherefore future kings and governors, whether of our own family or others, reflecting that this world of living beings is as unstable as a wave of the waters of the ocean, moved by a strong gale, that

¹ [Compare the translation of the Sarsavati plates and the notes accompanying it, above, Vol. VI. pp. 299 and ff.—S. K.]

Kāmandakya nitisāra, chap. IV. verses 6-8.

² *Gōggā* is, *gōggā*, the name of the village of *Śankaragana*.

⁴ See the introductory remarks.

riches are perishable and unsubstantial, and that virtues endure for a long time,—wishing to participate in the fruit of a gift of land, which is an object of enjoyment by all, and desiring to accumulate fame as bright as the rays of the moon for a long time, should consent to this our gift of land and preserve it. Whoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance should take it away, or allow it to be taken away, shall be guilty of the five great sins. And it is said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—[Here follow five well-known imprecatory verses.]

(L. 33) In three hundred years increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, this edict, the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahāpilupati Pāśupata*, was written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahādihikarānādhikṛita Vāṭchalin*. Sam 300 40 7 Śrāvaṇa śu 10 5.

No. 46.—ARIGOM SARADA INSCRIPTION.

LAUKIKA SAMVAT 73.

By STEN KONOW.

Âr'gôm is a village in the Nâgâm pargana, 74° 45' long., 33° 56' lat., about 15 miles south-west of Śrinagar, as the crow flies. Dr. Stein, in his note on the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* I. 340, identifies Âr'gôm with Hâḍigrâma, where Gôpāditya is said to have established an *agrahâra*, and states that some remains of temples were traced there by Paṇḍit Kâśi Râm in 1891. Hâḍigrâma is further mentioned by Kalhana (VIII, 672) as one of the strongholds of the Dâmara Prithvîhara. In the troubled times following on the accession of Jayasimha in A.D. 1128, "Hâḍigrâma, where King Sussala and those of his side had lost their renown, was burned by Sujji, whose valour was mighty" (VIII, 1586), and the place is further mentioned in connexion with the incursion of king Lôṭhana during the same period (VIII, 2195).

In June 1908, Paṇḍit Mukund Râm, who had with great courtesy been placed at my disposal by the Kashmir Darbar, was informed by a friend of the existence of an inscribed stone in the house of a Brâhman in Âr'gôm, and at my request he went up to inspect it. According to information gathered by him on the spot, the stone in question was found about twelve years ago in a piece of uncultivated land near the Masjid Malik Sahib by a cultivator, who was digging there, and sold to a Brâhman for some corn. The Brâhman kept the stone for some time and did *pájâ* to it. But people who saw it, told him that the writing probably contained information about hidden treasure, and that the stone therefore properly belonged to the Mahârâja. He got frightened, and first hid the stone under the wall of his house, but later on he threw it into a pit at the entrance of his *gôśûlâ* and covered it up with cow-dung. Paṇḍit Mukund Râm further informs me that images, pedestals, stones and bricks are found all over the place, and it is probable that excavations would yield interesting results.

The stone mentioned above is square, measuring 20" each way, and being 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. On the top is a raised circle, apparently the base of an image. One of the four faces of the stone is inscribed with five lines in Śâradâ letters.

The writing covers a space of 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 3", and the height of the letters averages $\frac{3}{4}$ ". They are distributed over five lines, the fifth of which contains the date. The beginning of the first two lines and the last letter in lines 1-3 and the three last letters in line 4 have disappeared.

The characters are Śâradâ, and they are very well cut. *Ja* has the older form as in the *Bajñâth prasasti*. The final form of *m* occurs in line 3. The diphthong *ê* has been marked in two different ways, by means of a horizontal line above, as in *bhagavatê*, l. 1, or by a vertical before the consonant as in *tê*, l. 2. Similarly *ô* is sometimes marked by adding a horizontal above, sometimes by prefixing a vertical to the consonant accompanied by the sign for *â*. Compare

Āryāvalōkitēśvarāya, l. 1, and *lōkanāthāya*, l. 2. A third method occurs in *lōkā* ... at the end of line 1, where a wavy line has been added above the sign for *la*. Of initial vowels only *i* occurs in *āryā*, l. 1. Among ligatures I may note *kya*, l. 1, *kkra*, l. 3, *kva*, l. 4; *āga*, l. 2; *āya*, l. 3; *rya*, l. 1; and perhaps *lhṇa*, l. 3. The numeral symbols for 7, 3 and 5 occur in line 5.

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation of *Avalōkitēśvara* in l. 1, and the date in l. 5, the whole is in verse. There are altogether two verses. The first is apparently a *ślōka*. The second *pāda*, however, contains three syllables too much, but these *aksharas* are probably simply a repetition of part of *pāda* 1. The second verse is a *śārdūlavikrīḍita*. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* built of *pakka* bricks, by *Rāmadēva*, the son of *Kulladēva*, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been built by a *vaidya*, whose name I read *Ulhṇa*, and which had been burnt down by king *Simha*. This *Simha* must be identical with *Jayasimha* (from A.D. 1128), in whose reign *Hādigrāma* was burnt down by *Sujji*.¹ It then becomes highly probable that the *vaidya* *Ulhṇa* is identical with *Ulhṇa*, the son of *Sahadēva*, who was a supporter of *Sujji*.² *Sahadēva* is described as a *Rājaputra*,³ which fact can of course be well reconciled with his son *Ulhṇa*'s being a *vaidya*. The constructor of the brick *vihāra* was *Rāmadēva*, whom I cannot identify. His father *Kulladēva* was perhaps in charge of the old wooden *vihāra*, if I am right in interpreting *tad-rata* (l. 4) as "devoted to, attached to him, viz., *Avalōkitēśvara*."

The word *vihāra* is used with more than one meaning. In our inscription, however, there cannot be much doubt that it signifies a shrine, as it has been characterized as "the abode of *Lōkanātha*." The stone upon which this epigraph has been incised is most probably the actual base of the statue of *Lōkanātha* here alluded to. *Lōkanātha* is, of course, identical with *Avalōkitēśvara*, who is invoked in lines 1-2. Our inscription thus furnishes valuable proof of the fact that Buddhism was still lingering in Kashmir in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The mention of the materials used in building the old and the new shrines, is also of interest. We learn that the former was constructed from wood, while the latter was built from *pakka* bricks.

The old *vihāra* is stated to have been built in the vicinity of *Gaṅgēśvara*. This is now called *Gaṇēśvara*, and is the place where the present inscription was dug out. The modern corruption of the name is not of very old date. The old name was at least remembered about 40 years ago. This is proved by a *janmapattra*, which *Paṇḍit Mukund Rām* found in *Ārigom*, and which was written by *Paṇḍit Gaṇēśa Khusrao* in *Laukika Samvat* 4939, i.e. A.D. 1862-63. It speaks of a person as *Gaṅgēśvara-pādamūlē Āgrīrāmē vāstavya* residing in *Ārigom* at the feet of *Gaṅgēśvara*. *Gaṅgēśvara* was originally probably a *Śiva* temple, and it is not unlikely that it could be identified by means of excavations.

The inscription is dated *Samvat* 73, *Mārga śuti* 5. This date must be subsequent to the burning of *Ārigom* during the reign of *Jayasimha*. Now *Jayasimha*'s father was murdered in the *Laukika* year 4203, and the burning of *Ārigom* took place in the first part of his reign. It is therefore as good as certain that we have to understand the date of our inscription as 4273 on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśīrsha*, corresponding to Sunday, the 16th November 1197.

TEXT.

1 ...¹ नमो भगवते आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय ॥ ²[नै]लोक्वालोकभूताय लोका-
[लो]-

¹ *Rājataranginī*, VIII. 1536.

² *Ibidem*. vv. 2066, 2092, 2097.

³ *Ibidem*. v. 198

⁴ I cannot restore the beginning. The *akshara* preceding नमो looks like नै. *Paṇḍit Mukund Rām* suggests to read नौ.

⁵ Metre: *Ślōka*. There is something wrong in the second *pāda*.

- 2 [ल]..[स]भवच्छिदे [१*] जमदानन्दचन्द्राय श्रीकनाथाय ते नमः ॥[१*]
 'प्रामाङ्गेश्वरसि[ल]-
 3 धौ [सुम]तिमान्वैद्यीलङ्घदेवाभिषयक्के दारुमयं विहारममलं श्रीलोकनाथास-
 दम् [१*] तस्मिन्[न]-
 4 हृत्पेण कालवशतो दग्धेय पक्केष्टिकाश्रेष्ठं तद्रतकुसुदेवतनयोमुं रामदेवो
 [व्यधात् ॥] [२*]
 5 सं ७३ मार्ग शुति ५

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Salutation to the exalted noble Avalôkitêśvara.

(Verse 1). Salutation to thee, the Lord of the World, who hast become a light to the three worlds, who destroys transmigration, the moon of delight to the world.

(V. 2). Formerly the *vaidya* Ulpadêva² by name made a spotless *vihâra* of wood, an abode for the Lord of the World, in the vicinity of the Gaṅgêśvara (temple). After this, by the will of fate, had been burned by king Simha, Râmadêva, the son of Kulladêva, who was devoted to him (Avalôkitêśvara), made yonler (*vihâra*) excellent with burnt bricks.

Line 5. Samvat 73, the 5th day of the bright (half) of Mârga(śirsha).

No. 47.—CHANDRAVATI PLATE OF CHANDRADEVA.

SAMVAT 1148.

By STEN KONOW.

The plate containing this inscription was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under the fort at Chandravati, in the Benares District. Mr. Chhote Lal, the District Engineer of Benares, informs me that, owing to the erosive action of the river, portions of the fort were undermined and fell down from time to time. The plate fell into the river along with the walls of the fort, and was seen and picked up by the Public Works Department's boatman, who deposited it in the District Engineer's office at Benares. In March 1908 it was then finally handed over to the Director General of Archaeology in India.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims. In the upper part of the plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and 3" in diameter. On the ring slides a bell-shaped seal, 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ " from top to bottom. The surface of the seal is circular and 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It represents in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, a Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling and facing the proper right. Across the centre is the legend *śrīvadach-(śrīmuch)-Chandradivah*, and at the bottom a conch shell.

The plate contains 23 lines of writing. Parts of it are much worn, and the portion containing the date cannot be made out with certainty. The characters are Nāgari, and the language is Sanskrit. With regard to orthography I shall only note that *va* is used both for *va* and for *ba*, and that the dental sibilant is often used instead of the palatal one; thus, =*asita*-

¹ Metre: Śāradāvikrīḍita.

² It is possible that the name should be read Al. padêva.

for *aśita-*, l. 1, -*vaṁsa-* for -*vaṁśa-*, l. 2. There are several other misspellings and slips, especially towards the end.

After the invocation to *Śrī* common in other plates of the same family, our inscription proceeds to give the genealogy of the donor in four verses, which are well known from other inscriptions. We are told that Yaśōvīgraha had the son Mahichandra, whose son again was Chandradēva, the issuer of the present grant. The inscription then goes on in prose, stating that the victorious king Chandradēva issues the following order to all the people assembled, residing in the Vaḍagavā-village in the Vāvana-pattalā, and also to the Rājas, Rājñis, Yuvarājas, councillors, chaplains, warders of the gate, generals, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, towns, mines, *sthānas* and *gōkulas* :

"Be it known to you that the aforesaid village, with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fishing places, with its ravines and saline soil, with and including its groves of *madhūka* and mango, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abutments, up to its proper boundaries, has today, on the . . . day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Sāmvat 1148, been given by us for as long a time as moon and sun endure, with the pouring out of water from the palm of our hand, purified with *gōkarna*¹ and *kuśa*-grass, to the Brāhmaṇ Varuṇēsvayasārman (-śvaraśārman), the son of Varāhasvāmī, the grandson of Anarudha, of the Vasishṭha *gōtra*, and whose only *pravara* is Vasishṭha, for the increase of the merit and fame of our parents and ourselves, after having today bathed here in the neighbourhood of Sauri (Śauri)-Nārāyaṇa, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and groups of ancestors,² after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is skilled in rending the veil of darkness, after having worshipped Vāsudēva, the saviour of the three worlds, and after having sacrificed to the Fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar."

The first point here that is worthy of notice is the date, which is the earliest known for Chandradēva, the other copper plate of his time being dated in Sāmvat 1154.³ It will be seen that the portion of it containing the *tithi* and the week day is illegible. Mr. Chhote Lal, who has examined the original, writes about this point,—

"Ordinarily, it might be thought that the excessive corrosion and incrustation of rust at this particular part of the plate was purely accidental, but from a minute examination of the imperfect and damaged letters which are still discernible, I am led to conclude that the excessive incrustation at this point was due to the fact that the surface of the plate was already damaged by somebody in his endeavour to make a correction in the date. It is remarkable that the name of the place or that of the stream in which the donor took his bath, is not mentioned in the inscription. Nor is there any mention of the occasion (eclipse, *saṅkrānti*, etc.) at which the gift was made. It would appear that Śauri-Nārāyaṇa was in those days a very well-known place of pilgrimage requiring no further details to localise it, that the occasion *presumably* was the ordinary Kārttika-*snāna*, and that the date originally entered on the plate was *pañchadaśyām gurau*, but was afterwards attempted to be corrected into *ekādaśyām ravau*. The *ē* of the latter just overlaps the *paṁ* of the former; the *kā* of the latter being rather large has been so formed as to include the *cha* and to cover the space occupied by *da* of the former; while the space occupied by *śyām* of the former has been utilised for the rather clumsily large *da* of the latter. It will thus be seen that the space originally occupied by the word *pañchadaśyām*, which was of normal size, was subsequently occupied by the much larger letters, *ē*, *kā* and *da*, and there being no more space available for the final syllable *śyām*, it was omitted. Similarly, the *ra* of

¹ Compare Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* XV. p. 10, Note 57.

² See *ibidem*, note 55.

³ *Ind. Ant.* XVIII. pp. 9 and ff.

ravau overlaps the *gu* of *gurau* and *rau* of the latter has been deformed into something like *vau* of the former. Now the question arises, "Why was the date corrected?" The reason may be that the grant was originally intended to be made on the *pauṃchadaśī*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which was expected to take place on that date. A little calculation will show that the eclipse did actually occur on the specified date (corresponding to Thursday, the 7th of November, 1090 A.D.), but as the time of its occurrence was early in the following morning (according to calculation), it must have been very doubtful whether it would be visible at the place visited by Chandradēva. This circumstance may have been anticipated, and it may have been decided to make the donation on the preceding *Prabôdhini Ekâdaśī* (Sunday, the 3rd of November, 1090 A.D.) which was a most suitable day for the purpose, being the day on which Viṣṇu—the deity worshipped by Chandradēva—rises from his four months' sleep. I say all this may have been the cause of the alteration in the date, for there is no *a priori* reason against this supposition. But I consider it very unlikely that a Mahârāja, who changed his mind about the actual day of performing a religious ceremony, could have allowed a correction—and a clumsy correction at the best—to be made in the copper plate inscription recording the gift of a whole village, when the entire inscription could have been cut on a new plate in a day's time. The fact seems to be that it is no honour to a Brâhmaṇ to receive a gift on the occasion of an eclipse, and there are certain sects of Brâhmaṇs, e.g. Sarjuparis and Kananjiyas, who would promptly excommunicate any member of their community who was known to have received a gift on account of an eclipse. The Brâhmaṇ who received the munificent gift from Chandradēva probably belonged to one of these sects, and, after the king had made the gift and departed, he seems to have thought of concealing his disgraceful conduct and to have caused the original and genuine date to be altered as explained above."

Mr. Chhote Lal further identifies *Vaḍagavā* with the present Baragaon, a village 14 miles north-west of Benares. He thinks it, however, also possible that it was the old name of Chandrāvati, which was afterwards changed in honour of king Chandradēva.

After the mention of the grant, we find some of the usual imprecatory verses, and, at the end, the name of the writer, the *ṣhakkura* Mahāṇanda.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm² svasti || ³akumṭh-ôtkanṭha-Vaikumṭha-kanṭha-piṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | samrambhaḥ
suratârambhê sa Śriyaḥ śrēyasê-stu vaḥ || ⁴âsid=asi(śi)tadyu-
- 2 ti-vaṃsa(śa)-jâta-[kshma]pâla-mâlâsu divaṃ gatâsu | sâkshâd=Vivasvân=iva
bhûridhâmnâ nâmnâ Yaśôvighraha ity=udâraḥ || ⁵tat-sutô=bhût(n)=Mahichandra-
- 3 ś= cha[m*]dradhâma-nibham nijam | yēn= âpâram=akûpâra-pârê vyâpâritam : yaśaḥ ||
⁶tasy= âbhût=tanayô nay-aikarasikaḥ krânta-dvishan-mamḍalâ(mamḍalô)
⁷viddhast-ôddhata-
- 4 dhira-yôdha-timirah śrī-Chandradêvô nripah | yēn= ôdâratara-pratâpa-sa(śa)mit-
âśêsha-prajôpadravam śrīmad-Gâdhipur-âdhirâjyam=asamam dôrvikra-
- 5 mēṇ=ârjitam || ⁸tîrthâni Kâsi-Kusik(-śik)-Ôttarakôśal(sal)-Ēndra(h)sthâniyakâni
paripâlayat=âbhigamyah(ya) | hēm=âtmatulyam=anisaṃ(śam) dadatâ dvijêbhyô
- 6 yēn=âmkitâ vasumatî satasa(śa)s=tulâbbih || sa cha paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâ-
dhirâja-paramêśva(śva)ra-paramamâhêśva(śva)ra-nijabhujôpâ[r*]jita-śrī-Ka-
- 7 nyakuvj(bj)-âdhipatya-śrī-Chandradêvô vijayî || ⁹Vâvana-pattalâyam Vaḍagavâ-
grâmê nivâ[sinô nikhila]-jana-padân=upagatân=api cha râja-râjûi-yuvarâ-

¹ From the original plate.

² Metre: Indravajrâ.

Read *viddhast*.

This sign of interpunction is superfluous.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

⁶ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[illegible]

- 8 ja-mamtri-purôhita-pratibhara-senâpati-bhâmâgârik-âkshapaṭalika-bhishaka(shag)-naimi-
[ttik-ântahpu]rika-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagô[ku]-
- 9 lādihikâripurushân=âjñâpâyâ(ya)ty=âdisati cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâm
yathôpa[rilikhi]ta-grâma[h*] sa-jala-sthalah sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-ma-
- 10 [t*]sy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâtikâ-trîṇa-yûti-gôchara-
paryantah s-ôrdh[h*]-âdhas=chatur-âghâta-visu(śu)ddhah eva-simâ-paryantah
[samvat]
- 11 1148 Kārttika su di ady=êha Sau(Śau)ri-nârâyana- samipê
snâtva vidhivan=mamtra-dêva-pu(mu)ni-manuja-bhûta-pitṛiganâms=tarppayitvâ ti-
- 12 mira-paṭala-pâtana-pa[tu-ma]hasams(sam=)[ushṇa-rôchi]sham samabhyarchya tribhu-
vana-¹trâtur=Vâsudêvasya pûjâm vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ
hvirbhujam [hu]tvâ
- 13 mâtâpitṛôr-âtmâna[s=cha] puṇya-pa(ya)[sô-bhivṛddhayê] ² Vasishṭhagotrâya ²
Vasishṭh-aika-pravarâya ² Anarudha-pautrâya Var[â*]hasvâmi-putrâya ²
Varupêsvaya(śvara)-
- 14 sa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya gôkarsa(rṇa)-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdakên=âsmâbbhiḥ
âchamdrârkam yâvav(ch=chh)âsanikṛitya pradattah | matvâ yathâdiyamâna-
bhâgabho-
- 15 gâkara-pravanikara-turushkadânda-kumaragadiâpaka-prabhṛiti-samastâ [n*] = n i y a t â s
niyat-âdâyân= âjñâ(m)-vidhêyi-bhûya dâsyatha
- 16 iti || bhavanti ch=âtra paurâṇikâ[h*] ślôkâḥ || || ³bhûmim yaḥ pratigrihṇâti
yaś=cha bhûmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇyakarmmaṇau ni-
- 17 yatau svargna(rgga)- gâminau || sa(śa)mkaḥ bhadrasanam chchhatram⁴ varâsvâ
(śvâ) varavâraṇah | bhûmi-dânasya chihvâni phalam=⁵ a(â)tat=Purâmdara ||
shasht(h)im varsha-sahasrâ-
- 18 pi svarggê vasati bhûmidah [i*] âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tân[y=*]êva
narakam(kê) vasêt || svadattâm paradattâm vâ yô harêd(ta)=vasumdharam |
sa vishṭhâyam kṛimir-bhûtvâ
- 19 pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || vârihîṇêshv=araṇyêshu sushka-kôṭara-vâsinah | kṛishṇa-
sarppâs=ra(cha) jâyantê dêva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hâripah || na visham vi[sha]m=
ity=â-
- 20 hu[r*] vra(bra)hma-svam visham=uchyata(tê) | visham=êkâkinam hamti(r=)
vra(bra)hmasvam puvrapautriâkam(putrapautrikam) || ⁶rgâm=akâm svareṣm=
êkam bhûmêr=apy=êkam=amgulam | haram(haran) narakam=âpnôti yâvad-â-
- 21 bhûta-sa[m*]plavam || tadâgânâm sahasrâṇi ⁷asvam[â]dhasatâni cha | gavâm
kâ(kô)ti-pradânana(nêna) bhûmi-hartâ na suyati(śudhyati) || va(ba)hubhir=
vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Cha(Sa)ga-
- 22 râdibhi[h] || (i) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || ⁸yân=
iha dattâni purâ narê[n*]drai[r*] dânâni ⁹varmmâpiyasaskarâni [i*] ni-
[rmâlyavânta-prati]-
- 23 mâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadhita || || ¹⁰Likhitam=idaṁ
tâmmrapataka[m*] ṭhakkura-śrî- Mahanâmda ||

¹ The engraver originally wrote *tribhswama*-, but corrected it.

² These signs of interpunctuation are superfluous.

³ Metre of this and the following verses: Anushtubh.

⁴ Read *chhatram*.

⁵ The *â*-stroke has been put over the *pu* of *Purâmdara*.

⁶ Read *gâm=êkâm svareṣm=êkam cha*.

⁸ Metre: Indravajrâ.

⁷ Read *asvamêdhasatâni*.

¹⁰ Read *likhitam*-.

⁹ Read *dhamdrihayasas*.

No. 48.—BURHANPUR SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAH.

SAMVAT 1646.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Burhānpūr in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces is an ancient historical site.¹ It was the chief seat of the Fārūqī kings. They ruled over Khândēsh, which name the Muhammadans derived from their title of Khān. Their rule lasted from 1370 to 1600 A.D., when it was displaced by the Mughals. One of these Fārūqī kings built the Jam'a Masjid, in which besides Arabic inscriptions he had one carved in Sanskrit, which gives his genealogy and the date of the construction of the mosque. This inscription is in the northern corner and is written within an arch, so that the lines, which are 6 in number, are of unequal length. They contain five verses, besides the invocation *Śrī śrīṣṭīkartrē namaḥ* in the commencement and the date in the end, both of which are in prose.

The letters are Nāgarī and are raised, not incised, in the same fashion as Persian letters are usually found carved. Orthography hardly calls for any remarks. The sign of *avagraha* has been omitted throughout. Over the *na* of *-khāna-* (l. 3) we find the Arabic sign of *tashdid* or double consonant.

The date is recorded in great detail, giving both the Vikrama and Śaka years, which are stated to be 1646 and 1511 respectively, the cyclic year being Virōdhi. The mosque is stated to have been completed on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month Pausa, the exact moment in *ghaṭis* and the *nakṣatra*, *lagna*, *yōga*, *karana*, etc., being added most precisely.² The date in the Hijra era is given as 997 in Arabic above the inscription. Its English equivalent was kindly calculated for me by the late Professor Kielhorn, C.I.E., who found it to be Monday, the 5th January 1590. The astrological details are unique in a Muhammadan mosque and show the religious tendency of the later Fārūqī kings. In Burhānpūr much of the beliefs of the two religions (Hinduism and Islām) got mixed up, traces of which are still conspicuously present there. As an instance may be cited the preachings of the *Pirzādas*, who are Musalmāns and who say that God will now become incarnate as *Nishkalānki*.³ The Fārūqīs undoubtedly believed in astrology, as this inscription shows, and although the builder of the mosque took every care to erect it in the most auspicious moment completing it exactly in one year (as an Arabic inscription carved in the middle of the Masjid discloses) and wished by his pious act to ensure the long continuance of his dynasty, yet uncompromising destiny snatched away the crown from them, only ten years after the construction of the edifice. In fact Bahādur Khān, the builder's son, was so much infatuated with superstition, that, in spite of his possessing the impregnable Asirgarh fort with ten years' provisions, enormous treasures and numerous horses and cattle, he felt convinced that he could not hold his own against Akbar, of whom he believed that he was a necromancer and that magicians accompanied him to reduce the fort. A pestilence which broke out among the animals, was attributed to the black art, and he saw no way but to surrender to the mighty wizard. This mosque was thus destined to receive another inscription, which Akbar triumphantly caused to be carved recording his victory of Khândēsh in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600), annihilating the glory of the mosque builder's dynasty for ever. This inscription is in Persian and is conspicuously inscribed on the outside wall of the left hand minār.

¹ It was here that the famous Mumtāz Mahall (Arjumand Bānū Begam) breathed her last.

² For details see translation at the end.

³ I have seen some Sanskrit manuscripts in Persian character in the possession of some Maulvis of Burhānpūr, preserved as heirlooms from their ancestors, who apparently studied them under State encouragement. Unfortunately most of these valuable records have been destroyed by the fires of 1897 and 1906 which caused damage to the extent of about 57 lakhs besides loss of life.

The chief interest of our inscription lies in the genealogy of the Fârûqis given in it. According to it the first king was Râja Malik, whose son was Ghaznî (Khân). His son was Kaisar Khân, whose son was Hasan, from whom was born Âdil Shâh, whose son was Mubârahk. Âdil Shâh, the constructor of the mosque, was the son of this Mubârahk. This genealogy differs from those given by Firishhta and Abul Fazl. According to the former Âdil Shâh was the 6th descendant from Malik Râja, and according to the latter the 8th, while according to our inscription he was the 7th. The tables given below will show at a glance how matters stand :—

Sanskrit inscription.	Briggs' <i>Firishhta</i> , Vol. IV., p. 280.	Jarrett's <i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> , Vol. II., p. 226.
Râja Malik.	Malik Râja.	Malik Râji.
Gaznî (Khân).	Nasîr Khân.	Ghiznî Khân, title Nasîr Khân.
Kaisar Khân.		Mîran Shâh <i>alias</i> Âdil Shâh.
		Mubârik Shâh Chaukhanḍî.
Hasan (Khân).	Hasan Khân.	Âdil Shah Aynâ <i>alias</i> Ahsan Khân.
Âdil Shâh.	Âdil Khân.	Âdil Shâh.
Mubârahk.	Mubârik.	Mubârik Shâh.
Âdil Shâh.	Râja Alî Khân.	Râja Alî Khân, title Âdil Shâh.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* states that "Bahâdur Khân (who was the son of Râja Alî Khân) was 9th in descent from Malik Râji." This has led Colonel Jarrett,¹ as it would indeed lead others, to suppose that the list given there is genealogical and that Ahsan Khân, the fifth king, was identical with Hasan Khân, who, as a matter of fact, was never a king. Hasan Khân belonged to a collateral branch of the family, whose son became king on the failure of male issue in the main line.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* has mixed up the succession list with the genealogical table. Mîran Shâh, the third descendant, was really a grandson of Malik Râja, but the point missed is that he was not the direct ascendant of the last Âdil Shâh or Râja Alî Khân. The crown first went in Mîran Shâh's line up to Âdil Shâh Aynâ, who was succeeded by his brother Dâwûd Khân, and the latter by his son Ghaznî Khân, who was poisoned two days after ascending the throne. Abul Fazl does not mention Ghaznî Khân at all, probably because his succession to the throne was only nominal. Ghaznî Khân left no son,² and hence the crown went to Râja Alî Khân's grandfather Âdil Shâh or Âdil Khân. The three kings Mîran Shâh, Mubârahk Shâh and Âdil Shâh Aynâ were not thus direct ascendants of Râja Alî Khân. The *Ain-i-Akbari* list should therefore be left out of consideration, and the question must be decided between our inscription and Firishhta's list. Briggs³ takes Hasan to be the son of Nasîr Khân, relying on Firishhta's assertion that "Âdil was the son of Hasan and grandson of Nasîr Khân." If Hasan were the son of Nasîr Khân, he would be the brother of Mîran Shâh, who was crowned king after his father's death. We would, therefore, have to suppose that Mîran's nephew came to the throne after the expiry of three

¹ See his *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., p. 226, footnote.

² Briggs' *Firishhta*, Vol. IV., p. 303.

³ *Loc. cit.*

generations, which is an unlikely supposition. There is nothing to show that Âdil Khân (Hasan's son) was extraordinarily long-lived.¹ It, therefore, seems very probable that there was an intervening generation between Nasir Khân and Hasan Khân, and the missing link is supplied by the Sanskrit inscription in the person of Kaisar Khân, son of Nasir and father of Hasan Khân. In the inscription Kaisar Khân is merely called a *vira* or hero and not a king, and although Hasan was also never a king, the epithet of *kshatṛīśa* was apparently added to his name by way of courtesy, to tickle the ruling prince. Regarding the sources of his information Firishta records² that when he visited Burhānpūr in A.H. 1013 (A.D. 1604), he asked Mirzâ Ali Isfahānî if any history existed of the Fârûqî family. The Mirzâ replied that he knew of none, but said that he once saw a genealogy³ of the family down to Malik Râja, which he copied and took along with him. It would thus appear that no history of the kings later than Malik Râja existed at all. So the information he collected was apparently from traditions or other casual records, while the writer of the Sanskrit inscription must certainly have been supplied with information from the royal family, as it was intended to be a permanent record. in one of the greatest works the king built. It is, therefore, more reliable than Firishta and leaves no room for doubt as to its authenticity. A revised genealogy of the Fârûqî kings will be found below on p. 310.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 ॥ श्री सृष्टिकर्त्रे नमः । अव्यक्तं व्यापकं नित्यं गुणातीतं चिदात्मकं
[1*] अत्यव्यक्तं कारणं वन्दे व्यक्ताव्यक्तं तमोखरं ॥१॥ यावच्चन्द्रा-
कर्तारः-
- 2 दि चित्तिः स्याद्वरांगणैः [1*] तावत्कारुकिवंशोऽसौ चिरं नन्दनु
भूतले ॥२॥ वंशेय तस्मिन्किल फारुकीन्द्रो बभूव राजा मलिकामि-
धानः [1*] तस्याभवत्सूनु-
- 3 रुदारचेताः कुलावतंसो गजनीनरेशः⁶ ॥३॥ तस्मादभूत्केसरखानवीरः पुत्र-
स्तदीयो हसनक्षितीशः [1*] तस्मादभूदेदलशाहभूपः पुत्रोभवत्तस्य
सुवारखेद्रः ॥४॥

¹ The average for a generation in the line of which Ghaznî Khân was the last, is 23 years, while in the line of Râja Ali Khân it is 29 years. According to the Sanskrit inscription the average for the latter is reduced to less than 26, taking the reckoning up to the death of Miran Muhammad in 1576, but for the minority of whose son Husain Khân, Râja Ali Khân would have had no opportunity to sit on his brother's throne.

² It may be noted that the visit was paid 14 years after our inscription was carved.

³ Firishta gives this as follows:—

Malik Râja, the son of Khân Jahân, the son of Ali Khân, the son of Uthmân Khân, the son of Simion Shâh, the son of Ashab Shâh, the son of Arman Shâh, the son of Ibrâhîm Shâh of Balkh, the son of Âdam Shâh, the son of Ahmad Shâh, the son of Mahmûd Shâh, the son of Muhammad Shâh, the son of Âzim Shâh, the son of Ashghar, the son of Muhammad Ahmad, the son of the Imâm Nasir Abulula, the son of Omar-ul-Faruq entitled Khalîfa or representative of the last of the prophets.

⁴ If anybody would assert that the Sanskrit composer might have made a mistake in understanding the genealogy, all doubts would vanish by reading the Arabic inscription on the top of the Sanskrit one reproduced in the accompanying plate. Line 3 as deciphered by Munshi Inâmulah Khân, Manager of the Mosque, reads as follows:— 'Âdil Shâh bin Mubâarak Shâh bin 'Âdil Shâh bin Hasan Khân bin Qaisar Khân bin Ghaznî Khân bin Malik Khân al-Fârûqî al-'Adlî.

⁵ From my personal transcript from the original and two subsequent ones kindly supplied by Mr. B. Balakrishna Bhâte, Headmaster, Middle School, Burhānpur, and a photograph.

⁶ Read ० कर्त्रे नमः

⁷ This and the next verse are in the Anushtubh metre.

⁸ This and the next are in the Upajati metre.



- 4 तत्तुनः चित्तिपालमौलिमुकुटव्याघृष्टपादांबुजः सत्कीर्त्तिर्विलसत्प्रतापवशगा-
मित्रः चित्तिशेखरः]।*] यस्याहर्निशमानतिगुणगणातीते परे ब्रह्मणि
श्रीमानेदलभूपति-
- 5 विजयते¹ भूपालचूडामणिः² ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६४६ वर्षे शाके³
१५११ विरोधिसंवत्सरे पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे १० घटी २३ सहैका-
दश्यां तिथौ सोमे [कृ]त्तिकाघटी ३३ राह⁴ रोहि-
- 6 श्यां शुभ घटी ४२ योगे वणिजकरणेस्मिन् दिने रात्रिगतघटी
११ समये कन्यालग्न श्रीसुबारखशाहसुतश्री⁵ ७ एदलशाहराज्ञी
मसीतिरियं निर्मिता स्वधर्मपालनार्थ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Salutation to the glorious Creator of the world.

(Verse 1). I bow down to the Imperceptible, the (All-)pervading, eternal (one who is) past (all) qualities, whose essence is mind, who is the cause of what is manifest—to that God who is both manifest and non-manifest.

(V. 2). As long as the moon, the sun and the stars, etc., exist in the firmament, so long may this Fârûkî family live happily on the face of the earth.

(V. 3). In that family there was first the lord of Fârûkîs by name Râjâ Malik, whose son was king Ghaznî⁵ (Khân) who was of an exalted mind, the diadem of the family.

(V. 4). From him was (born) the hero Kaisar Khân whose son was Hasan (Khân), the lord of the earth. From him was born king Âdil Shâh, whose son was lord Mubârakh.

(V. 5). Victorious is his son, the illustrious king Âdil, the crest jewel of (other) kings, whose lotus feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of kings (prostrating themselves before him), (who is) of good reputation, and whose enemies have submitted to his prowess, (who is) the lord of kings (and) who bows day and night to the Supreme Being who is past all qualities.

(Ll. 5—6). Hail! Prosperity! This mosque was built by the king Śrî 7⁶ Âdil Shâh, son of the illustrious Mubârakh Shah, for fostering his own religion, in the Samvat year 1646, Śaka 1511, in the Virôdhi samvatsara, in the month of Pausa, in the bright fortnight, on the 10th tithi (lasting for) 23 ghaṭis, followed by the eleventh tithi, on Monday, in the Kṛittikâ (nakshatra lasting for) 33 ghaṭis with (i.e. followed by) Rôhini in the Śubha yôga lasting up to ghaṭi 42, in the Vanija karana, at the time when 11 ghaṭis of the night on this day had passed and in the Kanyâ lagna.

¹ Read 'विजयते.

² Metre: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

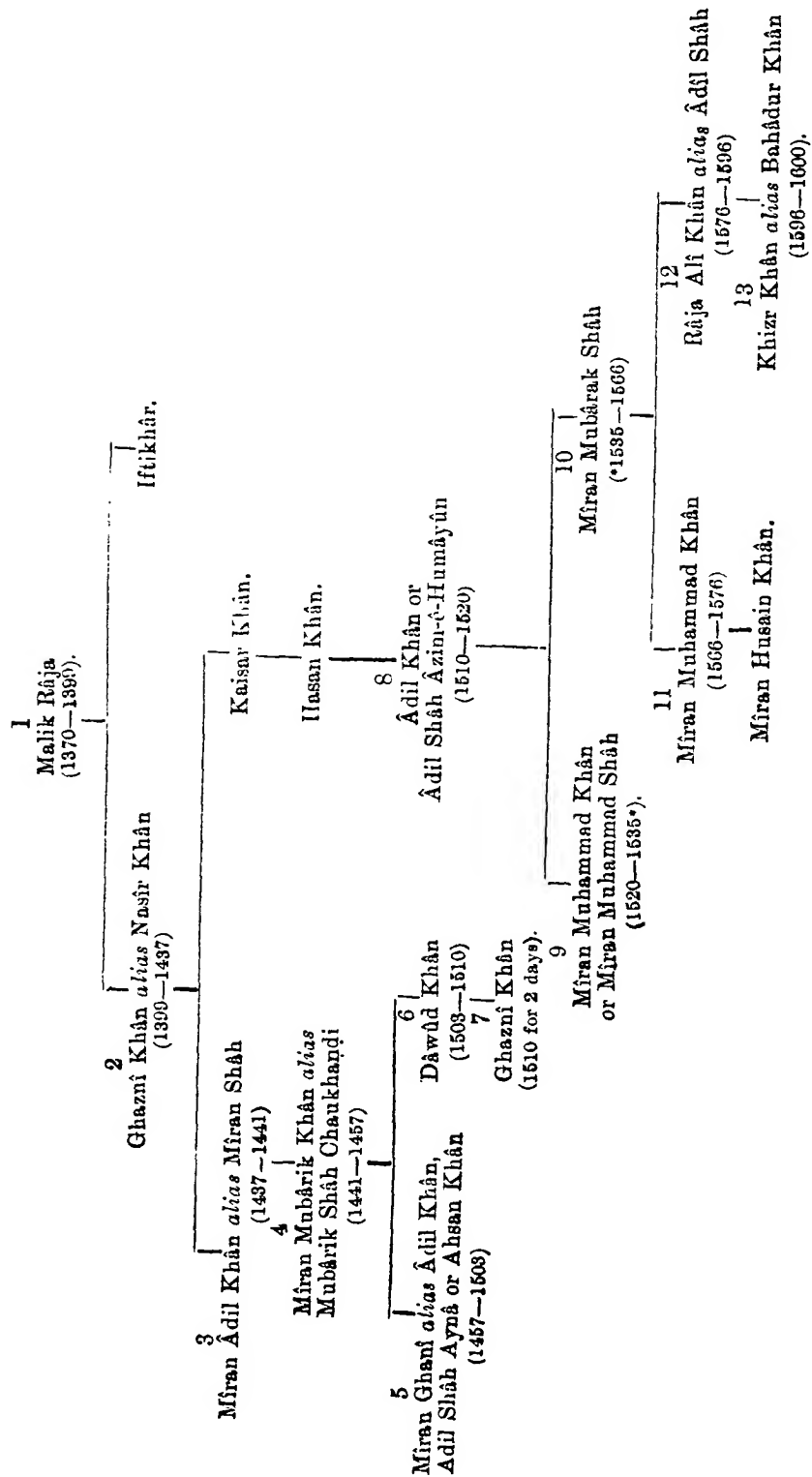
³ Read शके.

⁴ Read राह.

⁵ This king is well-known by the name of Nasir Khân, the title which he adopted on ascending the throne. General Cunningham erroneously took *Ghaznî narîshâh* to mean King of Ghazul (see his *Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 117), not being aware that Ghaznî was a personal name. Firîshîta omitted this name, but Aḥl Fazl has mentioned it (see Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbarî*, Vol. II., p. 226).

⁶ The number of *śrîs* written for Râjâs is usually 108, but here a single figure stands for the highest number, as 6 are written for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or a son.

Genealogy of the Fārūqī Kings of Khandésh.



N.B.—Figures on the top of names indicate the order of succession, and those within brackets the periods of their rule.

* This date is doubtful, Firāhta being inconsistent. See Briggs' translation Vol. IV., p. 142, which gives the date of his death as A.H. 943, whereas on p. 312 A.H. 942 is given. As Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat died on 14th Feb. 1537 (*ibid* p. 141)—Miran Muhammad Shāh, who succeeded him also in Gujrat, was evidently living in 1537, and Mubarak could not have become king before that date.

No. 49.—NARAYANPAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF GUNDA MAHADEVI.
THE SAKA YEAR 1033.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Nārāyanpāl is a village 23 miles north-west of Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar feudatory state attached to the Chhattāgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated on the right bank of the “splendidly picturesque” Indrāvati, one of those minor rivers of India than which none is more interesting.¹ It “traverses the most untrodden regions of the peninsula. Here in the deepest recesses of the wild forests which cover the Mardian hills, is the home of the Gōṇḍ races—one of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whose origin is indistinct; a people who still erect rudé stone monuments and use stone implements, unwitting of the procession of the centuries and the advance of civilization to their borders.” And yet the very place which has today all the signs of a primeval forest, may a thousand years back have compared favourably with any of the civilized provinces of those times. At least such seems to be the irresistible conclusion from the discovery of the antiquarian remains left by the forgotten Nāgavaṃśi kings of that little known state. Nārāyanpāl is one of those places which enjoyed celebrity in their times, a place to which “people of various countries resorted,” and which instead of having a long row of wooden peg gods, which now adorn the village turf, possessed the temple of Nārāyaṇa, “the basket of the gems of knowledge” which no doubt the residents duly picked up. The Indrāvati was to Bastar what the Narmadā has been to India, the separating boundary between the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples. It is therefore no surprise to find all the inscriptions to the north of the Indrāvati written in Nāgarī characters, while all to the south are written in Telugu. It appears that the Nāgavaṃśi kings, though ruling on both sides of the Indrāvati, had fixed that river as the ethnic or at least the linguistic boundary for the convenience of the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples under their sway. Our inscription being found in Nārāyanpāl on the north bank of the river is therefore in Sanskrit characters. Its discovery is due to the efforts of Rai Bahādur Pandā Baijnāth, B.A., who kindly sent me five impressions. Another impression has since been prepared by Mr. Venkoba Rao of the Madras Archaeological Survey. I have made use of all these materials for my edition. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab, standing near the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which it belongs. In this temple there is still an exquisite image of Nārāyaṇa, 2' high. Above the ground the slab measures 7' 4" × 2' 3", and the writing covers a space 5' 9" × 2' 2", including the imprecatory figures and the additions to be referred to presently, but leaving out the top *Śrī mahā*. The original inscription apparently contained only 35 lines, beginning with *Svasti sahaśra-phaṇāmaṇi* and ending with *maṅgala mahā-śrī*, underneath which the usual imprecatory figures of a cow and a calf, the dagger and shield, the sun and moon and the Śiva līṅga, the meanings of which I have elsewhere² explained, were carved. The additional 11 lines, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d) by me, appear to be later additions, and are either interpolations or were inserted when the ownership of the land changed hands either by succession or otherwise. They generally give the names of persons to whom the land was apparently transferred. The lines marked (a), (b), (c) have been inserted in the blank spaces between or on the sides of the imprecatory figures. Under all these a straight line has been drawn, and the four lines marked (d) have been inserted. These give the name of a queen different from the donor of the inscription proper. This may have been done when the land changed hands after the death of the original donor, when, in the ordinary course, the successor of the donor would be shown as the transferor or grantor.

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I. (New Edition 1907), page 44.

² Above, pp. 164 and 175.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, except the two imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, and the characters as stated before are Nāgarī. They are boldly written but the size is not uniform throughout. While in the top line *Śrī-mahā*, they are as big as $2\frac{1}{2}$ ", the average size in the first four lines is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The engraver apparently finding them too big reduced them to 1" in line 5, but in subsequent lines he again began to increase the size maintaining an average of $1\frac{1}{4}$ " throughout the rest, which forms the major portion of the inscription. In the later additions also, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d), the size varies. In (a) it is less than an inch and in (d) it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ " and in (b) and (c) midway between these two

As regards orthography, *b* is not distinguished from *v* and there is a confusion in the use of *s* and *ś*; for instance, we have on the one hand *Kāsyapa* (ll. 3, 13), *saranāgata* (ll. 6, 10, 16), *sāsana* (ll. 7, 37 (b) and 46 (d)), *Saka-* (l. 19), *-satana* (l. 34), *asvamēdha-* (l. 34), *sudhyati* (l. 35); on the other hand we have *śvarggatē* (l. 17) and *sakaśra* (ll. 1 and 34). The *anusvāra* is usually preferred to the class nasals, though the latter are sufficiently represented throughout. Letters with a superscribed *rēpha* have been invariably doubled. The letters *ksha*, *dha*, *ra*, and, in most places, *bha* appear in their antiquated form, and the top *mātrā* for *ē*, *ō* and *au* is sometimes placed vertically before the letter to which it is attached, as in *-dhautā-* (l. 8), *pavitra-kṛtōttamāṅgi* . . . *pārthivēmdra-* (ll. 8-9), *-saujanya-* (l. 10), *-saurinēy-ā-* (l. 11), etc. In *Sōmēśvaradēva* (l. 17) *mē* has the top stroke, while *dē* has the vertical stroke preceding *da*. In line 23 in *-sthityudadhi-* the *mātrā* of *u* is peculiarly attached in the middle of the letter as we at present attach it to the letter *ra* alone.

The inscription records the grant of the village *Nārāyaṇapura* to the god *Nārāyaṇa* and some land near the *Kharjuri* tank to the god *Lōkēśvara*, and it is dated in the *Śaka* year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon day of the *Kārttika* month in the *Khara* *saṁvatsara*, corresponding to the 18th October 1111 A.D. The donor was *Guṇḍa Mahādēvi*, the chief queen of the *Mahārāja Dhārāvarsha*, the mother of *Sōmēśvaradēva* and the grandmother of *Kaṇharadēva*, who was then ruling after the death of his father, as stated in line 17. The dynasty claims to be *Nāgavamāṇi* of the *Kāsyapa* *gōtra* and to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of *Bhōgāvatī*, the best of cities. There can be little doubt that it was connected with the *Sinda* family of *Yelburga*. The *biruḍas* of the two are strikingly similar. The *Sindas* also claim to be *Nāgavamāṇi*, born of the race of the *Nāga* (cobra), and the lords of *Bhōgāvatī*, which city is a mythical place in the nether world. The discoveries hitherto made show the existence of the rule of the family at the diagonally opposite corners of this state, viz. south-west and north-east. I feel confident that if we could "explore the serpent city well," we should find at least a replica of it somewhere in the *Nizām's* dominions in a position intermediate between these two points. The *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to confirm this, for *Rāma's* route to *Laṅkā* lay between the two and passed through *Bhōgāvatī*.

As Dr. Fleet¹ says, there appear to have been more branches than one of the *Sinda* family, and it appears to me that they were distinguished from each other by some variations in their crests (*lūṅchhanas*) and banners (*dhvajās*, *patākas* or *kētanās*). The *vyāghra-lūṅchhana* (tiger-crest) seems to have been common to all, probably because the original ancestor of the dynasty which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.² The *Bāgalkōṭ* branch had simply the tiger crest and the *phaṇi-kēтана*, or banner of hooded serpents. The *Bastar* branch, or more properly the branch represented by our inscription, had a *saṁvatsa-vyāghra-lūṅchhana*, or a tiger with a calf or child, thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The banner is not mentioned. In *Bastar* there were apparently two branches, the other one being that of *Bhramarakōṭya-maṇ-*

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 572.

² *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60, and above, Vol. III., p. 231.

dala,¹ whose *lāñchhana* was *dhunur-vyāghra* (bow and tiger) and whose *dhvaja* was *kamala-kadali*, or lotus flower and plantain leaf. The Halavur² branch of the Banvāsi tract had the *vyāghra-mṛiga-lāñchhana*, or crest of a tiger and a deer, and the *niladhvaja*, or blue banner. To judge from their titles *Paramēśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārāja*, the Bastar branch appears to have been more independent than the other branches of this dynasty. But more light is likely to be thrown on the history of the family when all the inscriptions found in Bastar have been deciphered. It would therefore be premature to discuss the subject here.

There is one phrase in this inscription, which to my mind appears so interesting that it should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is incidentally mentioned in line 32 where the land is said to be given *grāma-nīlaya-nīḍa-sarva-vāḥhā-parihārēṇa*, which apparently means "free from the interference of the dwelling-group and territorial assemblies, and all other molestations." This throws a sidelight on the village communities of those days. With regard to *nīḍa*, Mr. Baden-Powell³ says, "All over the south of India we have traces of the *nīḍu*, which was often a sort of county, and in some places there is a clearly surviving tradition of the purpose of this division. Thus in part of Madras known anciently as the Topdaimaṇḍalam, we find first a number of *kuttam*—the name probably indicating the fort which was the seat of the territorial chief; each of these primitive territories was afterwards reorganised into *nīḍu* and each *nīḍu* contained a number of villages (called *nattam*, i.e. the village site). The chief of the *nīḍu* was called *nāthan*.⁴ In Malabār we have evidence of how these *nīḍu* divisions were governed by the *nīḍa-kuttam* or assembly of representative elders out of the family groups of *tara*, of the ruling class, in each *nīḍu*." It appears from our inscription that this *nīḍa* system was prevalent in Bastar and the word *nīlaya* apparently stands for *tara*, the original local term for "the family aggregate" of dwellings, consisting of the houses occupied by the members with a few humbler abodes for servants and artisans." *Tara* is said to mean street or hamlet. The *grāma* or village was also recognised, but apparently had no fiscal significance, beyond being a physical aggregate of clan areas with an exotic population. It will be noticed that Nārāyaṇapura is described as full of outsiders, who had come from different countries. These apparently contributed nothing to the income of the village, and in the business portion of the charter (ll. 25 to 33) we therefore find no mention of the village, but only of the land given. The names of the owners of plots occupied by the family groups have been duly enumerated, and it is they who have been enjoined to pay the rents to the temple. The transaction has been ratified by eight persons, which was probably considered a requisite number⁵ for such business. These probably formed the executive committee of the *nīḍa-kuttam* or territorial assembly. As would appear from the inscription, it consisted of the *preṣṭhī* or minister, the *karāṇa-kuttam* or Secretary of the assembly, the *bhūṃdārī* or treasurer, the *śikhin* or priest, and four *nīyakas*, who, as has been already shown, were chiefs of *nīḍas*. One of these *nīyakas* is styled *bhāṭṭanīyaka*, perhaps a superior title to that of ordinary *nīyakas*. The mention of his name immediately after that of the minister indicates his superior position.

Our inscription mentions only one territorial name, viz. the Nārāyaṇapura village, which is certainly the present Nārāyaṇpāl, where the inscription has been found, and where the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which the village was dedicated, still exists. The tank Kharjuribandha, which was apparently named after the *kharjūrī* or wild date trees on its banks, is difficult to locate at this distance of time, as these trees live for about fifty years⁷ only.

¹ See above, pp. 174 and ff.

² *The Indian Village Community*, p. 231.

³ Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III., p. 148.

⁴ See above, p. 168¹⁰.

⁵ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 577.

⁶ Also *nīyaka*; see *ibid.*, p. 167.

⁷ Dr. Watt in his *Economic Botany*, Vol. VI., Part I., p. 211, says "The age of a tree (wild date) can of course be ascertained by counting the notches and adding six or seven, the number of years passed before the first year's notch. I have counted more than 40 notches on a tree, but one rarely sees them so old as that."

TEXT.

Śrī mahā.

- 1 Om¹ Svasti sahasra(sra)-phaṇāmaṇi-kirāṇa-nikar-āvabhā[su]-
 2 ra-Nāgavams-ōdbhava Bhōgāvati-puravar-ēśvara-sa-
 3 vatsa-vyāghra-lāmchhana-Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtra-prakaṭi-kṛita-
 4 vijaya-ghōshana-lavdha(bdha)-viśva-viśvambhara-paramēśvara-para-
 5 mahatṭāraka-Mahēśvara-charaṇa-kamja-kimjalka-pumja-pimjarita-bhramarāyamāṇa-
 satya-Hariśam-
 6 dra-sa(śa)raṇ-āgata-vajra-pamjara-śrīmad-rājabhūshana-mahārāja-Dhāravarshadēva-
 pād[ā]-
 7 nām paṭṭamahādēvi jagad-ēka-mātā sā(śā)sana-paṭṭa-dārā nāma nāmatā(tō)
 Gam-
 8 gā-jala-[dhau]ta-parama-pavitra-kṛit-ōttamāṅgi-Dhāravarsha-mahēśvar-ārddhāṅgi-pā-
 9 [rthi]vēmndra-kul-āṁganā Pārsvati-bhāsuriā chāru-Bhā[gīra]thī parama-pativratā
 10 chāra(ru)-Arāmdhuti(Arūmdhati) saujanya-Saraśva(sva)ti-sa(śa)raṇāgata-rakshā-
 maṇi va(ba)mdbu-chintāmaṇi
 11 sauviśy-ābhina[v]a-Sāvitri ksham-ōdāra-dharitri śrīmad-G[u]ṇḍa-mahādēvi ā-
 12 sām putra-nāmnā sahasra-phaṇ[ā]-maṇi-kirāṇa-nikar-āva[bhā]sura-Nāgavams-ō²-
 13 dbhava-Bhōgāvati-pura[var-ēśva]ra-savatsa-vyāghra-lām[chha]na-Kā[sya](śya)pa-
 gōtra-praka-
 14 ṭi-kṛita-[vija]ya-ghōshana-[lavdha](bdha)-viśva-v[i]śvambhara-paramēśvara parama-
 bhaṭṭa-
 15 raka-Mahēśvara-charaṇa-kamja-kimjalka-pumja-pimjarita-bhramarāyamāṇa-sa-
 16 tyā-Hariśamdra-sa(śa)raṇ-āgata-vajra-pa[m*]jara-prati[gaṇḍa]-²bhairava-śrīmad-rāya-
 17 bhūshana-mahārāja-Sōmēśvaradēva(vē) śva(sva)r-ggatē tēshām putrasya
 āsām nap[tuḥ]
 18 samasta-rājāvali-vi[rājyamā]ṇa-śrīmad-vīra-Kanharadēvasya kalyāṇa-vijaya-rā-
 19 jyō Saka-nṛpa-kāl-ātītē dasa-sata-trayat[ri]ms-ādhikē³ Khara-samvatsare
 Kārtti-
 20 ka-pauruṇamāsyām vuddha(budha)-vā[ré] samsāra-samudr-ō[t*]tāraṇa-taramḍāya
 jñ[ā*]na-ratna-karamḍā-
 21 ya svargg-ārggal-ōdghātana-karāya śrīma[n-N]ārāyaṇa-dēvāya śrīmad-Guṇḍa-
 mahād[ē]vyā
 22 sakalam-a[n]lityam=adhruvam-asā(śā)śvataṁ dṛishṭvā svargg-ārggal-ōdghātan-
 ārthē Nārāyaṇapurō
 23 nāma grāmo nānā-dēśiya-jan-[ā]kirāṇas=chamdr-ārkkā-sthity-udadhi-kālam yāvat
 24 pradattē | tathā śrī-Lōkēśvaradēvāya Kharjuriva(ba)mdha-samipasthā bhūmih
 pradattā
 25 Śrīmat-pregadā Ādityamapenra⁴ bhaṭṭanāyaka Prōṇṭiyō⁵ karana
 [Ku]driyama-
 26 Vīrama nāyaka Sōmana nāyaka Rāmanākāsana nāyaka M[ā]raya bhamdāri
 27 Aitana sūdhū Vakomaraya || Étēshām bhū[mih] akarūṇa pradattā || [Sa]-
 mura-śrēshṭhi⁷

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Perhaps danda.³ Read Saka-nṛpa-kāl-ātītē dasa-sat. trayastri-⁴ Perhaps Ādityamapenra.⁵ Perhaps Kuttigamavirama.⁷ Perhaps Kāgarameṭṭi.

Perhaps Prōṇṭiyō.

Sten Konow.

- 28 Chhâ[drû] vâmaṇa¹ śrêṣṭhi Ghughi Śrīdhara sādhu Nânû kōsa[jā] Pālā[su]
Pādmāsi-
- 29 nivrā mālī Gōi[m]dapratra² tail[i]ka [Ja]sadhavala vāvû(bābû) Milāpi
nāvêjāṇam[du]
- 30 pālā[ghi]kā sa[mṛi]dāraṇa Dhavala m[ā]ṇiyā[sthi] śrī-V[ā]sadēva êtair=[griha-ve]-
- 31 ṭaka-r[û]pēṇa śrīman-Nārayaṇa-dēva-pādēshu sadā sth[ā]tavyam karam cha
dātavyam
- 32 śrī(i)mat-paṇḍita-Purushōttamāya grāma-nīlaya-nāḍa-sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-parihārēṇa
chomdr-ā-
- 33 rka-kālam pradatta || Svadattām paradattām vā yō harēd(rēta)=vasumdhara[m]
[l*] sa vishṭhāyam kri-
- 34 mī(mir) [bhû]tvā kulajai[h] saha sidati | Taḍāgānām sahaśrē(srē)ṇa as(as)-
vamēdha-sata(śatē)-
- 35 na cha [l*] gē(ga)vām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(su)dhyati ||
Maṅgala mahā śrī
- 36 (a) Sūtradhāra Raṇavirāya bhūmi pradattā
- 37 (a) akarēṇa.
- 36 (b) Adhikāri Chhādrūkasya bhūmi akarēṇa
- 37 (b) dattā || Brahmau[jhā]kasya bhūmi dattā sāsa(sāsa)-
- 38 (b) nam akarēṇa Ma[ha]ṇḍaka-
- 39 (b) sya tathā [Kanharasāi]
- 40 (b) Nāgāk[u]lā[mdhva]ra ē-
- 41 (b) tēshām bhūmi aka-
- 42 (b) rēṇa dattā pri(pri)thunā
- 39 (c) Bhaṭṭāra-
- 40 (c) ka Bhāva-
- 41 (c) [dē]vāya
- 42 (c) bhūmi akarēṇa datā
- 43 (d) Svasti śrī-Dhāraṇa-mahādēvi-[varyyā] sarvva-vā(bā)[dhā]-parihārēṇa aka[rē]-
- 44 (d) ṇa bhūmi dattā dēva-śrī-Nārāyaṇasy-ārthē Mahāṇaka Dēvadāsa
- 45 (d) [Jaggati] || Sādhu Himisutta dē[duṇḍitā?] Lakhmaṇa Chaudhari
- 46 (d) [śrī]-Dhāraṇa-mahādē bhūmi [daturu ara śrī dē sāsana dattā³]
bhūmi dattā | akarēṇa

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—6). Hail. The *paṭṭa-mahādēvi* of the *Mahārāja Dhāravarshadēva*, who was born of the Nāgavamsa, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood-jewels; who was the lord of *Bhōgāvati*, the best of towns; whose crest was a tiger with a calf; who was of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; who had made his shout of victory (universally) known; who had acquired the whole earth; the *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*; who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of Mahēśvara; who was a Harīschandra in truthfulness; who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, a glorious ornament among kings;

(Ll. 7—11) (she who was) the only mother of the world, called the turbaned queen consort (chief consort); whose head was wholly sanctified by being washed in the water of the Ganges; who was (as it were) half the body of *Dhāravarsha* (just as *Pārvatī* is half the body

¹ Perhaps *Chhādū brāhmaṇa*.

² Probably *Gōvindaputra* [or *Gōvindaputra*.—S. K.]

³ This perhaps stands for *dattā akarēṇa śrī-sāsana-dēvā dattā*.

of) **Mahēśvara**; a noble lady of royal birth; resplendent (like) **Pārvati**; beautiful (like) the **Ganges**; who was exceedingly devoted to her husband; a lovely **Arundhati**, a **Sarasvati** of goodness; an amulet for those who sought her protection; a magical gem to her relatives, a new **Sāvitrī** of good breeding; capable of liberal support like the earth (was) **Guṇḍa-mahādēvi**

(Ll. 12—17). After the **Mahārāja Sômēśvaradēva**, who was known as her son; who was born of the **Nāgavarmśa**, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood jewels; who was the lord of **Bhōgāvati**, the best of towns; whose crest was a tiger with a calf; who was of the **Kāśyapa gōtra**; who had made his shout of victory universally known; who had acquired the whole earth; the **Paramēśvara**, **Paramabhṭṭīraka**; who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of **Mahēśvara**; who was a **Harischandra** in truthfulness, who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection; who was terrible to the refractory (or, rivals), a glorious ornament amongst kings,

(Ll. 17—24) had gone to heaven; in the auspicious and victorious reign of his son, and her grandson, the illustrious hero **Kanharadēva**, resplendent in the row of all kings, when (the year) ten hundred increased by thirty-three of the era of the **Śaka** king had expired, in the **Khara sūvatsara**, on the day of full moon of **Kārttika**, on a **Wednesday**, the village of **Nārāyaṇapura**, full of people come from various countries, was given by the illustrious **Guṇḍa-mahādēvi** for so long as the moon, the sun, the earth, and the ocean endure, to the glorious god **Nārāyaṇa**, who is a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration, who is a basket (full) of the gems of knowledge, who opens the bolt of heaven's (door), seeing that everything is transient, unsteady and inconstant, in order to open the bolt of heaven's (door). Likewise the land near the **Kharjuribandha-tank** was given to the glorious god **Lōkēśvara**.

(Ll. 25—33). The illustrious minister **Ādityama Penna**, the **bhaṭṭanāyaka** **Prōṭṭiyō**, the **karāṇa** **Kudriyama Virama**¹, the **nāyaka** **Sōmana**, the **nāyaka** **Rāmanākāsana**, the **nāyaka** **Mārayā**, the **bhaṇḍārī** **Aitana**, the **sālhu** **Vakōmarya**. The land of these was given revenue free. The **śrēṣṭhīn** **Samara**, the **brāhmaṇa** **Chhādrū**, the **śrēṣṭhīn** **Ghughi**, the **sādhu** **Śrīdhara**, the **kisujī** (cocoon producer) **Nānū**, the **mālī** **Pālāsu Padmāsivirā**, the oilman **Gōvinda-pātra**, the **būbū** **Jasadhavala**, **Millāpi** the glorious **Vāsudēva**: these should always remain at the feet of the glorious **Nārāyaṇa** as **grihavaṇakas**, and the tribute should be paid to the illustrious **paṇḍit** **Purushōttama**. The land has been given free from all obstructions incumbent on the village, the **nīlaya**, and the **nāḍa**, for so long a time as moon and sun endure. (Here follow two imprecatory verses.)

(L. 35). (Let) great happiness (attend). Hail.

(Ll. 36^a—37^a). Land is given to the **sūradhāra** **Raṇavīra**, free from taxes.

(Ll. 36^b—42^b). The land of the **adhikārin** **Chhādrūka** is given, free from taxes. (Also) that of **Brahmāujhāka** as a grant, free from taxes. The land of **Mahaṇḍaka**, **Kanharasāi**, and **Nāgakulaṁdhvara** is given, free from taxes.

(Ll. 39^c—42^c). To **bhaṭṭīraka** **Bhāvadēva** land is given free from taxes.

(Ll. 43^d—46^d). Hail. The illustrious **Dhāraṇa-Mahādēvi** gave land for the sake of the god, the illustrious **Nārāyaṇa** free from all obstructions, and free from taxes. (Witnesses are) **Mahaṇḍaka**, **Dēvadāsa**, **Jaggatī**, the **sālhu** **Himasutta** . . . , **Lakhmaṇa**, **Chauḍharī**. The land was given by the illustrious **Dhāraṇa-Mahādēvi** free from taxes. The land was given by the queen consort free from taxes.

¹ We should perhaps read **karāṇa-kutṭiyama Virama**, **Virama**, the writer of the **kutṭam**. Compare **Baden-Powell**, *Indian Village Community*, p. 167.

No. 50.—TIMMAPURAM PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA I. VISHAMASIDDHI.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This short inscription is on **three copper-plates** which were “discovered in the ground in October 1907 by one Sukuru Ramasvami while digging a hole in his vacant house-site in the village of **Timmapuram** in the Sarvasiddhi táluka” and were sent by the Collector of the Vizagapatam district to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who describes them as follows :—

“The plates measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches and are strung on an oval ring, the diameters of which are $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 inches. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a nearly circular **seal** which measures between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. In the centre of this seal is the legend [श्रीविष्णुसिद्धि] in the same alphabet in which the plates themselves are engraved. The third plate of the inscription is blank, and the grant itself ends in line 2 of the second side of the second plate.”

The **alphabet** and **orthography** do not call for any special remarks. The final *t* occurs in line 1,¹ the *upadhmānīya* in l. 5, and the Dravidian letter *la* in l. 11. The **language** is Sanskrit prose. The panegyric portion (ll. 1—11) is comparatively correct—probably because it was copied from a form preserved at the royal secretariat. The grant portion, however, must have been drafted by a person who knew very little Sanskrit. It contains a Prakṛit word: *chattāliśa* (l. 12) = Sanskrit *chatvāriṃśat*, and several grave grammatical blunders which I have corrected in the footnotes.

The inscription records a grant by **Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja** surnamed **Vishmasiddhi**,² who was the younger brother of **Satyāśraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja**, the son of **Kīrtivarman**, the grandson of **Raṇavikrama**, and the great-grandson of **Raṇarāga** of the **Cha[lu]kya** family. This short pedigree establishes the identity of the donor of this grant with **Vishṇuvardhana I. Vishmasiddhi**, the founder of the eastern branch of the Chalukya dynasty. That he was the younger brother of **Satyāśraya**, i.e. the Western Chalukya king **Pulakēśin II.**, and the son of **Kīrtivarman (I.)**, is stated in many Eastern Chalukya inscriptions; and his grandfather **Raṇavikrama**, i.e. **Pulakēśin I.**, is mentioned also in his **Sātārā** plates.³ The reference to his great-grandfather **Raṇarāga** is of some interest, because this name is known only from a few records of the Western Chalukyas.

Both **Vishṇuvardhana I.** and his elder brother receive the title *Mahārāja*; but the second is stated to have ‘subdued the circle of the whole earth’ (l. 5 f.), while the former claims only to have ‘humbled the circle of all the vassals’ (l. 6 f.). This distinction implies that, at the time of this grant, **Vishṇuvardhana I.** was still a dependant of his elder brother, the Western Chalukya king **Pulakēśin II.** He professed to be a worshipper of **Bhagavat** (l. 10), i.e. **Vishṇu**, and resided at **Pisṭapura** (l. 1.), the modern **Piṭhāpuram** in the **Gōdāvarī** district. In the **Aihole** inscription⁴ the capture of this fortress is ascribed to his elder brother and sovereign **Pulakēśin II.**

The grant portion differs from that of other records in two respects. It lacks at the end the usual imprecations and other particulars, and the donees are not mentioned by name, but simply stated to have been forty **Brāhmaṇas** of the **Chhandōga** school. The object of the grant was some land at **Kumūlūra**—a village which I am unable to identify—in the **Paṭṭakī-vishaya**.

¹ See note 6 on p. 318.

² This surname occurs both in line 8 and on the seal of the present grant. It forms also the legend of certain copper coins discovered in the Vizagapatam district; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 322 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI. p. 11, verse 27.

The same district seems to be referred to in the Chîpurupalle plates of Vishṇuvardhana I., where the name has been read doubtfully as 'Pûki-vishaya';¹ but, if the facsimile² can be trusted, the engraver has written in reality *Plaki-vishayê*, which may be meant for *Palaki-vishayê*.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

स्वस्ति⁴ ।

- 1 श्रीमत्पिष्टपुरवासकात्⁵ स्वभुजविजितदनुतनयम(र)हासेनेन म(र)हा-
- 2 सेनेनाभिवर्द्धितानान्त्रिभुवनमातृभिर्भ्रातृभिरभिरक्षितानां⁶ मानव्यस[गो]-
- 3 चाणां [हा]रितिपुत्राणां⁷ चक्षानामन्वयसुखमयितुमसकृदनु[भू]-
- 4 तरणरागस्य रणरागस्य⁸ नसासङ्घविक्रमस्य रणविक्रमस्य पौ[त्रो]
- 5 विपुलकीर्त्तः कीर्त्तिवर्मणः⁹ प्रियसुतः शक्तित्रयवशिकृतसकलमहीम-¹¹
- 6 ण्डलस्य सत्य[र*]थयवत्तभमहाराजस्य प्रियानुजः स्वासिधार[र]नामित[स]-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 मस्तसामन्तमण्डलः स्वरूपगुणयौवनश्रीया¹² दूरमतिश[यित]-
- 8 मकरध्वजः स्थलजलादिदुर्गविषमेष्वपि लब्धसिद्धित्वादिषमसिद्धिर[त्यर्थ]-
- 9 जन(ः)[नि]त्यप्रसूतकामधेनुः लोकातिशयविक्रमतया नरलोक[वि]-
- 10 [क्र]म[ः]¹³ परमभागवतः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुष्ट[र*]तः श्रीविष्णु-
वर्द्ध[न]-
- 11 म(र)हाराजः (॥) पञ्चकविषये (र)¹⁴ कुमूलूरनामग्रामे पूर्वदिशि¹⁵ क्षेत्रे च-
- 12 [त्वा]रि सहस्रनिवर्त्त[न]ानि¹⁶ क्तेदं कृत्वा (॥) [पोटुन्ड]व[र*]स्तथाय(र)¹⁷
चत्त[र]लीस

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 16, text line 13.

² Dr. Burnell's *South-Ind. Pal.*, 2nd ed., Plate xxvii.

³ From two sets of ink-impressions received from Bai Bahadur Venkayya.

⁴ This word is entered on the left margin of plate i. opposite the beginning of line 4. The sign of punctuation after it runs into the following *akshara* त; it resembles in shape the symbol called in Tamil *Pillaiydr-suli*.

⁵ The *t* of श्री⁰ is obliterated.

⁶ The final *t* of वासकात् is entered at the top of the next *akshara* स्व. Another final *t* is entered at the top of the र of the preceding word पुर⁰; perhaps the writer wanted us to read पुरात्.

⁷ The three *aksharas* भ्रातृभि are engraved over रभिर, which was evidently done because they had been originally omitted through an oversight of the engraver.

⁸ Read चलुका⁰.

⁹ See note 4 above.

¹⁰ The न is engraved over णा; compare note 7 above.

¹¹ Read वशी⁰.

¹² Read श्रिया.

¹³ The क seems to be engraved over a म; compare notes 7 and 10 above. Instead of विक्रमः I suspect त्रिविक्रमः to be intended by the scribe.

¹⁴ This mark of punctuation runs into the next *akshara* कु.

¹⁵ Read दिशि.

¹⁶ Read निवर्त्तनसङ्ख्याणि.

¹⁷ Read वासव्येभ्यस्वारिभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यश्चन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिभ्यो यमनियमपरेभ्यः षट्कर्मनिरतेभ्यो वेदपारमेभ्यो दत्तवान् ॥

1.
 2.
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 9.
 10.
 11.
 12.

11a.

1.
 2.
 3.
 4.
 5.
 6.
 7.
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 9.
 10.
 11.
 12.

E. Hultsch.

Full-Size.

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

ColloTYPE by Gebr. Plettner.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 13 ब्राह्मणः नानागत्र छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिणे यमनियमपारगाय षट्[र्क्ष]-
14 निरताय(र) वेदपारगाय दत्तः [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! (Line 1.) From (*his*) residence in the prosperous **Pishtapura**,—the great-grandson¹ of **Ranarāga**, who repeatedly indulged in the passion of fighting in order to elevate the family of the **Cha[lu]kyas**, who were **Hāritiputras**, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the **Mānavyas**, who were protected by the **Mātris**, the mothers of the three worlds, (*and*) who were rendered prosperous by **Mahāsēna**,² who by his own arm had defeated the great army of the sons of Danu;³

(L. 4.)—the grandson of **Ranavikrama**, whose valour was insuperable; the dear son of **Kirtivarman**, whose renown was extensive; (*and*) the dear younger brother of **Saty[ā]śraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja**, who had subdued the circle of the whole earth by the triad of (*regal*) powers;

(L. 6.)—the devout worshipper of **Bhagavat**, the very pious one, who meditated at the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—**Śri-Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja**, who by the edge of his own sword humbled the circle of all the vassals, who by the splendour of his own beauty, virtues and youthfulness far surpassed Cupid.⁴ who (*was surnamed*) **Vishamasiddhi** because he had obtained success (*siddhi*) in impassable straits (*vishama*) on land, on sea, *etc.*, who was a cow of plenty (*kāmadhēnu*) constantly yielding milk to suppliants, (*and*) who was the **[Tri]vikrama** (**Vishṇu**) of the world of men because his valour surpassed (*that of all*) mankind;

(L. 11.)—has granted four thousand *nivartanas*⁵ in the fields on the eastern side of the village named **Kumūlūra** in the **Paḷaki** district (*vishaya*), having portioned (*them*) off, to forty **Brāhmaṇas** of various *gōtras*, residing in **[Poṭunūṅka]**, belonging to the school of the **Chhandōgas** observing the greater and smaller rules, engaged in the six duties, (*and*) familiar with the **Vēda**.

No. 51.— SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF KUMARADEVI.

By STEN KONOW.

The slab on which the inscription published below is incised was found during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in Sarnāth, in March 1908. It was dug out to the north of the **Dhamēkh stūpa**, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period. The writing covers almost the whole of the surface of the stone, *viz.* 21" × 15½", and it is in a perfect state of preservation. The average size of the letters is ⅓".

The characters are **Nāgarī**, of a very ornamental type, and the engraving has been done with considerable skill. Of individual letters, the form of the cerebral *ṭa* in *-bhaṭaḥ* and *kūṇḍapaṭikaḥ* in line 8 is worthy of notice. There are comparatively few orthographical peculiarities. *V* is used for *b* throughout, and *na* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *sudhānsōs-*, line 11. There are some few miswritings such as *harmmā-* for *dharmmā-*, l. 6; *prakshātō* for *prakhyātō*, l. 8; *vishmayakarō* for *vismaya-* and *-ashmādrīśaiḥ* for *-asmādrīśaiḥ*, l. 13; *-nānrābhīrāma-* for *-nētr-*, l. 15; *nri-* for *tri-*, l. 22; *mahibhūjaḥ* for *mahibhujaḥ*, l. 19, *etc.* The forms *Kumaraḍēvi*,

¹ For other instances in which *napṭri* has this meaning, see above, Vol. IV. p. 329 and note 2.

² *I.e.* the god of war.

³ *I.e.* the *Pānavas* or demons

⁴ Literally, 'the' owner of the *makara*-banner.'

⁵ This would give 100 *nivartanas* for each of the 40 donees.

ll. 11 and 22, and *vihārô* in ll. 23 and 26, on the other hand, are vouched for by the metre *Kumara* instead of *kumāra* is common in Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit, and a form *Kumaravāla* for the usual *Kumārapāla* occurs in Hēmachandra's *Dēśināmāmalā*, I. 104, 88.¹ And *vihāra* instead of *vihāra* is justified by Pāṇini VI, 3. 122.

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation to *Vasudhārā* in l. 1, the whole of the inscription is in verse. There are altogether twenty-six verses. Of these thirteen (Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23 and 24) are in the Śārdūlavikṛīḍita, five (Nos. 1, 10, 14, 15 and 20) in the Mālinī, four (Nos. 4, 16, 22 and 25) in the Vasantatilakā; three (Nos. 8, 9 and 26) in the Anuṣṭubh, and one (No. 2) in the Sragdharā metre.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* by *Kumaradēvi*, one of the queens of *Gōvindachandra* of Kanauj. The wording of verses 21-23, in which her gift is mentioned, is not quite clear. We are first told, in verse 21, that a *vihāra* was constructed, which apparently contained an image of the goddess *Vasudhārā*. The following verses are not quite clear. *Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya* has suggested the following explanation, which I think is a very plausible one. *Jambuki* drew up a copper-plate, in which she represented to *Kumaradēvi* that the *Dharmachakra-Jina* originally set up by *Dharmāśoka* required to be repaired or set up again. This copper-plate must have contained information about the original setting up of the *Dharmachakra-Jina* and further details about its maintenance and repairs. *Kumaradēvi*, who was apparently a stranger to the country round Benares, accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of "the foremost of *pattulikās*."² Moreover, she restored the *Jina* or set up a new one and placed it in the *vihāra* built for *Vasudhārā*, or in another one constructed for the purpose, and the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, he may remain there for ever. It seems necessary to infer that the *Śrīdharmachakra-Jina*, which is said to have existed in *Dharmāśoka*'s time, was an image of the Buddha, and that the *vihāra* built by the orders of Queen *Kumaradēvi* for him, was a shrine, a *gandhakuṭi*. It is difficult to explain the wish that he, i.e. the image, may reside there for ever, under any other supposition.

The inscription can be divided into four parts. After an invocation of *Vasudhārā* (v. 1) and the moon (v. 2) vv. 3-6 give some information about some rulers or generals of *Piṭhī* or *Piṭhikā*. We learn that, in the lunar race, there arose a chief called *Vallabharāja*, the lord of broad *Piṭhikā* (v. 3). The following verse introduces the lord of *Piṭhī* *Dēvarakshita*, without saying anything about his relationship to *Vallabharāja*. He is described as the full moon of the lotus of the *Chhikkōra-vamsa*, and we are told that he even surpassed *Gajapati* in splendour. *Dēvarakshita* is again referred to as the lord of *Piṭhī* in the second part of the inscription, and it therefore seems necessary to interpret vv. 5-6, which apparently refer to a son of his (*tasmād-āsa*, etc.) as an explanation of his relationship to *Vallabharāja*, who would then be his father.

The second part of the inscription, vv. 7-13, contains the information that *Dēvarakshita* was defeated by *Mahāna*, the maternal uncle of the *Gauḍa* king, who thus firmly established the throne of *Rāmapāla*, and subsequently bestowed his daughter *Śaṅkaradēvi* on the *Piṭhī* lord. Their daughter was *Kumaradēvi*, in whose praise the present inscription was written.

The third part, vv. 14-20, then contains the genealogy of the *Gahadavāla* family, to which *Kumaradēvi*'s husband *Gōvindachandra* belonged. It agrees with the list given in most inscriptions of this latter king, but does not carry us further back than to his grandfather. We are first introduced to *Chandra*, the *Chandradēva* of *Gōvindachandra*'s inscriptions. His son

¹ See *Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 81.

² *Pattalikā* is the feminine form of *pattalaka*, which occurs in the *Bugūḍa* plates of *Mādhavarman*, above, Vol. III, p. 44, l. 53, in connexion with *vaiśvāsika*.

was Madanachandra, elsewhere known as Madanapāla, who again was the father of Gōvindachandra. He is said to have saved Benares from the wicked Turushka-soldier.

The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21-23) specifies the gifts of Kumaradēvi, and her praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25-26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here called a *prasasti*, was composed by the poet *śrī-Kunda*, and engraved by *Vāmana*.

Gōvindachandra is the well-known king of Kanauj, whose inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1114 and 1154. Our inscription teaches us that he guarded Benares against the Turushkas, i.e. the Muhammadans. We do not know of any Muhammadan expedition against Benares in Gōvindachandra's time. In A.D. 1033 a Muhammadan army under Ahmad Nialtigîn arrived at the town, but only stayed there for a day,¹ and there is no indication of a permanent settlement. We know, on the other hand, that Musliman settlers remained in the country about the Jamna from the days of Mahmud and down to the end of the 12th century.² It seems probable that Gōvindachandra took some action against such settlers, and the term *turushkadunḍa*, which occurs in many of his and his predecessors' inscriptions, gives us a hint as to the nature of this action. The word *turushkadunḍa* has been variously translated as "tax on aromatic reeds" and "Muhammadan amercements."³ The information furnished by our inscription seems to show that it was in reality a tax on Muhammadans, the exact nature of which cannot, however, be determined.

Our inscription introduces us to a new queen of Gōvindachandra, Kumaradēvi, the granddaughter of Mahāṇa. Three other queens are already known from inscriptions, viz. Nayaṇakêlî-dēvi,⁴ Gōsaladēvi⁵ and Dālahadēvi.⁶ While Gōvindachandra was himself an orthodox Hindû, his fourth wife Kumaradēvi was a Buddhist. According to information kindly supplied by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstrî, the king had still another Buddhist wife Vāsantadēvi, who is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in the Nepal Darbar Library (No. 331 of the third collection). The colophon runs:—*śrī-śrī-Kānyakubjādhipatyasrapati gajapati-narapati-rājya-trayādhipati-śrīmaul-Gōvindachandradēvasya pratāparaśutaḥ rājñi-śrī-pravara-Mahiyāna-yāyinyāḥ paramōpāsikā-rājñi-Vāsantadēvi dīyadharmamō=yam . . .* It is possible that Vāsantadēvi and Kumaradēvi are one and the same person, one of the meanings of *vāsanta* being "youth" = *kumāra*. It is, however, more probable that they are two different persons.

Some information about Mahāṇa, the father of Kumaradēvi's mother, and about the lord of Pīṭhî, her father, can be gleaned from Sandhyākara Nandî's *Rāmacharita*, which work has been brought to light by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstrî.⁷ We are there told that Mahāṇa was the maternal uncle of the Gauda king Rāmapāla. Vīgrahapāla, the father of Rāmapāla, made a successful war against the Chēdi king Karna of Dāhāla, of whom we possess an inscription dated Kalachuri Samvat 493=A.D. 1042.⁸ Karna's reign probably extended over a long period.⁹ We cannot, therefore, determine when the war against Vīgrahapāla took place. We have an inscription of the time of Vīgrahapāla's grandfather Mahipāla, dated A.D. 1026,¹⁰ and Mahipāla's son Nayapāla reigned at least 15 years.¹¹ Vīgrahapāla's accession cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than A.D. 1041. His son Rāmapāla, who was preceded on the throne by two brothers Mahipāla II. and Śarapāla, was a contemporary of

¹ See H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II. 1869, pp. 112 and ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 250 and ff.

³ See Führer, *Journal Bengal Society*, Vol. LVI. Pt. 1. p. 113.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 103.

⁵ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, Nos. 127 and 131.

⁶ See Führer, loc. cit. p. 115, l. 13.

⁷ *Proceedings of the Bengal Society of Bengal*, 1900, pp. 70 and ff.

⁸ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 407.

⁹ See Kielhorn, above, Vol. II. pp. 332 and ff.

¹⁰ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 53.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 642.

Śaṅkaradēvī, the mother of Gōvindachandra's queen Kumaradēvī. It therefore seems probable that Vīgrahapāla's accession should be placed about A.D. 1050, and Rāmapāla's reign in the last part of the eleventh century. Mahāṇa, Śaṅkaradēvī's father, would then be a contemporary of both of them. The *Rāmācharita*, which calls him Mathana or Mahana, states that he was a Rāshtrakūṭa, and the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. It therefore becomes probable that Vīgrahapāla married a Rāshtrakūṭa princess in addition to the daughter of the Chēdi king Karṇa who was, according to the *Rāmācharita*, given to him after the war alluded to above. Mahāṇa was Rāmapāla's right hand, and was of great assistance in the war against Bhīma. Among the feudatories of the Pāla king in that war, the *Rāmācharita* mentions Vīraguṇa, the *rāja* of Pīṭhī who is described as the lord of the south. Dēvarakshita of Pīṭhī is also mentioned, but not as a feudatory. He must be identical with the Dēvarakshita of our inscription, and it becomes probable that the Pīṭhī ruler Vīraguṇa had originally stood on Rāmapāla's side, while Dēvarakshita later on rose against him. He hailed from Pīṭhī or Pīṭhikā, which according to the *Rāmācharita* was situated in the south. Now *pīṭhī* or *pīṭhikā* is synonymous with *pīṭha*, and it is therefore possible that Pīṭhī is identical with Pīṭhāpuram.¹ We know that a branch of the Eastern Chalukyas reigned in Pīṭhāpuram in the second half of the twelfth century, and that the town had already been conquered by Pulikēśin II. No historical information is forthcoming about the earlier Chalukya princes of the Pīṭhāpuram branch. The real history of the family only seems to begin with Vijayāditya III., whose coronation took place A.D. 1158.² It should also be noted that the genealogy given in the Pīṭhāpuram inscriptions hardly can be correct. Mr. Sewell has drawn my attention to the fact that only four generations are enumerated between Bēta, who reigned in A.D. 925, and Vijayāditya III., who was crowned in A.D. 1158.

Before this branch became established in Pīṭhāpuram, the place was one of the strongholds of the Vēṅgī province of the Eastern Chalukyas. In the last part of the 11th century, the reigning king was Kulōttuṅga Chōḍadēva, who first was ruler in Vēṅgī but who in A.D. 1070 was anointed to the Chōḍa kingdom. Vēṅgī was then ruled by viceroys, first by his uncle Vijayāditya VII. then by his sons Rājarāja (1077-78) and Vīra Chōḍa (from 1078). Mr. Venkayya suggests that this latter viceroy may be identical with the Vīraguṇa of the *Rāmāpālācharita*. Dēvarakshita was then probably a general under the viceroy of Vēṅgī. He is said to have surpassed even the glory of Gajapati. As this epithet is used by some of the Eastern Gāṅgas, it is possible that it here refers to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The *Kalīṅgattu Parani*³ describes an expedition undertaken by Kulōttuṅga I. against this king, and Dēvarakshita may have played a rôle in it. We do not know anything about the Chhikkōra family, to which Dēvarakshita belonged.

The marriage of Dēvarakshita's daughter to king Gōvindachandra perhaps accounts for the relationship between the Chōḷas and the Gāhaḍavālas commented on by Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report for 1907-08, para. 58 and ff. An incomplete Gāhaḍavāla inscription has recently been found immediately after a record of Kulōttuṅgadēva of A.D. 1110-11, in Gāṅgaikoṇḍa-chōḷapuram, which it is tempting to bring into connexion with Gōvindachandra's marriage. Mr. Venkayya carries the acquaintance of the Gāhaḍavālas with the Chōḷa kings farther back to the expedition of Rājendra Chōḷa towards the kings on the banks of the Ganges, mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, and it seems very probable that this expedition led to the establishment of friendly relations with the north. Among the princes conquered by Rājendra Chōḷa was Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, and the lord of Daṇḍabhukti figures amongst the feudatory kings who, according to the *Rāmāpālācharita*, assisted Rāmapāla in his war against Bhīma.

¹ Compare the forms Pithapura and Pithāpurī, above, Vol. IV. p. 37, 357. Note 4.

² See Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 329 ff.

The relationship between the various persons mentioned in our inscription will be seen from the table which follows:—

Vallabharāja of Pīṭhī	Maharaja, of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.	Chandra, of the Gahaḍavāla family.
Dēvarakshita, married	Śaṅkaradēvi.	Madanachandra.
	Kumaradēvi, married	Gōvindachandra.

According to verse 25, the inscription was composed by Kunda, who describes himself as a lion to the *tīrthika*-elephants, a Rōhara mountain, full of the splendid gems of poetical composition, a poet in eight *bhāshās*, and an intimate friend of the king of Vaṅga. He is not elsewhere known. His name does not occur in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*,¹ nor, so far as I know, in any other anthology. The engraver was the *śilpī* Vāmana.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री² नमो भगवत्यै आर्यवसुधारायै ॥ ³समवतु वसुधारा धर्मपीयूषधारा-
प्रशमितवहुविश्वोद्दामदुःखोरुधारा । धनकनकसमृद्धिं भूर्भुवः श्वः⁴ किरन्ती
तद-
- 2 खिलजनदैन्यान्याजयन्ती जगन्ति ॥ [१*] ⁵नेत्रैरुत्कण्ठितानां चरणमुपनयंश्चा-
रुचन्द्रोपलानाम्मानग्रन्थिभिभिन्दन् सह कुमुदवनीमुद्रया मानिनीनाम् ।
दग्धन्दग्धेश्वरेणा[सृ]-
- 3 तनिकरकरैर्जीवयन् कामदेवं कान्तोयं कौमुदीनां स जयति जगदालोकदीप्र-
प्रदीपः ॥ [२*] ⁶वंशे तस्य नमस्यपौरुषजुषि प्रस्फारकीर्त्तिविषि द्राक्
शौचेन सु[राप]-
- 4 गामदमुषि प्रत्यर्थिलक्ष्मीरुषि । वीरो वल्लभराजनामविदितो मान्यः स
भूमीभुजां जेतासीत्यृषीपठिकापतिरतिप्रौढप्रतापोदयः ॥ [३*] ⁷क्षिकोरवंशकु-
मुदोदयपूर्य-
- 5 चन्द्रः श्रीदेवरक्षित इति प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् । पीठीपतिर्गजपतेरपि राज्य-
लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्म्या जिगाय जगदेकमनोहरश्रीः ॥ [४*] ⁸तस्मादास पयोनि-
धेरिव विधु-
- 6 क्षावण्यलक्ष्मीविधुर्नेवानन्दसमुद्रवर्द्धनविधुः कीर्त्तियुतिश्रीविधुः । सौजन्यैकनिधिः
स्फुरद्गुणनिधिर्गाम्भीर्यवारान्निधिर्हर्षाद्वैतनिधिः⁹ स च[ण्डि]म-
- 7 निधिः शस्त्रैकविद्यानिधिः ॥ [५*] ¹⁰दीनानामभिवाञ्छितैकफलदः प्रत्यक्ष-
कल्पद्रुमो दृष्यद्वैरिगिरीन्द्रभेदनविधौ दुर्वारवज्रश्च यः । कान्तान[१*]मद-

¹ Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. III. pp. 134 and ff. ² Expressed by a symbol

³ Metre: Mālinī.

⁴ Read स्वः.

⁵ Metre: Sragdharā.

⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁹ Read धर्माद्वैत°.

¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

- 8 नञ्वरोपशमने सिद्धौषधीपल्लवो वाहुर्यस्य वभूव भूतलभुजामन्तश्चमत्कारिणः
॥ [६*] ¹गौडेद्वैतभटः सकाण्डपटिकः चत्रैकचूडामणिः ²प्रचातो
- 9 महणाङ्गपः क्षितिभुजाम्मान्योभवन्नातुलः । त(तं) जित्वा युधि देवरक्षि-
तमधात् श्रीरामपालस्य यो लक्ष्मीं निर्जितवैरिरोधनतया देदीप्यमानो-
दयाम् ॥ [७*] ³कन्या महण-
- 10 देवस्य तस् कन्येव भूभृतः । सा पीठीपतिना तेन तेनेवोढा स्वयम्भू(भु)वा
॥ [८*] याता शङ्करदेवीति तारेव करुणाशया । व्यजेष्ट कल्पवृक्षाणं
लता दा नेन या ॥ [९*] ⁴अ-
- 11 जनि कुमार हन्त देवोव ताभ्यां शरदमलसुधाङ्गोश्चारुलेखेव रम्या ।
दुरितजलं शान्तोकमुद्धर्तुकामा स्वयमिह करुणार्त्ता तारिणौवावतीर्त्ता ॥
[१०*]
- 12 ⁵याम्रेधाः प्रविधाय शिल्परचनाचातुर्यदर्पं व्याधायद्वक्त्रेण जितस्तुषारकिरणो
द्वीणः स खल्योभवत् । रात्रावुद्गममातनोति मलिनो जातः कलङ्को ततस्त-
- 13 स्याः सुद(सुन्द)रिमा स ⁶विषयकरो वाच्यः ⁷किमस्मादृशैः ॥ [११*] ⁸चित्र-
श्चलदृक्कुरङ्गमवधूवन्धस्फुरद्वागुराम् विभ्राणा तनुसम्पदम्प्रविलसत्कान्त्याभिकान्त-
त्रिया ।¹⁰
- 14 खेलक्षीरसमुद्रसान्द्रलहरीलावण्यलक्ष्मीमुषं मोषं शैलसुतामदस्य दधती सौभाग्य-
गर्वेण सा ॥ [१२*] ¹¹धर्माद्वैतमतिर्गुणाहितरतिः प्रारब्धपुण्याचित-
- 15 र्दानोदारष्टतिर्मतङ्गजगतिर्नेत्रा(त्रा)भिरामाकृतिः । शास्तृन्यस्तनतिजनोदितनुतिः
¹²कारुण्यकेलिस्थितिनित्यश्रीवसतिः कृताघविहतिः स्फायद्गुणाहङ्क-
- 16 तिः ॥ [१३*] ¹³जगति गहडवाले चत्रव(वं)शे प्रसिद्धेजनि नरपतिचन्द्रश्चन्द्र(मा)-
नामा नरेन्द्रः । यदसह्यननृपाणाङ्गामिनीवाष्पवाहेः(हैः) शितितरमिदमासीद्या-
मुन(नं) तू(नू)नमश्च ॥ [१४*] ¹⁴नृ-
- 17 पतिमदनचन्द्रश्चण्डभूपालचूडामणिरजनि स तस्माद्विभ्रदेकातपत्र[म्*] । धरणि-
तलमनल्पप्रौढतेडो(जो)नलश्रीः त्रियमपि च मघोनः स्वत्रियाधो दधानः
॥ [१५*] ¹⁵वाराण-
- 18 सीं भुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको ¹⁶दुष्टान्तरुष्कसुभटादवितुं हरेण । उक्तो हरिस्त्र
पुनरत्र वभूव तस्माद्गोविन्दचन्द्र इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥ [१६*] ¹⁷वत्साः
कामदुहां कणा-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.² Metre: Anushtubh.³ Read विषय°.⁴ The sign of interpunctuation has been engraved in the beginning of next line.⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁶ Metre: Mālinī.⁷ Metre: Mālinī.⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁹ Read प्रख्यातो.¹⁰ Metre: Mālinī.¹¹ Read °नस्मादृशैः.¹² Read °नतिर्ज°. °स्थितिर्नि°.¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹⁴ Metre: Mālinī.¹⁵ Read दुष्टान्.¹⁶ Metre: Anushtubh.¹⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

- 19 नपि पयःपूरस्य ¹पातु न ते चित्रं प्रागलभन्त याचकमनःसन्तोषनित्यव्ययात् ।
त्यागैर्यस्य ²महीभूजः प्रमुदिते तद्याचकानाञ्चये स्वच्छन्दाहितनित्यनिर्भरपयः-
- 20 पानीत्कवैरासते ॥ [१७*] ³यद्विद्वेषिमहीभुजां पुरवरे प्रभ्रष्टहारावलीर्व्याधास्तन्मृग-
पाशवन्धमनसा गच्छन्ति नैव भ्रमात् । व्याधाः सस्तसुवर्षकुण्डलमहि-
भ्रान्त्या
- 21 तदत्यायतेर्दण्डैर्द्रागपसारयन्ति च भयप्रोत्कम्पिहस्तस्रजः ॥ [१८*] ⁴यस्योत्सन्नवि-
रोधिभूपतिपुरप्रासादपृष्ठोपरि प्रत्यग्रस्फुरदुग्रशष्पकवलव्यालोलवाजि-
- 22 व्रजः । आदित्यस्वभवत्स मन्यररथश्चन्द्रोपि मन्दोभवत् घासग्रासविरूढलोभहरिणः,
रत्नन् पतन्तन्ततः ॥ [१९*] ⁵अहह कुमरदेवी तेन र[१*]ज्ञा प्रसिद्धा नि-
(त्रि)जगति
- 23 परिगीता श्रीरिवेहाच्युतेन । प्रविलसदवरोधे तस्य राज्ञोङ्गनानां नियतममृत-
रश्मेल्लेखिका तारकासु ॥ [२०*] ⁷वीहारो नवखण्डमण्डलमहीहारः कृतोय-
न्तया
- 24 तारिण्या वसुधारया ननु वपुर्विभ्राणयालंकृतः । यं दृष्ट्वा प्रविचित्रशिल्परच-
नाचातुर्यसीमाश्रयं गोर्वाणैः सुदृश[च्च] विस्मयमगाद्वाग्विश्वकर्मापि सः ।(॥)
[२१*] ⁸श्रीधर्मचक्रजि-
- 25 नशासनसन्निवहं सा जम्बुकी ⁹सकलपत्तलिवाग्रभूता । तत्ताम्रशासनवर(रं)
प्रविधाय तस्यै दत्त्वा तया शशिरवी भुवि यावदास्ताम् ॥ [२२*]
¹⁰धर्माशोकनराधिपस्य समये श्रीध-
- 26 म(र्म)चक्रो जिनो यादृक् तन्नयरक्षितः पुनरयञ्चक्रे ततोप्यङ्गतम् । वीहारः
स्थविरस्य तस्य च तया यन्नादयङ्गारितस्तस्मिन्नेव समर्पितश्च वसतादा-
चन्द्रचण्डद्युति ॥ [२३*] ¹¹तत्कीर्त्तिय-
- 27 रिपालयिष्यति जनो यः कश्चिदुर्वीतले सा तस्याङ्घ्रियुगप्रणामपरमा यूयं जिनाः
साक्षिणः । तस्याः कश्चिदनिश्चितो यदि यशोव्यालोपकारी खलः तं
पापीयसमा-
- 28 शु शासति पुनस्ते लोकपालाः क्रुधा ॥ [२४*] ¹²एकस्तीर्थिकवादिवारणघटा-
सङ्घट्टकण्ठीरवः साहित्यो[ज*]ज्वलरत्नरोहणगिरियो द्वाष्टभाषाकविः । स्थातो
वङ्गमहीभजः ¹³

¹ Read पातुं.² Read °भूजः.³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Read °भवद्वास°. °दृढलोभहरिणं.⁶ Metre: Mālinī.⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Metre: Vasantatilaka.⁹ Read °पत्तलिका°.¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Read °भूजः; the final *varṣa* has been engraved in the beginning of line 29.

29 प्रणयभूः श्रीकुन्दनामा कृती तस्याः सुन्दरवर्षगुम्फरचनारम्यां प्रशस्तिं व्यधात्
 ॥ [२५*] ¹ एषा प्रशस्तिरुत्कीर्णा वामनेन तु शिल्पिना । राजावर्त्तस्य
 सापत्न्यन्दधाने प्रस्तरोत्तमे ॥ [२६*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail. Obeisance to the exalted noble Vasudhârâ.

(V. 1.) May Vasudhârâ protect the worlds, who abates the broad stream of unlimited misery in the manifold universe by the nectar stream of *'dharma'*; who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of man in them.²

(V. 2.) Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gems and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses; who with his nectar-filled beams revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by Îsvara, (who had been) smitten (by him).

(V. 3.) In his (the moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame; which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its purity; which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a hero, known by the name of **Vallabharâja**, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad **Piṭhikâ**, of increasing mighty prowess.

(Vv. 4-5.) The full moon expanding the lotuses of the **Chhikkôra** family, known on earth as *śrī-Dēvarakshita*, the lord of **Piṭhî** (who) surpassed even the splendour of **Gajapati** by his splendour; whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (**Vallabharâja**), as the moon from the ocean, a (veritable) **Vishṇu** (**Vidhu**), to the **Lakshmî** of beauty; a (veritable) moon in causing the rise of the ocean, *viz.* ocular pleasure (as the moon raises the ocean); a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second **Vishṇu** with **Śrī** in the shape of the lustre of his fame); an incomparable treasure of goodness; a treasure of resplendent virtues; an ocean of profundity; a peerless store of religion; a store of energy, the only depository of the lore of arms;—

(V. 6.) Who was the veritable celestial tree in bestowing desired objects on supplicants; who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, *viz.* his haughty foes; a marvellous man, whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of Cupid in enamoured women, and death to kings.

(V. 7.) In the **Gauḍa** country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver,³ this incomparable diadem of *kshatriyas*, the **Āṅga** king **Mahāṇa**, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered **Dēvarakshita** in war and maintained the glory of **Rāmapāla**, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

(V. 8.) The daughter of this **Mahāpadēva** was like the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* **Pārvatī**); she was married to the lord of **Piṭhî** as (**Pārvatī**) to **Svayambhu**;

(V. 9.) She was known as **Śaṅkaradēvi**, full of mercy like **Tārâ**, and she excelled the creepers of the wishing tree in her efforts to make gifts.

(V. 10.) To them, forsooth, was born **Kumaradēvi**, like a *dēvi*, lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if **Tārîṇî** herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

¹ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

² Mr. Venkayya suggests to read *dānyāt-tyājayantī*.

³ The meaning of *kāṇḍapaṇḍika* is uncertain. The word is usually translated 'screen.' But this meaning does not suit the context.

(V. 11.) After having created her, Brahmâ was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art; excelled by her face the moon, being ashamed, remains in the air, rises at night, becomes impure and subsequently full of spots; how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us?

(V. 12.) She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entrapping female antelopes, viz. the moving eyes, and which robs the wealth of beauty of the dense waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour; who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (i.e. Pârvatî) by her proud grace.

(V. 13.) Her mind was set on religion alone; her desire was bent on virtues; she had undertaken to lay in a store of merit; she found a noble satisfaction in bestowing gifts; her gait was like that of an elephant; her appearance charming to the eye; she bowed down to the Buddha, and the people sang her praise; she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was the permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtue.

(V. 14.) In the royal Gahadavâla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, Chandra by name, a moon (*chandra*) among rulers. By the streams of tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamunâ forsooth became darker.

(V. 15.) The king Madanachandra, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valor being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghavan by his glory.

(V. 16.) Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vârânasî from the wicked Turushka warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Gôvindachandra.

(V. 17.) Wonderful, the calfs of the celestial cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of supplicants; but after the multitude of these supplicants had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sat down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes.

(V. 18.) In the excellent cities of his adversaries, hunters by mistake do not pick up fallen necklaces, thinking them to be nooses for the deer in it, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ear-ring with sticks, the garlands in their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a snake on account of its large size.

(V. 19.) The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were greedy after the mouthful of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the towns of his uprooted foes; and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in his orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass.

(V. 20.) Kumaradêvî, forsooth, was famous with that king, like Śrî with Vishṇu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

(V. 21.) This *vihâra*, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhârâ herself in the shape of Târiṇî, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

(V. 22.) Having prepared that copper-plate grant which recorded the gift to śrî-Dharma-chakra Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her, that Jambukî was made (?) the foremost of all *pattalikûs* by her (Kumaradêvî).

(V. 23.) This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmāsōka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and this *vihāra* for that *stharāra* was elaborately erected by her, and might he placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (endure).

(V. 24.) If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You Jinas shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those *lōkapālas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

(V. 25.) The poet in eight *bluishās* known as the trusted friend of the Baṅga-king, Śrī-Kunda by name, the learned, who was the only lion to attack the crowds of the elephant-like heretics, who was a Rōhaṇa mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

(V. 26.) This *praśasti* has been engraved by the *śilpīn* Vāmana on this excellent stone which rivals the *rājāvarta* (i.e. Lapis Lazuli).

No. 52.—KRISHNAPURAM PLATES OF SADASIVARAYA.

SAKA SAMVAT 1489.

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The temple of Śrī Vēṅkatāchalapati to which this set of copper-plates belongs, is situated in the middle of Krishnāpuram, a village six miles south-east of Tinnevely. The temple has some fine sculptures and a few inscriptions of later times. The copper-plates were kindly secured for us by Mr. N. Gōpālasvāmi Ayyangār, B.A., B.L., Deputy Collector, Kollēgāl, and we now edit them from impressions prepared under our supervision.

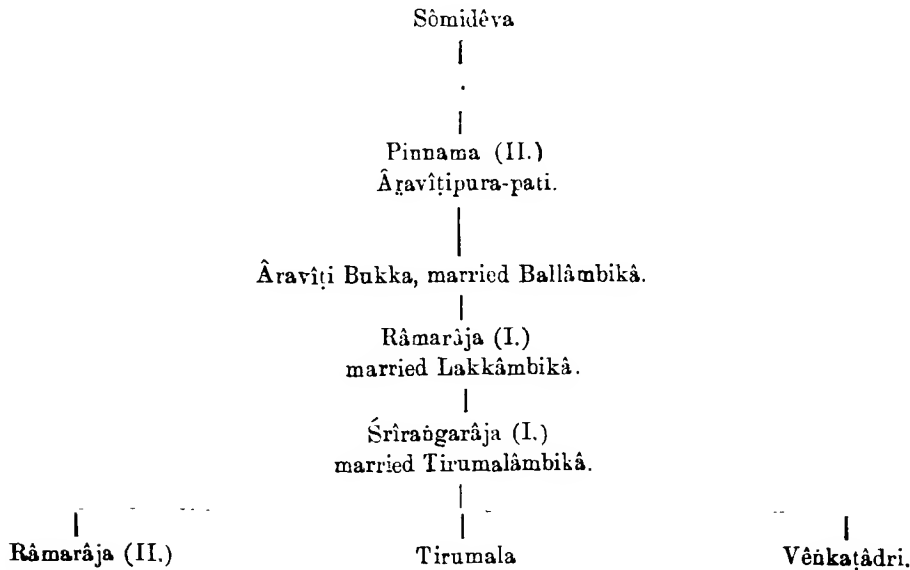
The plates are five in number, bound together by a ring, which has also a seal loosely strung to it. The upper half of the surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing boar facing the proper right; near its face is a dagger placed with its point downwards, and over it are cut out the figures of sun and moon. The lower half has a design not uncommon to the Vijayanagara seals. On the top of the first plate and immediately above the inscription is engraved the *Śrīvaiṣṇava nāmam* (of the Teṅgalai sect) flanked on either side with the conch and the discus (of Viṣṇu). The plates (except the first) are numbered in Kannaḍa-Telugu numerals engraved on the right-hand corner of the first side of each plate. The rims of the plates are raised; and the first and last plates are engraved on one side only.

The characters are Nandināgarī, and the language, excepting the obeisance to Gaṇapati at the beginning, is Sanskrit verse. The signature at the end is, as usual, the name of the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings, *Śrī Virūpākṣa*, and is written in the Kannaḍa alphabet. There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The long vowel *ē* is represented by the usual sign for *ē* with a secondary *ē*-stroke on the top. This new long *ē*, as employed in our record, is the same as the vowel *ai* as written at the present day; but in the present inscription, this latter sound is represented by an ordinary short *e* with two secondary *e* symbols on it: e.g. *Ailāvalīpura*- occurring in line 114, *Anikūḷa*- in line 145, *Ēbirudarāyara*-, in line 191, and *Ēkaiva* in line 210. The Dravidian rough *r* is represented, as in other Vijayanagara plates written in the Nandināgarī alphabet, with a secondary *r* on the top of a common *r*; e.g. *Māru*- occurring in line 94, *-Savaḷakkāraṁ*- in line 141, *-pāra*- in line 146, *Śiriyā*- in line 150, and *-Āravīṇi*- in line 159. There are several minor errors in the inscription

such as omissions of letters, and of the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*, wrong repetitions of the same words and phrases, etc.; these are noticed in footnotes under the text. The *birudas* of the king and of the chiefs are known from other sources.

The inscription belongs to the reign of **Sadāśivarāya** of Vidyānagarī. It records that at the request of **Tirumala**, who was in his turn requested by **Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka** or **Kṛishṇabhūpati** as he is called in the inscription, **Sadāśivarāya** granted a number of villages to the god **Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha** set up at **Kṛishṇapuram** by **Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka**. The first part of the inscription gives in detail the genealogy of king **Sadāśiva** which is identical with that given in the British Museum plates of the same king published by Prof. Kielhorn¹ and No. 58 of the **Nāgamaṅgala tāluk** of the **Mysore District**, published by Mr. Rice.² Herein also **Sadāśivarāya** is described as being installed on the throne by the chief ministers at the instance of **Rāmarāja**, who is here, as in the other plates,³ called his sister's husband. Later on (vv. 84-95) the inscription details the pedigree of the family to which **Tirumala** belonged.

The genealogy begins with **Nanda**, who is said to have been born in the race of the moon. In his race was born **Chalikka** and in the latter's **Bijjalēndra**. **Sōmidēva**, who captured seven forts, was born in his line. His grandson was **Pinnama** "lord of **Āraṇṭipura**." His son was **Āraṇṭi-Bukka**, whose wife was **Ballāmbikā**. Their son was **Rāmarāja** who married **Lakkāmbikā**. To them was born **Śrīraṅgarāja** (I.) and his wife was **Tirumalāmbikā**. Their sons were **Rāmarāja** (II.), **Tirumala** (I.) and **Vēṅkaṭādri**. **Tirumala** is styled in the plates a **Bhōja** in poetry. Appended below is a genealogical tree of **Tirumala's** family :—



We learn from the British Museum plates that **Rāmarāja II.**, **Tirumala** and **Vēṅkaṭādri** belonged to the same family, from which **Koṇḍarāja** of that grant was descended (see table above, Vol. IV., p. 4). **Tirumala** bears (vv. 98-101) the family *birudas* of *aṁteṁbavaragaṁḍa*,

¹ Above, Vol. IV., p. 1.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV., p. 219 of the Romanised text portion.

³ Compare the British Museum Plate Inscription, above, Vol. IV., p. 3 f.. No. 7 of the **Hasan tāluk**, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V., Part I; and No. 186 of **Chennuapaṭṇa**, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX. Compare Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the meaning of "sister" in this connection.

śrīmaṇḍalikagaṇḍa, *birudamañniyaribhāḷa*, *dharaṇivarāḥa*, *Kalyāṇapurānātha* and *Vēṅga-tribbhuvanīmalla*.¹ At the time at which the present grant was made, Rāmarāja, the powerful general and minister of Sadāśiva, and his brother Vēṅkaṭādri had both been dead two years, they having fallen in the famous battle of Tālikōṭa on the 23rd January A.D. 1565. Tirumala, the second brother of Rāmarāja, now became the minister and commander and was the *de facto* king. In the course of the same or the beginning of the next year he was to become eventually the *de jure* king and founded the third dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, at whose request the present grant was made, is described as the grandson of Nāgama Nāyaka and the son by Nāgamā of Viśvanātha Nāyaka.² He has the *birudas*, *Kōṇchīpuravarādhiśvara*, *Mōkālīpattavardhana*, *Samayadrōharagaṇḍa*, *Samayakōḷāhala*, *Ailāvalīpuravarādhiśvara*, *Pāṇḍyakulasthāpanāchārya* and *Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati* (vv. 49-52).

In connection with the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by the kings of Vijayanagara, we might notice that Narasa or Narasā Nāyaka, as he is more commonly called, is said to have subjugated Mānabhūsha, the king of Madura.³ We know that Narasā Nāyaka lived about the last quarter of the 15th century⁴ and that Mānabhūsha or Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya began his reign in 1422 A.D.⁵ and ruled for at least 42 years, *i.e.* till about 1460 A.D.⁶ It is quite likely that this Pāṇḍya king was the one referred to as defeated by Narasā Nāyaka.

Our inscription is dated (vv. 44-45) in the Śaka year 1489, computed by the *nīdhis* (9), *vāraṇas* (8), *vēdas* (4), and *indu* (1), in the year Prabhava, on the Makara saṁkrānti corresponding to the new moon *tithi* of the month Pushya, on a Monday. Sadāśivarāya was then encamped on the island of Śrīraṅgam and made the grant in the presence of the god Raṅganātha. The last known date for Sadāśivarāya is 1567 A.D.,⁷ some ten months earlier than that of our record, and hence it is likely that the king, after the disaster that befell him at Tālikōṭa two years previously, was spending his last years, Śrīvaishṇava as he was, at the sacred shrine of Śrīraṅgam. Of all Śrīvaishṇava places of pilgrimage, Śrīraṅgam is the most sacred, and the Tuluva kings of Vijayanagara, at least those beginning with Kṛishṇadēvarāya, were very staunch Śrīvaishṇavas.⁸ Achyutadēvarāya, during his expedition against the Tiruvaḍi kingdom, is described, in the *Achyutarāyaḥhyudayam* of Rājauāthakavi, as having halted at Śrīraṅgam and sent the son of one Sagalarāja⁹ to conquer the Tiruvaḍi rājya.¹⁰ Hence it might not be wrong to suppose that Sadāśivarāya ended his days in Śrīraṅgam, but we have not any positive proofs to support our surmise.

¹ Compare verses 144-146 of the British Museum plates, where Koṇḍarāja of this family wears similar *birudas*; above, Vol. IV., p. 21.

² Verses 53-54.

³ Verse 11. The word has been treated as an ordinary noun by Profs. Hultzsch and Kielhorn.

⁴ The Dēvulapalli plates give Ś. 1427 as a date falling in the reign of Immaḍi-Nṛisimha; hence Narasa must have lived prior to this. See also footnote 7, above, Vol. VII., p. 79. [It should be noted that Immaḍi Nṛisimha was a Śāḷva, and not a Tuluva like Narasa. — S. K.]

⁵ *Śendamil*, Vol. IV., p. 117, and above, p. 229.

⁶ *Śendamil*, Vol. IV., p. 117.

⁷ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., Nos. 43-46, p. 70.

⁸ The Śāḷva kings were the disciples of Tātāchārya. See *Prapannāmṛitam*. Kṛishṇadēva wrote *Amukta-mālyada*, *Vishṇuchittiyam*, works relating to the life incidents of the Śrīvaishṇava saint Periyālvār and his daughter Āṇḍāl.

⁹ This Sagalarāja was the father-in-law of Achyutadēva and father of his wife Varadāmbā. See *Achyutarāyaḥhyudayam*. Canto III, verse 48. The printed copy of this work reads the name as Salagarāja; see p. 77; but Mr. T. S. Kuppusāmi Śāstri reads it as Sagalarāja, and we follow him in calling the father-in-law of Achyuta, Sagalarāja.

¹⁰ See *Achyutarāyaḥhyudayam*, Canto V., verse 64.

Krishṇappa Nāyaka constructed a temple in the village of Krishṇapuram and built a *prākāra* round it and a tower as high as the Mandara mountain over its entrance. In front of the shrine he erected a *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, standing on pillars containing exquisite sculptures and decorated with rows of beautiful creepers. In this newly constructed temple he set up the image of the god Tiruvēkaṭaṇṭha. He built a big car for the deity and surrounded the temple with broad streets with a view to provide an easy circuit for the car. It was for the conduct of the daily *pūjās*, for offerings, lighting, for incense, flower-garlands, etc., and for the annual celebration of the car and the floating festivals, that he requested and got from Sadāśivarāya the villages mentioned in the grant.

Though the Nāyakas are believed to have usurped the thrones of the Pāṇḍyas, they still call themselves 'the establishers of the Pāṇḍya dynasty.' In corroboration of the claim of the Nāyakas of Maḍura to the title of *Pāṇḍyakulasthīpanāchāryas*, we see several hundreds of inscriptions belonging to the later Pāṇḍyas, scattered over the country believed to have been ruled over by the Nāyakas, showing that they were also ruling simultaneously with the Nāyakas. One of the later Pāṇḍyas, named Śrīvallabha, is described, in the Pudukkōttai plates of Ativirarāma Pāṇḍya,¹ as having established the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This Śrīvallabha must have been a contemporary of Narasā Nāyaka, for he is the brother of Mānabhūsha defeated by Narasā.² How he established the Pāṇḍya kingdom and under what circumstances, is not apparent. But we see as a matter of fact the Pāṇḍyas ruling in a semi-independent condition over their ancestral kingdom till at least 1585 A.D.; what political relationship existed between them and the Nāyakas, we do not know.

At the end of the inscription, it is mentioned that **Sabhāpati Svayambhū** was the composer of the *śāsana*, and **Viranāchārya**, son of **Virana**, was the engraver.

The places mentioned in the record are :—

Kiḷavēmbu *nāḍu* in the Pāṇḍya *maṇḍalam*; Śrīvallamaṅgalachāvaḍi in the above *nāḍu*; Ardhatintriṇi (Arappuli ?), Villamarāyaṇ Neduṅguḷam, Śaṇaḷakkāraṇ kuḷam, Puḷiyaṅguḷa-ōḍai, Pirāyaṅkuḷam, Bhūsurataṭāka (Parpaguḷam, a corruption perhaps of Pāppāṅkuḷam), Kaḷlikuḷam, Vēlaṅkuḷam Sundarapāṇḍyaṇ pudukkāl, Ai[ya*]ṇākuḷam, Śrīkuḷam, Ēryāru Peryālaṅguḷam, Kokkantāmpārai (modern Kongandāmpārai), Paṇayaṅguḷam, Muttūr hill; Puttaṇēri, Āriyakuḷam, Kōḍikuḷam, Kuttukkāl, Muttūr, Rāmaṅguḷam, Īttampāṭṭu, Śiriyālaṅguḷam, Pāṭṭaikuḷam, Muṇappunāḍu, Āḷikuḍi and Śrī-Krishṇapuram.

Of these Vēmba-nāḍa comprises the northern portions of the Native State of Travancore and of the District of Tinnevely, and in the former state there is a large backwater lake known by the name of Vēmba-nāḍu-*kāyal* indicating the ancient name of the country where it is situated. We find the following names in the list of villages belonging to the Tinnevely tāluka of the same district and situated near Krishṇapuram:—Pirayāṅkuḷam, Pāppāṅkuḷam,³ Vēlaṅkuḷam, Sundarapāṇḍiyaṇ kāl, Kōṅandāmpārai, Paṇayaṅkuḷam, Muttūr, Āriyakuḷam, Muṇappanāḍu, and Krishṇapuram. The other places we are unable to identify.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुबिचंद्रचामर-

2 चारवे । चैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ।(॥) [१*] हरिर्लीलाव-

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1906, p. 72.

² [The Pudukkōttai grant mentions Mānābharaṇa as the brother of Śrīvallabha, and, besides, Mānābharaṇa, whom Mr. Venkayya identifies with Arikésarin Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The identification of Mānābhūsha with any of these two is far from being certain.—S. K.]

³ It now goes popularly by the name Pāppāṅkuḷam. This name means "the Brāhmaṇ's tank," and it has been translated into Sanskrit in the record.

From inked impressions prepared by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

- 3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस्य पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्र(क्ष)त्रि-
 4 यं दधौ ।(॥[२*] कल्याणायस्तु तद्धाम प्रत्यूहतिमिरापहं । यद्गजोप्य-
 5 गजोद्भूतं हरिणापि च पूज्यते ।(॥[३*] अस्ति चीरमयादेवैर्मथ्यमाना-
 6 न्नाहं बुधेः । नवनीतमिवोद्भूतमपनीततमो महः ।(॥[४*] तस्यासीत्त-
 7 'नुयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थनामा बुधः पुण्यैरस्य पुरुरवा भुजब-
 8 [ले]रायर्द्धिषां 'निघ्नतः । तस्यायुर्नहुषोस्य तस्य परुषो युद्धे यया-
 9 ति[ः*] क्षिती । ख्यातस्तस्य तु तुर्वसुर्वसुनिभः श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ।(॥[५*] तद्वंशे
 10 देवकीजानिर्हिदीपे तिम्भूपतिः । यशस्वी तुक्कवेदेषु यदोः कृष्ण
 11 इवान्वये ।(॥[६*] ततोभूडुकमाजानिरीश्वरक्षितिपालकः । अत्रासमगु-
 12 णभ्रंशं मौक्किरत्नं महोभुजां [॥७*] सरसादुदभूतस्मान्नरसावनिपा-
 13 लकः । देवकीनंदनात्कामो देवकीनंदनादिव ।(॥[८*] विविधमुकृ-
 14 तोहामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे 'मुहुर्मुदितहृदय स्थाने स्थाने व्यधत्त य-
 15 थाविधि [१*] बुधपरिवृतो नानादानानि^४ यो भुवि षोडश त्रिभुवनज-
 16 नोद्गीतं स्फोटं यशः पुनरुक्तय [॥९*] न्कावेरीमाशु बध्वा(ड्वा) बह्मजल-
 17 रयां तां विलंघ्यैव शत्रुं जीवशाहं गृहीत्वा समिति भुजबला-
 18 तंचराज्यं तदीयं [१*] कृत्वा श्रीरंगपूर्वं तदपि निजवशे पट्टणं
 19 यो बभासे (१) कीर्तिस्तंभं निखाय त्रिभुवनभवनस्तूयमानापदा-
 20 नः ।(॥[१०*] चेरं चीरं च पांड्यं तमपि च मधुरावल्लभं मानभूषं वीर्यो-
 21 दयं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदान्यान् । आगं-
 22 गातीरलंकाप्रथमचरमभूत्तटांतं नितांतं ख्यातः क्षोणी-
 23 पतीनां सजमिव शिरसां शामनं यो व्यतानीत् ।(॥[११*] तिप्पाजीना-
 24 गलादेव्योः कौसल्याश्रीसुमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहेंद्रात्तस्मा-
 25 त्पंडिरथादिव^६ ।(॥[१२*] वीरो^७ विनयौ^८ नाम[म]लक्ष्मणाविव नादनौ^९
 26 जातौ वीरनृसिंहेंद्रकृष्णरायमहोपतो ।(॥[१३*] रंगक्षितींद्राच्युतदे-
 27 वरायो रचाधुरीणाविव नंदसौ^{१०} । श्रीबांबिकायां नरसत्ति-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 28 तींद्रादुभावभूतान्मुरगेंद्रसारौ^{१०} ।(॥[१४*] वीरश्रीनारसिंहस्य
 29 विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नीत्या निरस्यवृग-

^१ Read 'नय'.

^२ नि is corrected from ति.

^३ Read 'पंक्ति'.

^४ Read with the British Museum plates रामकृष्णौ.

^५ The British Museum plates read 'भूताम् रगेंद्र', which Prof. Kielhorn proposes to correct into 'भूतां नरकेंद्र'.

[I would suggest 'तामुरगेंद्र'.—S. K.]

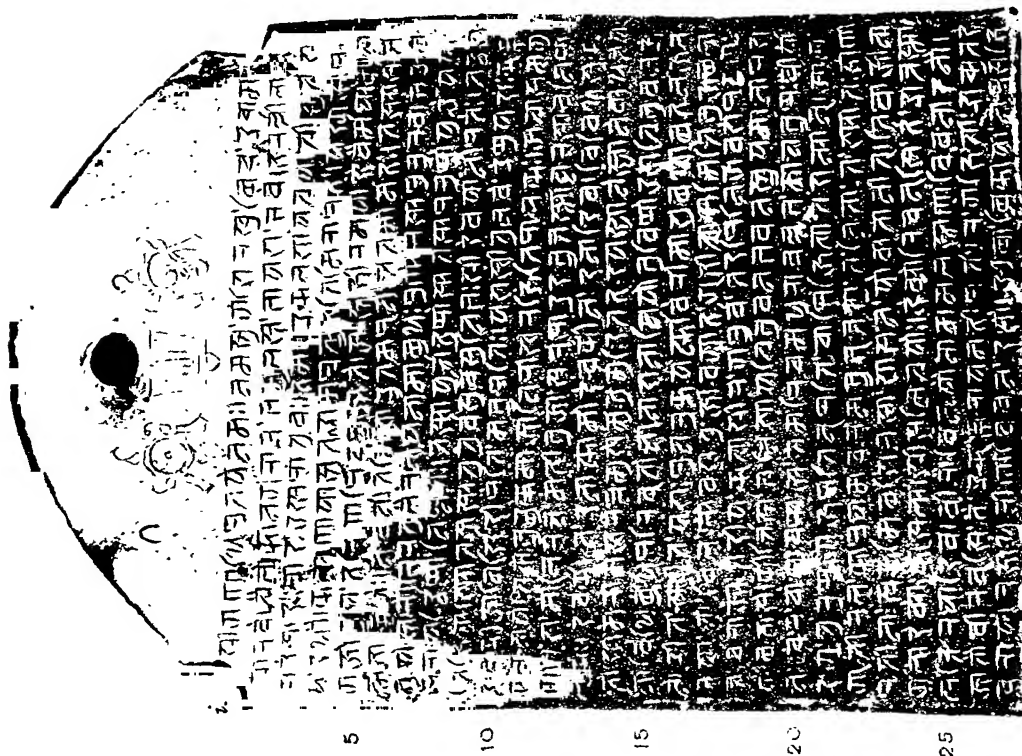
^६ Read 'रायर्द्धिषां'.

^७ Read न् in the conjunct consonant न्का, with the previous य.

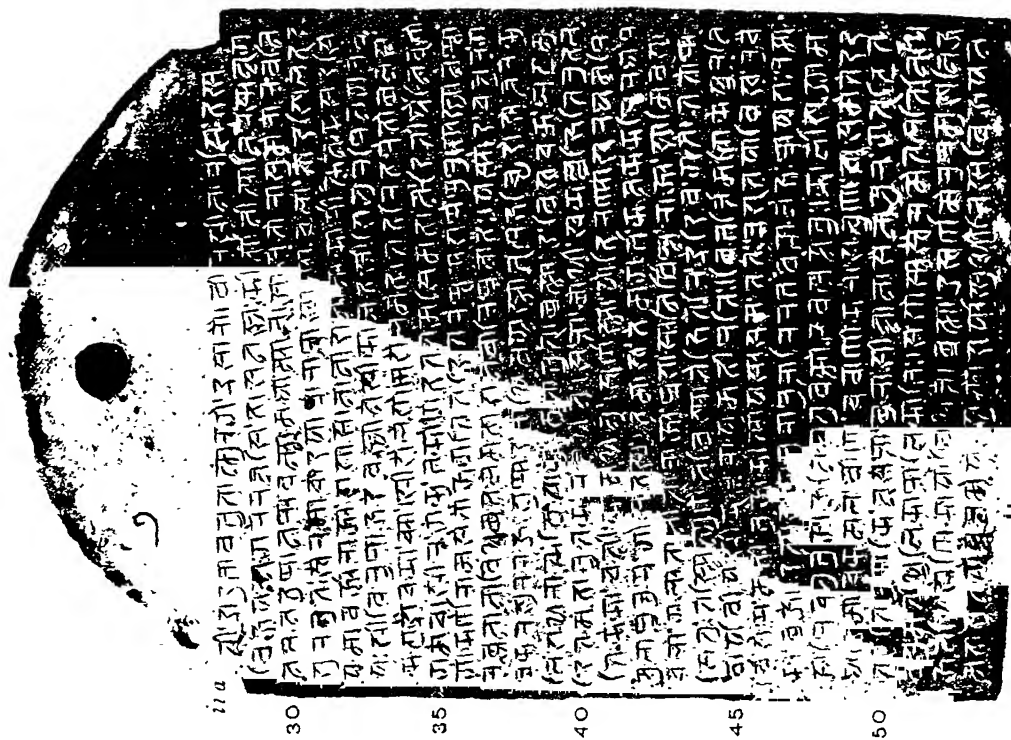
^८ Read विनयिनी रामलक्ष्मणाविव.

^९ हु looks like तु.

^{१०} Read नंदनौ.



STEN KONOW.



HALF SIZE.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

- 30 नऊनहुषानप्यवन्यामथान्यान् । आ सेतीरा सुमेरोरवनि-
 31 मुरनुतः खैरमा चोदयाद्रे (I) रा ¹[पा]श्वात्याचलांतादखिलहृद-
 32 यमावर्ज्यं राज्यं शशास ।(II)[१५*] नानादानान्यकार्षीत्कनकसदमि
 33 यः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकाकहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वै-
 34 कटाद्री च कांच्या । श्रीशैले शोणशैले² महति हरिहरेहोवके सं-
 35 गमे च (I) श्रीरंगी कुंभकीणे हततमसि महानंदितोर्थं निवृत्तौ [॥१६*]
 36 गोकर्णे रामसेतौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्व-
 37 रत्ननानाविधबहक्रमहादानवारिप्रवाहैः । यस्योदंचतुरंग-
 38 प्रकरखुररजःशुचदंभोधिमग्नक्ष्माभृत्यक्षच्छिदोद्यत्तर(त्कर)कु-
 39 लिशधरोक्कंठिता कंठिताभूत् ।(II)[१७*] ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं घटमु-
 40 दितमहाभूतकं रत्नधेनुं (I) सप्तांबोधींश्च³ कल्पक्षितिरुहल-
 41 तिक्ते कांचनीं कामधेनुं । स्वर्णक्ष्मां यो हिरण्याश्वरथमपि
 42 तुलापूरुषं गोमहसं (I) हेमाश्वं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं पं-
 43 चलांगल्यतानीत् ।(II) [१८*] प्राज्यं प्रशास्य निर्विघ्नं राज्यं द्यामिव शा-
 44 सितुं [१*] तस्मिन्गुणेन विख्याते क्षितेरिद्रे दिवं गते ।(II)[१९*] ततोप्य-
 45 वार्यवोर्यः[*] श्रीकृष्णरायमहोपतिः । विभक्तिं मणिकेशूरनि-
 46 र्विशेषं महीं भुजे ।(II)[२०*] कीर्त्या यस्य समंततः प्रसृतया⁴ विश्वं रुचै-
 47 क्यं ब्रजे(I)दित्याशंक्य पुरा पुरारिरभवद्वाक्केक्ष[ण*]ः प्रायशः [१*] पद्मा-
 48 क्षोपि चतुर्भुजोजनि चतुर्वक्त्रोद्भवत्यद्भु⁵ (I) काक्की खड्गम-
 49 थाद्रमा च कमलं वीणां च वाणी करे ।(II)[२१*] शत्रूणां वासमेते दद-
 50 त इति रुषा किं ⁶न् ⁷सप्तांबुरासेन्नानासेनात्तुरंगतृटित-¹⁰
 51 वसुमतीधूळिकापाळिकाभिः । संशोष्य¹¹ खैरमेतत्पतिनिधि-¹²
 52 जलधिश्रेणिका यो विधत्ते (I) ब्रह्मांडस्वर्णमेरुप्रमुखनिज-
 53 महादानतोदैरमेयैः¹³ ।(II)[२२*] स्तुत्यौदार्यसुधीभिस्स विजयन-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 54 गरे रत्नमिहासनस्थः क्ष्मापालान्कृष्णरायक्षितिपतिरध-
 55 रीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादोन् । आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तक्षितिधरकटकादा
 56 च हेमाचलांतादा सेतोरर्थिसार्थश्रियमिह बह्वक्त्रोक्त्य कीर्त्या

पा looks like प्रा.

Read प्रसत°.

⁷ Read °षादमा.

Read °तुरंगतृटित°.

°दा° looks like °च.

² श is corrected from ल.

³ The व of श्व looks like च.

Read नु instead of न्.

¹¹ Read संशोष्य.

⁵ Read °भोधी°.

⁶ Read भ instead of ह.

⁹ Read °श्री° instead of °सौ°.

¹² Read °त्पति°.

- 57 वभासे ॥(॥)[२३*] कृतवति सुरलोकं कृष्णराये निजांशं तदनु तदनुज-
 58 आ पुण्यकर्माच्युतेन्द्रः । अखिलमवनिलोकं स्वांशमेत्यारिजेता
 59 वि[ल]सति हरिचेता विद्वदिष्टप्रदाता ॥(॥)[२४*] अंभोदेन निपीयमान-
 60 सलिलोगस्थेन पीतोर्भितस्तप्तो^१ राघवसायकाग्निशिखया सं-
 61 तप्यमानः सदा । अंतस्थैर्वडबा(वा)मुखानलशिखाजालैर्विशुष्को
 62 [ध्रु]वं (॥) यद्दानांबुधनांबुरंबुधिरयं पूर्णः समुद्योतते^२ ॥(॥)[२५*] ममज-
 63 नि नरपालस्त्वधर्मप्रतिष्ठो विजयनगरराजद्रवसिंहा-
 64 मनस्यः [॥*] नृगनऊनहुषादीन्नीचयन्नाजनीत्या^३ निरुपमभुज-
 65 वीर्योदार्यभूरच्युतेन्द्रः ॥(॥)[२६*] क्षितिप्रतिष्ठापितकीर्तिदेहे प्राप्ते पदं
 66 वैष्णवमच्युतेन्द्रे । अध्यास्य भद्रासनमस्य सनुर्वीरो बभौ वेंकट-
 67 देवरायः ॥(॥)[२७*] प्रशास्य राज्यं प्रशवास्वरूपे^४ विद्वन्निधौ वेंकटरा-
 68 यभूषे [॥*] अभागधियादचिरात्प्रजानामाखंडलावासमथाधिरू-
 69 ढे ॥(॥)[२८*] तिमांवावरगर्भमौक्तिकमणी रंगक्षितींद्रात्मजः क्षत्रालं-
 70 करणेन पालितमहाकर्णोटराज्यश्रिया । शौर्योदार्यदयावता
 71 स्वभगिनोभर्त्ता जग[त्ता]यिना^५ (॥) रामत्मापतिनाप्यमात्यतिलकैः
 72 कृपाभिषेकक्रमः ॥(॥)[२९*] श्रीविद्यानगरोल्लामनि महामाम्नाज्यसिं-
 73 हासने (॥) संतानद्रु[रि]व स्फुरन्मुरगिरौ संहृत्य [वि*]वेष्टिणः^६ । आ से-
 74 तोरपि चाहिमाद्रि रचयन्नाज्ञो निजाज्ञाकरान्मर्वां पालय-
 75 ते सदाशिवमहारायश्चिराय क्षमां ॥(॥)[३०*] विख्यातविक्रांतिन-
 76 यस्य यस्य पट्टाभिषेके नियतं प्रजानां । आनंदवाष्पैरभिशि-^७
 77 च्यमाना देवीपदं दर्शयते धरित्री ॥(॥)[३१*] गोत्रोडारविशारदं कुव-
 78 लयापीडापहारोद्भुरं सत्यायत्तमतिं समस्तसुम[न*]स्तोमावनै-
 79 कायनं । संजातस्मृतिभूरुचिं सविजयं संनंदकश्रीभरं^८ (॥) यं
 80 शंसन्ति यशोदयांचितगुणं कृष्णावतारं बुधाः ॥(॥)[३२*] विख्यातं बहु-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 81 भोगशृंगविभवैरुद्दामदानोद्भुरं धर्मेण स्मृतिमाचतो-
 82 पि भुवने दत्तं प्रजारक्षणे । प्राप्तां यस्य भुजं भुजंगमहिभू-
 83 द्विदंतिकूर्मोपमं (॥) पातिव्रत्यपताकिकेति धरणी^९ जानंतु स-
 84 र्वे जनाः ॥(॥)[३३*] यत्सेनाधूक्रिपाक्री शकमशकसमुच्चाटने धूमरेखा

^१ Read °ज्झ° instead of °र्भित°.

^४ Read प्रस°.

^७ Read °भिषिच्य°.

^२ Read समुद्यो°.

^५ Read °तायिणा°.

^८ Read सन्न°.

^३ नी is corrected from ल.

^६ Read विद्वेष्टिणः.

^९ Read धरणी°.

- 85 रोमाळी कीर्तिवध्वा इव भुवनमिदं सर्वमंतवेहत्याः । [वि]-
 86 णी नाणीयसीव प्रकटितविहृतेर्वीरलक्ष्या रणाये (।) शां-
 87 त्ये जीमूतपर्द्धिः¹ किल शकलखलस्तोमदावानलाजं [॥३४*] तुंगा-
 88 मेव दयां पदांजुजयुगं शोणं च कृष्णं तनुं रक्ता(क्तां) नीलशितां²
 89 त्रिवेण्मनवां वोक्षां गिरं नर्मदां [।³] तीर्थानीति⁴ [स]मावहत्य-⁵
 90 वयवैः शेषाद्रिवासी विभुः प्रायो यस्य विशेषभक्तिमुदितः
 91 पट्टाभिषेकश्चिवे ।(॥)[३५*] ⁶वोषधिपत्युपमायितगंडस्तोषणरूप-
 92 जितासमकांडः [।⁷] ⁷भाषगेतप्युवरायरगंडः पोषणनिर्भरभू-
 93 नवखंडः ।(॥)[३६*] राजाधिराजविरुदो राजराजसमांहतिः । स्वा-
 94 राजराजमानश्रीः[*] श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः ।(॥)[३७*] मूर्खरायरगंडांको
 95 मेरुलंघियशोभरः । शरणागतमंदारः ⁸पर[रा]जभयंकरः ।(॥)[३८*]
 96 करदाखिलभूपालः परदारसहोदरः । हिंदुरायसुरक्षान्ति-
 97 धुराजगभीरधिः⁹ ।(॥)[३९*] विष्टपत्रयविख्यातो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः ।
 98 श्रीभगंडभेरुंडो हरिभक्तिसुधानिधिः ।(॥)[४०*] वर्धमानापदानश्री-
 99 रङ्गनारीनटेश्वरः । इत्यादिवरुदेर्वदितया¹⁰ नित्यमभिष्टुतः ।(॥)[४१*]
 100 ¹¹कांभोजभोजकाङ्किंगकरहाटादिपार्थिवैः¹² । सौविदल्लपदं प्रा-
 101 षैस्संदर्शितवृषोपदः ।(॥)[४२*] सोयं नोतिविशारदः सुरतरुस्फूर्द्धाल-¹³
 102 विश्राणनस्सर्वोर्वीशनतस्सदाशिवमहारायत्तमानायकः ।
 103 बाहावंगदनिविशेषमखिलां सर्वसहामुदहन्विदक्षानप-
 104 रायणो विजयते वीरप्रतापोन्नतः ॥ [४३*] निधिवारणवेदेदुग-
 105 णिते शकवत्सरे । प्रभवे वत्स[रि*] मासि पौषे मकरसंक्रमे ।(॥)[४४*]
 कृष्णपक्षे च पु-
- 106 ख्यायाममायां सोमवासरे । कावेर्याः पावने¹⁴ तीरे रंगनाथस्य
 107 संनिधौ ।(॥)[४५*] काश्यपान्वयरत्नेन शश्वतातुलकीर्तिना । शश्वदाराध-
 108 नाद्वष्टविखनाथार्पितश्रिया ।(॥)[४६*] धर्ममर्मविदा चाणकर्मठेन मनोषि-
 109 णा । दुर्मदारिमहा(ही)पालशर्मदारिभुजौजसा ।(॥)[४७*] सत्यादृतांतर-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 110 गेण सत्कृत्याश्रयशोभिना । संहितेनाधिकं भूत्या सर्व-
 111 जग(गु)णशालिना ।(॥)[४८*] श्रीमत्कांचीपुरवराधीश्वरांकोपशो-

¹ Read °पंक्तिः.

² Read तीर्था°.

³ Read भाषगे°.

⁴ इदं शश्विखामभिः in the British Museum plates.

⁵ Read कांभोज°.

⁶ Originally पावनी was written.

⁷ Read सकल°.

⁸ स is corrected from perhaps म.

⁹ °रा is corrected from another letter.

¹⁰ Read °विष्टदे°.

¹¹ Read °पार्थि°.

¹² Read °सितां.

¹³ Read श्रीषधि°.

¹⁴ Read °विष्टदे°.

¹⁵ Read °स्य°.

- 112 भिना । मोकालिपट्टधर्जनविख्यातत्रिरुदश्रिता ।(॥)[४८*] समयद्रोह-
 113 रगंडख्यातिना मनुनीतिना । प्रख्यातसमयकोलाहलचिह्नेन
 114 भास्वता ।(॥)[५०*] ऐलावकीपुरवराधीश्वरांकेन धीमता । मा[द्या]ति-
 115 रुवटिच्छापसप्तांगहरणौजसा ।(॥)[५१*] यशस्विना^१ पाद्यकुलस्था-^२
 116 पनाचार्यकीर्त्तिना । मानोन(न्येन) दक्षिणमहासमुद्राधीश्वरेण च ।(॥)[५२*]
 117 नागमच्छापपौत्रेण नऊनाभागकीर्त्तिना । श्रीविश्वनाथभूपा-
 118 लसिंधुशीतळभानुना ।(॥)[५३*] सुशीलनागमागर्भशुक्तिमुक्ताफलात्म-
 119 ना । कृष्णभूपतिना पुण्यकीर्त्तिना करु[णा*]ब्धिना ।(॥)[५४*] परितः प्रण-
 वाकारप्र-
 120 कारवज्रयांचितं । कमनीयशिलास्तंभकदंभोत्तंजितांवरं^३ ।(॥)[५५*] विशं-
 121 कटविटंकाकीविराजद्रंगमंटपं । विधाय विपुलोत्तुंगगोप-
 122 रं देवमंदिरं ।(॥)[५६*] विशालां रथवतीं^४ च स्यंदनं मंदरोपमं । तत्र प्रति-
 123 ष्ठातार्यश्रीतारकब्रंहरूपिणं^५ ।(॥) [५७*] करुणारसकलोलवरुणालयचक्षु-
 124 से(षे) । शरणागतगी[र्वी]णभरणाधीनचेतसे ।(॥) [५८*] कालचक्रघटीयंत्रक-
 125 ल्पनाशिल्पकारिणे । कैवल्याक्षयज्जतिकाकंदक्रीपपन्नकीर्त्तये ।(॥) [५९*] कौस्तुभा-
 126 रुणपाथोजपा[श्च] लीनाकिमोल्या^६ । वनमालिकया चारुवक्षसे हतर-
 127 क्षसे ।(॥)[६०*] इंदिराया 'जगन्मातुर्मंदिरायितवक्षसे ।^७ च्छंदसामादिकंदाय
 128 चंपकद्युतिवासरे(से) ।(॥)[६१*] शरण्याय वतामिंदुतरण्याकरचक्षुसे^८ । हिरण्या-
 129 मुरसंहवे^{१०} धरण्या गृहमेधिने ।(॥)[६२*] ^{११}कंशादिविबुधारातिहिंसाविधपटी-
 130 यसे । संसारसागरौर्वाय पुंसामानमतां सतां ।(॥)[६३*] नवनीतमुशे^{१२} नंदर-
 131 मणीशिचक्षणीयतां । अभिनीतवते शखदपनीतनतांतये ।(॥)[६४*] निरली-
 कवचो-
 132 मूलमुरळीमधुरारवैः । तरळीकुर्वते गोपीस्मरलीलापराङ्मुखीः^{१३} ।(॥)[६५*] अ-
 133 ^{१४}श्लिन्कुणापुरे पूर्णसा(सां)निडं समुपेयुषे । तिरुवेंकटनाथाय विष्णवे प्रभ-
 134 विष्णवे ।(॥)[६६*] धूपदीपसुधाहारनानापूपनिवेदनैः^{१५} । नानापुष्पोपहारैश्च नै-
 135 कदीपप्रदीपनैः ।(॥)[६७*] नृत्तगीतमहावाद्यच्छत्र(क्ष)चामरवैभवैः । नित्यनैमि-
 त्तिका-

^१ Read यशस्वि°.^४ Read °वीथी°.^७ Read °मंदिरा°.^८ Read °चक्षुषे. Could it be that the passage should be read as शरण्याय सतामिंदुतरण्याकरचक्षुषे ?^{१०} Read °हवे°.^{१३} Read °गोपीस्मर°.^२ Read पांङ्ग°.^५ Read °हित° and °ब्रह्म°.^६ Read छंदसा°.^{११} Read कंशादि°.^{१५} Read अस्त्र°.^३ Read °कदंबी°.^६ Read °मालया°.^{१२} Read °मुषे°.^{१५} The second ना looks like न्.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रोत्तमा
 शूरां कुरुपुत्रसमाजित्वा
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
 युयुत्सवः पाण्डुपुत्रो वीर्यवान्
 मया द्रुपदपुत्रः प्रह्लादपुत्रश्च
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
 युयुत्सवः पाण्डुपुत्रो वीर्यवान्
 मया द्रुपदपुत्रः प्रह्लादपुत्रश्च
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
 युयुत्सवः पाण्डुपुत्रो वीर्यवान्
 मया द्रुपदपुत्रः प्रह्लादपुत्रश्च

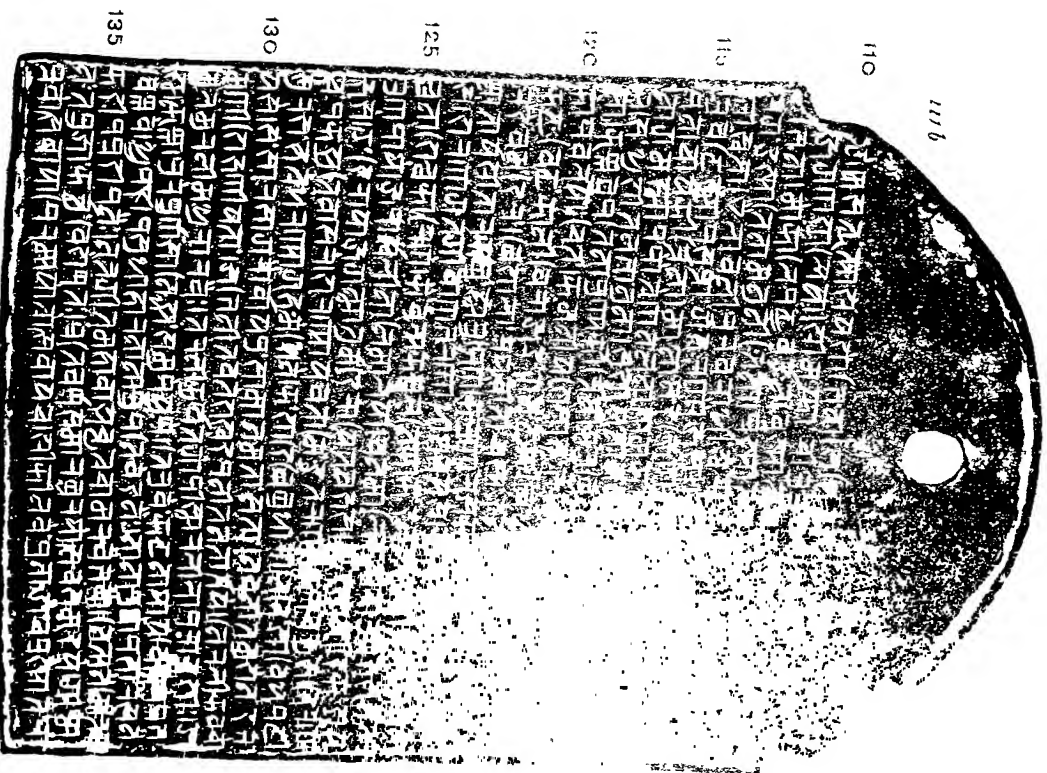
200

205

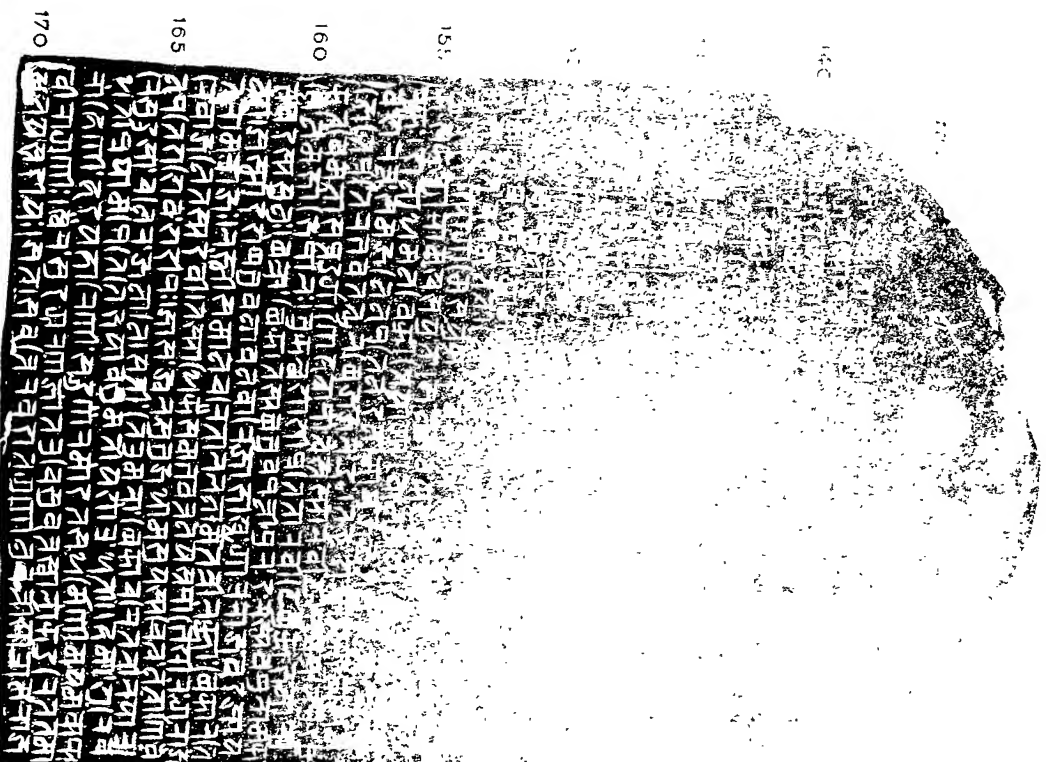
210

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रोत्तमा
 शूरां कुरुपुत्रसमाजित्वा
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
 युयुत्सवः पाण्डुपुत्रो वीर्यवान्
 मया द्रुपदपुत्रः प्रह्लादपुत्रश्च
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
 युयुत्सवः पाण्डुपुत्रो वीर्यवान्
 मया द्रुपदपुत्रः प्रह्लादपुत्रश्च
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
 युयुत्सवः पाण्डुपुत्रो वीर्यवान्
 मया द्रुपदपुत्रः प्रह्लादपुत्रश्च

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय



STEN KONOW.



HALF SIZE.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. COPPINATHA RAO, M.A.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

- 136 नंतपूजां कर्तुं विशेषतः ।(॥)[६८*] प्रतिवर्षसमारम्भरथोत्सवसमृद्धये¹ । श्रीश-
 137 भूवोत्सवायापि रम्ययाचोत्सवाय च ।(॥)[६९*] श्रीकीर्तव्येप्र(पु)नाडौ च प्रख्यातं प[ि]-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 138 द्यमंडले । तां(ता)मपणीनदीतीरे पावने वासमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७०*] श्रीव-
 139 ल्लभंगलख्यातचावटावपि विश्रुतं । ख्यातार्द्धतित्रिणीवृक्षा-
 140 दिमार्गेशान्यतां श्रितं ।(॥)[७१*] धर्माद्विल्लमरायस्य ख्यातादपि नेडं-
 141 कुलात् । प्राच्यं श्रीशवळकार्रकुसीमांचलादपि ।(॥) [७२*] पुळि-
 142 यंकुळोडैकुलपिरायन्कुलतोपि च । भूसुरतटागमीमांच-
 143 लानाग्नेयतां² श्रितं ।(॥)[७३*] श्रीमत्कळिकुळग्रामसीमांतादपि दक्षि[णं] [१*]
 144 श्रीवेलंकुळकुल्याया नैरृतीं दिशमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७४*] सुंदरश्रीपांड्य[पूत]-
 145 कुल्यायाश्चापि पश्चिमं । ³ऐनाकुळसीमांताद्वायवीमाश्रितं दिशं ।(॥) [७५*]
 146 श्रीकुळैर्यारुपेर्यालंकुळसीमांचलोत्तरं । कोळतांपारंपनयंकु-
 147 ळयोरुभयोरपि ।(॥)[७६*] अपि ⁴सुत्तुर्मलाभिख्यागिरिरीशान्यतां श्रितं । पु-
 148 त्तेनिरग्रामकेण ख्यातारियकुळेन च ।(॥)[७७*] कोटिकुळग्रामकेण कुत्तु-
 149 क्ळग्रामकेण च । सुत्तूरुग्रामकोपि⁵ श्रीमद्रामंकुळेन च ।(॥)[७८] ईत्तंपाट्टु-
 150 ग्रामकेण शिर्रियालंकुळेन च । युक्तं पाटैकुलेनापि संयुतं सस्य-
 151 शोभितं ।(॥)[७९*] सुरप्पुनाडाकिकुटिभूत्रयोदशमान्वितं । श्रीकृष्णापुर-
 152 नामानं प्रख्यातं ग्राममुत्तमं ।(॥)[८०*] सर्वमा(नांचतुःस्त्रीमा)न्यं चतुःस्त्री(सी)-
 153 मासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनिलेपपाषाणसिद्धसादाजलान्वि-
 154 तं ।(॥)[८१*] अक्षिण्यागामिमयुक्तं⁶ देवभोग्यं सभूरुहं । वापीकूपतटा-
 155 कैश्च करच्छारामैश्च संयुतं⁷ ।(॥)[८२*] अनेन वैकटेशेन भोग्यमाचंद्रता-
 156 रकं । दानाधमनविक्रीतियोग्यं विनिमयोचितं ।(॥)[८३*] शोतांशो-
 157 र्वेशरत्नं समजनि नृपतिर्नदनामाय जज्ञे तत्संतत्यां चलिक्क-
 158 क्षितिपतिरभवतत्कुले⁸ बिज्जलेंद्रः । तदंशं⁹ सोमिदेवोलम-
 159 क्तत विमतासप्तदुर्गाणि हृत्वा पौत्रस्तस्यार्वीटीपुरपतिरुदभू-
 160 त्पिनमच्चोक्षिपालः¹⁰ ।(॥) [८४*] भूकल्पशाखी प्रति(धि)तारवीटिवृक्षचमापो-
 161 भवदस्य सूनुः । बल्लांबिका तस्य बभूव पत्नी पुरंदरस्यैव पुलोमकं-¹¹

¹ Read °समृद्धये.

² Read °दाग्नेयं.

³ The metre demands one more letter in this foot and hence we propose to read the name of this village as ऐ[य०]नाकुळ. [I would prefer to scan *Āyind*.—S. K.]

Read °भिष्य°.

⁵ Read °ग्रामकेषापि ?

⁶ Read °संयुक्तं.

⁷ Read °कच्छारामैश्च संयुतं.

⁸ Read °भवत्तरकुले

⁹ Read तदंशं.

¹⁰ Read °चोक्षि°.

¹¹ Read °कन्या.

- 162 न्या ।(॥) [८५*] अस्मादशेषभुवनावनवारिजाच्छृङ्खलं(च्छृङ्खलं)गारराजवदजाय-
 163 त रामराजः । लक्ष्मीसमानचरिता ललनामतस्त्री लक्षांबिका रति-
 164 रिवाजनि तस्य देवी ।(॥) [८६*] ¹तस्याधिकैसमभवत्तनयस्तपोभिः[*] श्रीरंगराज-
 165 ²नृपतिशशिवंशदीपः । आसंज्वलत्सु भुजधामसु यस्य चित्रं नेत्राणि वै-
 166 रिसुदृशां³ च निरंजनानि ।(॥) [८७*] सतीं तिरुमलांबिका(कां) चरितलीलयाहं-
 167 धतीप्रथामपि नितिचया वसुमतीयशो रुंधतीं । हिमांशुरिव
 168 रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सद्गुरैरमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवाप्य
 169 वीराग्रणीः ।(॥) [८८*] स्वैरं सुदृग्भरणजातरुचिसुवृत्त⁴ खालोकदूरिततमा-
 170 स्तनयस्तदीयः । अत्रासवृत्तिरवदातगुणानुवर्त्ती आ(श्री)रामराज-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 171 नरपालमणिर्विरेजे⁵ ।(॥) [८९*] यस्मिन् प्रशासति महीं जदे[वै]-⁶
 172 कवीरे भंगो नदीषु पतगेषु च पक्षपातः । वल्लोषु पल्लव-
 173 रुचिर्वनितारतेषु नीवीविमोचनमभून्नियतं प्रजानां ।(॥) [९०*] स-
 174 त्यानुरक्तेरिदरावहेस्मिन् संपन्नके⁷ संभृतसर्वलोके । (श्रीरा)
 175 श्रीरामराजे अत्रितसत्वसौर्यं⁸ शौरेः पदं शाश्वतमभ्युपेते ।(॥) [९१*] त-
 176 दनु भुवमशेषां पालयन्ब्राजनीत्या तपनतनयजेता दा-
 177 नरीत्या महत्या । भरतमहितभूमा भाति तस्यानुजन्मा व-
 178 रतिरुमलराजसाहितीभोजराजः⁹ ।(॥) [९२*] स्वैरं ¹⁰संज्ञतकंटको-
 179 थ सुकृतोत्कृष्टं विधायाखिलं भूकेदारमुदारदानसलिलो-¹¹
 180 सारैस्समापूर्य च । संवद्धानघ(कीर्त्ति)कीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं
 181 तत्पालिकां विक्रमश्रीकांतां भुजकायमानसिखरे¹² धत्ते
 182 हि यस्तेजसा ।(॥) [९३*] यस्यानुजन्मा विजयैकनर्मा रामाभिराम[ते]-
 183 तुलबाहुधामा । वीरो विरेजे¹³ भुवि वैकंठाद्रिराजः अत्र-
 184 या निर्जितराजराजः ।(॥) [९४*] धर्ममर्मविधस्तस्य¹⁴ धरणीक-
 185 ल्यशाखिनः । सोमवर्षावतंसस्य स्वाधीननयसंपदः ।(॥) [९५*] श्री-
 186 विश्वनाथभूपालचिरपुण्यफलात्मना । कृष्णभूपतिनाने-
 187 न कृ[पा]कूपारचक्षुषा¹⁵ । (॥) [९६*] विज्ञापितस्य विनयाहिमतज्ञांत-¹

¹ Read °स्ममभव°.

² Read °सुवृत्तः.

³ Read अगर्दक°.

⁴ Read °साहिती°.

⁵ Read °शिखरे.

⁶ पा is corrected from णा.

⁷ Read °नृपतिशशिवि

⁸ The letters विरे are engraved over an erasure.

⁹ A mistake for संपन्नके.

¹⁰ Read संज्ञत°.

¹¹ Read विरेजे.

¹² Read °धत्त°.

¹³ Read °सुदृशां.

¹⁴ Read °सर्व श्रीयं.

¹⁵ Read °सलिषा°.

¹⁶ Read °विदसस्य.

- 188 भास्वतः । प्राज्यकर्णाठराज्यश्रीस्थापनाचार्यविश्रुतेः ।(॥)[६७*] आ-
 189 चेत्यगोत्रपाथोजमार्ताडस्य मनस्विनः । अतैबवरगंड-
 190 स्य ^१सिध्वंतक्षितिरक्षिणः ।(॥)[६८*] ^२वर्णितयशसो नानावर्णश्रीमंड-
 191 लीकगंडस्य । ऐ(ए)बिरुदरायराहुनवेस्वै^३कभुजंगबिरुदभ-
 192 रितस्य ।(॥)[६९*] ^४विष्ठा[त]बिरुदमनियविभाऊलीलस्य विजय-
 193 शीलस्य । विश्वंभराभृतिस्फुटविश्रुतधरणीवराहवि-^५
 194 रुदस्य ।(॥)[१००*] कल्याणपुरनाथस्य शल्यारिसमतेजसः । वेंगत्रि-
 195 भुवनीमल्ललिंगस्थिरयशोनिधेः ।(॥)[१०१*] श्रीमत्तिरुमलक्ष्मापशे-
 196 खरस्य दयांबुधेः । विन[यी*]दार्प्यशीलस्य विज्ञमिमनुपालयन् ।(॥)[१०२*]

Fifth Plate.

- 197 परीतः प्रयतै[*] स्मिर्देः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधै-
 198 र्विबुधैः श्रुतैः(श्रु)तपथिकैरथि(धि)कैर्गिरा ।(॥)[१०३*] सदाशिवमहारा-
 199 यो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-
 200 न्सुदा ।(॥)[१०४*]
 201 सरससदाशिवरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्यस्य [१*] शास-
 202 नमिदं ^६सरासनदासरथेरमितहेमदानरतेः^७ ।(॥)[१०५*] मृदुपदमिति
 203 तांम्ब(ताम्ब)शासनार्थं महितसदाशिवरायशासनेन । अभणदतु-
 204 गुणं वचोमहिम्ना सरसतरेण सभापतिस्वयंभूः ।(॥)[१०६*] सदाशिवमहा-
 205 रायशासनाद्दीरणात्मजः । त्वष्टा श्रीवीरणाचार्यो व्यलिखतां-^८
 206 स्रशामनं (॥)[१०७*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छे]योनुपालनं । दानास्वर्ग-^९
 207 मवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ।(॥)[१०८*] स्वदत्ताद्दिगुणं^{१०} पुण्यं परदत्तानुपा-
 208 लनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं ^{११}निष्फलं भवेत् ।(॥)[१०९*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
 209 वा यो हरेति^{१२} वसुंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि^{१३} विष्टायां जायते क्रि(क्त)-
 210 मिः(॥)[११०*] ऐ(ए)कैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां । न भोज्या न करग्रा-
 211 ह्या देवदत्ता वसुंधरा ।(॥)[१११*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुनृपाणां^{१४} काले काले
 212 पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवैर्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याच-
 213 ते रामचंद्रः॥ [११२*]
 214 श्रीविरूपाक्ष^{१५}

^१ Read सिध्वं°.^२ Read वर्णितयशसो.^३ Read वेस्वैक°.^४ त is corrected from the secondary ; of the letter that follows, which was begun wrongly in the place of त.^५ Read विष्ठा°.^६ Read सरासन°.^७ Read दाशरथेः.^८ Read लिखताम्°.^९ Read दानास्वर्ग°.^{१०} Read दत्ताद्दि°.^{११} Read निष्फलं.^{१२} Read हरेत.^{१३} Read षष्टिं व°.^{१४} Read सेतुनृपाणां.^{१५} In Kannada characters.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes Śambhu, v. 2 the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, and v. 3 Gaṇēśa.

Vv. 4-5 trace the genealogy of the family from the Moon.

(Vv. 6-7.) In his (*i.e.* Turvasu's) line was born the husband of Dēvakī, king Timma, as famous among the Tuluvas as Kṛishṇa was among the Yadus. To him was born king Īśvara, a jewelled crown of virtues to kings, (and) the husband of Bukkamā.

(V. 8.) To him, the son of Dēvakī, was born king Narasa, as Kāma (was born) from the son of Dēvakī (Kṛishṇa).

Vv. 9-10 describe his generosity and his conquest of the kingdom of Tañcha (*i.e.* the Chōla country) and Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa.

(V. 11.) Conquering the Chēra and the Chōla, Mānabhūsha, the Pāṇḍya king of Madura, also the fierce Turushka, king Gajapati and others from the Ganges to Laṅkā, and from the Eastern to the Western mountains, he made all kings bear his commands on their heads as flowers on their crowns.

(Vv. 12-14.) Of Tippāji and Nāgalādēvī, like Rāma and Lakshmaṇa of Kausalyā and Sumitrā to Daśaratha, were born to him two sons Vira-Nṛisimha and Kṛishṇarāya who were brave and modest. To him were also born of Ōbāmbikā two (*more*) sons able in protecting (*the subjects*), Raṅgakshitindra and Achyutadēvarāya.

(V. 15.) Vira-Nārasimha, seated on the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, eclipsing by fame and policy Nṛiga, Nala, Nabusha and others of the world, praised by the Brāhmaṇas from Sētu to Mēra, from the Eastern to the Western mountains, ruled the kingdom pleasing the hearts of all people.

(Vv. 16-18.) His praises.

(V. 19.) Having ruled his large kingdom without obstacles, the king of the earth, famous for his virtues, went to heaven as if to rule the kingdom of heaven.

(V. 20.) After him, king Kṛishṇarāya, of unabated valour, bore the whole of the earth on his shoulders with as much ease as a jewelled bracelet.

(Vv. 21-23.) Praises of Kṛishṇarāya.

(V. 24.) When Kṛishṇarāya had taken for his part the world of the *dēvas* (*i.e.* had died) his younger brother Achyutēndra, doer of good deeds, conqueror of foes, worshipper of Viṣṇu, who made gifts satisfying the desires of the learned, got for his share the whole of this earth.

(Vv. 25-26.) Praises of Achyutēndra.

(V. 27.) When, having set up on earth a body in the form of his fame, Achyutēndra reached Viṣṇu's abode, his brave son Vēṅkaṭarāya ascended the throne.

(Vv. 23-30.) He who was like the flower-arrowed Kāma, and was ruling his kingdom (*well*), owing to the bad luck of his subjects, soon went to the city of Indra. The son of Raṅgakshitindra and the precious pearl of the sacred womb of Timmāmbā, king Sadāśivarāya, who was like the *śatātāna* tree on the hill of *dēvas*, was duly installed on the throne that was the jewel of the prosperous town, Śrī-Vidyānagarī, by king Rāma, his sister's husband, the protector of the goddess Śrī of the great kingdom of Karnaṭa, who was an ornament to all Kshatriyas, who was endowed with valour, nobility and kindness, and by the chief ministers.

(Vv. 31-43.) Praises of Sadāśivarāya.

(Vv. 44-45.) On Monday, the new moon *tithi* of the dark half of the month Pausha, during the *Makara-saṁkramaṇa*, in the year Prabhava, (corresponding to) the Śaka year counted by the *nidhis* (9), the *vāraṇas* (8), the *vedas* (4), and *indru* (1) (*i.e.* Śaka 1489) on the banks of the sacred river Kāvērī, in the presence of (*the god*) Raṅganātha, (*this grant is made*).

(Vv. 46-57.) By Kṛṣṇabhūpati, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy; who was the jewel of the family of Kāśyapa; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Viśvanātha, who was pleased with his devotion; who knew the truth about duty; who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified by truthfulness; who shone by his desire to do good actions; who possessed great wealth; who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man; who bore the title 'the lord of Kāñchipura,' who was also the recipient of the famous title 'Mōkālīpattavardhana,' who was also known as the 'Samaya-drōhara-gaṇḍa,' whose policy was like that of Maṇu; who also shone by the celebrated distinction 'Samayakōlāhala,' who was also entitled 'the lord of Ailāvalīpura,' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvaḍi-rājya of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the 'Pāṇḍyakulasthāpanāchārya,' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean; who was the grandson of king Nāgama; who was equal to Nala and Nābhāga in fame; who was the cool moon of the ocean named king Viśvanātha; who was the pearl of the oyster, viz. the womb of the virtuous Nāgamā,—was built a temple at Kṛṣṇapura, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *praṇava* and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *rañja-maṇḍapa* raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Viṣṇu set up there (i.e. in the temple),

[(Vv. 58-66.) Praises of the god set up in the temple of Kṛṣṇapuram.]

(Vv. 67-69.) (For the worship of the god Viṣṇu) who shone in this place under the name of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha, by means of burning incense, by lights and by the offering of good food, cakes, etc., by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris*, on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the *yātrōtsava*,

(Vv. 70-82.) The excellent village known by the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇapura, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as Pattanēri, Āriyakulam, Kōṭikkulam, Kuttukkal, Muttūr Rāmaṅgulam, Itampāṭṭu, Śrīyālaṅgulam, Pāṭaikkulam together with thirteen *bhū* in Muṇappu-nāḍu (and) Ālikuḍi, which is situated in the Kīlavēmbu-nāḍu belonging to the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala, on the banks of the pure river Tāmraparṇi, in the *chāraḍi* known as Srivallamaṅgalam and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the Arddhatintriḡi tree, etc.; east of Villamaṇḍa's charity and the famous Neḍuṅgulam and of the extreme limits of Śrī-Śavalakkāraṅkulam; south-east of Puliyaṅguḷa-ōḍai, Kulappirāyankulam and of the extreme limits of Bhūsura-tatāka; south of the extreme limits of Kallikkulam; south-west of the Vēlaṅguḷa channel; west of Śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya's new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of Ainākulam; north of the extreme limits of Śrīkulam, Ēryāru-Peryālaṅgulam and of Kokkantāmpāra and Panayaṅkulam; and north-east of the hill known as Muttūrmala—is to be enjoyed by (this god) Vēṅkaṭēśa as a *sarvamānya*.

(Vv. 96 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by Kṛṣṇabhūpati, the fruit of the long penance of Viśvanātha, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, Tirumala Rāja respectfully requested Sadaśivārāya, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

Vv. 105-106 mention that Sabhāpati Svayambhu wrote the *śāsana*.

V. 107 mentions that Virapāchārya, son of Virapa, engraved the document.

Vv. 108-112 : the usual imprecatory verses.

Line 214. The signature 'Śrī Virūpākṣa' in the Kannada alphabet

No. 53.—ARANG COPPER-PLATE OF BHIMASENA II.

GUPTA-SAMVAT 232.

By HIRA LAL, B.A. ; NAGPUR.

This copper-plate was found by me with Śrī Kṛishṇa Mālguzār of Ârang on my visit to that place on the 31st May 1908. Ârang is 22 miles east of Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgarh Division in the Central Provinces. It contains several ancient remains¹ and it was there that another plate in box-headed characters belonging to Mahā-Jayadêva² was found. There is also another mutilated inscription at the place on a stone in characters like those in which the inscriptions of Sirpur,³ which is 15 miles from Ârang, are engraved. The details as to the exact find-spot of our inscription are not available, as Śrī Kṛishṇa told me that it was found long ago by one of his ancestors, and as no Paṇḍits could read it, it was stowed away, so that being out of sight, it got out of mind. He, however, assured me he had heard from his ancestors that it was dug up in Ârang itself and that it was not brought from any other place. There is only one plate with an uncut ring passing through a round hole, its ends being soldered to a round seal. The plate measures $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$ and has irregular edges and an uneven surface, partly corroded. In spite of this, the letters are all visible except two or three (ll. 6 and 11) which have been much worn out and are difficult to decipher. The seal is a little brittle and has in bas-relievo a lion in a sitting posture as the family crest, beneath which are inscribed in raised letters *Śrī-mahārāja-Bhīmasēnasya*.

The inscription contains 13 lines, 9 on the obverse and 4 on the reverse side. The average size of letters is $\frac{3}{16}''$. The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets of the type, which, according to Dr. Fleet, "may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India from towards the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century A. D."⁴ There are also numerical symbols for 200, 80, 2, 10 and 8, the last being doubtful. The language of the record is Sanskrit prose except the imprecatory verse in ll. 11 and 12. In respect of orthography, we have to notice the use of the dental nasal instead of the *anusvāra* before *s* in *vanśyāṣi* (l. 10) and instead of the class nasal before a guttural in *pidān-kuryāt* (in the same line). Letters with a *repha* have been mostly doubled. The vowel sign for *i* occurs in *śrī* (l. 2) and *ā* is sometimes denoted by a short vertical stroke after the consonant to which it is joined, at other times by a top curve, especially when combined with *sa* or *pa* (ll. 2, 3, 5, 10 and 12). Final forms of *m* occur in ll. 6, 7 and 11.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named *Vaṭapallikā* in the district of *Dōṇḍā* by the *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna* II. to two Brāhmaṇas *Harisvāmin* and *Bappasvāmin*, both of the *Bharadvāja-gōtra* and students of the *Rigvēda*. The charter was issued from the *Suvarṇṇanadi* (river), where apparently the donor had gone to bathe on some festival. The genealogy of *Bhīmasēna* is given for six generations, thus:—*Bhīmasēna* (II.), son of *Dayitavarmman* (II.), son of *Bhīmasēna* (I.), son of *Vibhishana*, son of *Dayita* (I.), son of *Śūra*; but it is not clear to which particular dynasty they belonged. They are stated to have been born of a family celebrated for its dignity like that of royal ascetics (*rājarshitulyakula*).⁵ From this it

¹ Cunningham's Reports, Vol. XVII. p. 20 et seq.

² Gupta Inscriptions, p. 191.

³ Cunningham's Reports, Vol. XVII. p. 23 et seq.

⁴ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 117.

⁵ This probably refers to the Gupta family. In the Udayagiri cave inscription (vide Gupta Inscriptions, p. 35) Chandragupta II. is called "*rājādhirājarshi*," which implies that he combined in him both regal and religious qualifications, an ideal to which the feudatory chiefs would be prone to liken their own families. In reference to his sovereign lord, *Bhīmasēna* could not arrogate the title of *rājarshi* to his family and that seems to be the reason why he inserts the word *tulya* (like). For similar reasons it appears their northern feudatories called themselves *Parivardakula*, which means 'a religious household.'

may be inferred that they were something like the Parivrājaka Mahārājas of Dabhālā (Jubbulpore country) and were like them vassals of the Early (or Imperial) Guptas in whose era our inscription is dated.¹ The Parivrājaka inscriptions range from 475 to 528 A.D., and ours belongs to the Gupta year 282 or A.D. 601. Our inscription introduces us to another similar family under the overlordship of the Guptas, which apparently continued to be acknowledged, at least in Chhattisgarh, up to so late a date as the commencement of the 7th century A.D. It was in the middle of the 4th century that Samudra-Gupta conquered the Mahākṣala (Chhattisgarh) country, by defeating the then ruling king Mahendra, of whom we know nothing beyond his name and so have no materials to establish any connection between him and the dynasty of our inscription. We know that Mahendra was not ousted. He was liberated,² and his dynasty must have continued to rule for about 100 years, if Bhīmasēna's family was a different one. The first king Śūra of the latter line must have flourished in the middle of the 5th century, to judge from the number of generations which intervened between the two. In Chhattisgarh several dynasties have ruled and many inscriptions have been found, but ours is the only one among them which is dated in the Gupta era. In other parts of India, too, inscriptions referring to the Guptas have been discovered, and their era remained in use even after their imperial power had come to an end. That is, in the words of Dr. Fleet, though the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty itself may have become extinct, Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still recognised as a power down to A.D. 601. Prior to the discovery of our inscription, the latest date expressly given in the Gupta era was only 528 A.D.³ It is true that the inscriptions of the Valabhī kings shew that the Gupta era continued in use in Kāthiāwād and some neighbouring parts of Gujarāt, at least as late as A.D. 766,⁴ but the era has not been specifically named after the Guptas in them.

The exact date of our inscription appears to be the 18th of the Bhādra month of the Gupta year 282. It does not admit of verification, as the week day is not mentioned. Its English equivalent, as calculated by Mr. Gokul Prasād, Tahsildār of Dhamtarī, is Tuesday, the 22nd August 601, on the assumption that the Gupta era began on 26th February 320 A.D. which is taken as the coronation day of Chandra Gupta I.⁵ The accuracy of the above calculation cannot, however, be relied on, owing to the uncertainty as to whether the date is really the 18th, the figure for 8 being doubtful. Again, there is the question of intercalation⁶ and the alteration of the commencement of the year by the Valabhī kings who put it back 7 months, which may also interfere with the reckoning. So much, however, is certain that our inscription was recorded in the year 601 A.D. With regard to geographical names, Suvarṇanadī is apparently the Sōn, which rises from the Amarkantak hills and after a course of about 40 miles in Chhattisgarh finally joins the Ganges. It has been identified with the Sonos of Arrian as also with his Erannobos, the other Sanskrit name of the Sōn being Hiraṇyavāha or Hiraṇyavāhin. The Sōn is frequently mentioned in Hindū literature, in the *Rāmāyaṇas* of Vālmīki and Tulsīdās,

¹ [Cunningham describes (*Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 26) two silver coins of a certain Bhīmasēna, who must have belonged to a dynasty which succeeded the Guptas. The peacock device of the Guptas is continued on these coins, but the faces of the obverse are turned to the left as if to denote a change of dynasty.—Ed.]

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 12.

³ *Ibid.* Introduction, p. 8. [The Tezpur inscription dated Gupta 510 is of a different kind. See Kielhorn, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1905, pp. 465 and ff.—S. K.] [The Gañjam District plates of Śaśāṅkarāja are dated in the Gupta year 300 corresponding to A.D. 619-20 (above, Vol. VI. p. 143)—V. Venkayya.]

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 13. The Varāwal inscription is dated in Valabhī-Samvat 945 or 1264 A.D., thus extending its use to a period 500 years still later (see *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, p. 385).

⁵ Smith's *Early History of India*, 2nd Edition, p. 10.

⁶ For a discussion on this subject, see Dr. Kielhorn's postscript to my article on the 'Betūl' plates (above, Vol. VIII. p. 288).

⁷ See *Indian Antiquary*, 1902, p. 257.

the *Bhāgavata* and other works. There are numerous legends about it, one of the most picturesque assigning the origin of the Sôn and Narmadâ to two tears dropped by Brahmâ, one on either side of the Amarkantak range. Its waters possess great sanctity, the performance of *sandhyâ* on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brâhman.¹ This must therefore be the river, the third in India, as recorded by Arrian, whence Bhîmasêna issued his charter, and not another Sôn flowing in the south of the Bilâspur district, falling into the Borai which joins the Mahânadi. As for Dôṇḍâ and Vaṭapallikâ, the latter of which must be looked for in a form such as Baḍapâli or Barapâli, there are so many places in Chhattisgarh bearing these names that it is difficult to say which particular ones were meant. The nearest Dôṇḍâ or Duṇḍâ, as we now find it, is one situated 25 miles west of Âraṅg, where the plate was found, and the nearest Barapâli is 30 miles east of Âraṅg and about 50 miles east of Duṇḍâ. It is included in the present Kauḍiâ Zamîndârî on the other side of the Mahânadi. It would then appear that Âraṅg also was in those days included in the Dôṇḍâ district, and the donees, if they were residents of Âraṅg, lived half-way between the headquarters of the district and the village granted to them.

TEXT.²

Seal.

Śrî-mahârâja-Bhîmasênasya.

First Side.

- 1 Ôm³ svasti [||*] Suvarṇṇanadyâḥ [sa]rvva⁴-sadrâjarshi-tulya-kula-prabhâva-kirttêḥ
śrî-mahârâja-Sûrasya prapautraḥ prajā-
- 2 dayitasya śrî-[ma]hârâja-Dayitasya putraḥ prapata-sâmantasy-ârâti-vibhîṣaṇasya
śrî-mahârâja-Vibhîṣa-
- 3 nasya putraḥ śakti-siddhi-saṁpannô dharmma-vijayî nyây-ôpârjîit-ânêka-ratna-
gô-bhûmi-suvarṇṇa-hirany-âdi-pradaḥ śrî-
- 4 mahârâja-Bhîmasênaḥ tasya putraḥ ta[ch-chari]t-ânukârî sadbhir=mmahadbhîs=ch=
âddhyushitasadaḥ⁵ śrî-mahârâja-Dayitavarmmâ
- 5 tasya pu[tra]ḥ tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô-tya[nta]-dêva-guru-brâhmaṇa-bhaktaḥ śrî-mahârâja-
Bhîmasênaḥ kuśali Dôṇḍâ-
- 6 vaishayika-Vaṭapallikâyâm [brâhmaṇâdin=pra]tivâsinaḥ [ku]śalam=uktâ samâjñâ-
payaty=êsha grâmo mayâ
- 7 bhadra-bhôgên-aiva mâtâpitrôr=âtmanas=cha puṇyâ-bhivṛddhayê Bharadvâja-
sagôtrâbhyâm Bahvṛicha-Harivâmi-Bappasvâmbhyâm
- 8 sarvvapratyâyavân=mahâpralaya-kâ[l-â]vasthâ[py-â]grahârô dattas=tad=bhavadbhir=
anayôr=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ samuchita-
- 9 m-êya⁶ suvarṇṇa-hirany-âdi-pratyây-ôpanayaḥ karttavyaḥ [||*] yas=ch=âtra [ka]śchid=
ubbaya-lôka-nirapêkshaḥ san=daśa-

¹ See article on Sôn in the new Imperial Gazetteer.

² From the original plate.

³ [I read *pârva*.—S. K.]

⁴ Read *-mêva* [or *-mêya*] as in l. 15 of the Broach copper-plate of Saṁgamasînha (J. Bo. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 214, text-line 3).—S. K.]

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read *-ch=âddhyushita*.

१. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ५. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ६. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ७. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ८. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ९. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 १०. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ११. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 १२. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥

१. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ४. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ५. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ६. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ७. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ८. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ९. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 १०. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ११. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 १२. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥

Second Side.

- 10 bhir=atâtair=âgâmbhiḥ=ch=aitâvadbhiḥ svavansy[ai]h¹ sah=âdhô [y]iyâsuḥ svalpâm=api
pîdân=ku[ryyâ]t²=kârayâd=anumanyêta vâ sa pañcha-
- 11 bhir=mmahâpâtakair=upapâtakais=cha sa[m]yuktaḥ [syât punaś=ch=â]sminn=arthô
bhagavatâ Vyâsên=âbhihitam shashtim varsha-sahasrâni
- 12 svarggê môdati bhûmidah [i*] âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê
vasêd=ity=êvamâdi-slôkâḥ Guptânâm samvatsa-
- 13 ra-śatê 200 80 2 Bhâdra di 10 8³ dûtakaś=cha rājaputra-Subhadrah
utkirṇam cha Lakshmanên=êti || ||

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1 to 4.) Om! Hail! From **Suvarṇanadi**; the illustrious **Mahârāja Bhimasêna**, possessed of power and success, triumphant with virtue (and) giver of many lawfully acquired jewels, cows, land, gold, precious metals, etc. (*was*) the great grandson of the illustrious **Mahârāja Śûra**, (*who was*) equal to all virtuous royal sages in lineage, power and fame, the grandson of the illustrious **Mahârāja Dayita**, beloved of his subjects, the son of the illustrious **Mahârāja Vibhishana** to whom feudatory kings bowed (*and who was*) terrific to his enemies.

(Ll. 4 to 6.) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Mahârāja Dayitavarman**, the follower of his (father's) conduct, whose court was attended by great and good (*personages*). His son (*is*) the illustrious **Mahârāja Bhimasêna**, who meditates on his (father's) feet and is extremely devoted to the gods, preceptors and Brâhman. (*He*) being in good health (*and*) wishing good luck to Brâhman and other (*inhabitants*) of **Vaṭapallikâ** in the district of **Dôṇḍâ**, orders (*as follows*):—

(Ll. 6 to 8.) This village is given by me, while ruling prosperously, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) mother, father and myself, to **Harisvâmin** and **Bappa-svâmin** (*both*) of the **Bharadvâja gôtra**, (*students*) of the **Rigvêda**, as an **agrahâra**,⁴ with all taxes, and lasting up to the time of the great dissolution of the universe.

(Ll. 8 to 13.) Therefore, being obedient to their commands, you should render (*to them*) in proper manner the taxes such as gold and bullion, etc. If anybody, being regardless of the two worlds⁵ and wishing to go to hell with ten past and (*a similar number of*) future (*generations*) of his family, does, causes to be done, or assents to even a small harm to this (*charity*), he would become joined with five great⁶ sins and also minor sins. Moreover, in this matter it has been said by the venerable **Vyâsa**: "the giver of land enjoys in heaven for sixty thousand years, (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell," and so forth (*in other*) verses. In the year of the **Guptas** in hundreds 200, 80 2 (*in the month of*) **Bhâdra** on the day 10 8(?). Prince **Subhadra** was the **dûtaka** (officer carrying the king's orders). Engraved by **Lakshmana**.

¹ Read °camîyâiḥ.² Read pîdâm kuryyât.³ I am indebted to Dr. Konow in helping me to elucidate these somewhat curiously formed figures.⁴ A grant made in favour of a god or a Brâhmana.⁵ I.e. regardless of the consequences which may follow in this and the next world.⁶ For these see *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, verse 227 of the *Prâyaścittâdhyâya*. They are: killing a Brâhman, drinking, theft, visiting a preceptor's wife, and association with any of these offences. The minor offences are enumerated further on from verses 234 to 242.

INDEX.¹

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

A	PAGE	PAGE
Abhimanya, <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i> ,	172	Ādinagar, vi., 230, 231n, 233
Abhinanda, m.,	116	Ādinātha, <i>Jaina saint</i> , 81n, 148, 151
Abhinavasiddharāja, <i>sur. of Jayantasimha</i> ,	118n	Ādipurāṇa, <i>quoted</i> , 205n
Ābhīra, s. a. Ahīr,	279	Āditya I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , 88, 89n
Ābhōṇa, vi.,	296	Āditya II., <i>do.</i> , 84, 234n, 235
Āblār, vi.,	261	Ādityabhaṭa, m., 190
Ābū, <i>mo.</i> , 10n, 12, 62n, 63, 64n, 67n, 71n, 72n, 73, 79, 80n, 81, 82, 83n, 114n, 148, 153, 159, 189		Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka, <i>te.</i> , 47
Ābūhōlā, <i>queen</i> ,	140, 141	Ādityama Penna, m., 316
Abul Fazl,	307, 309n	Ādiyasetṭi, m., 22
Achala (Sthānn), s. a. Śiva,	155n	Ādoṇḍai, <i>mythical Chōla prince</i> , 89n
Achalēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	79, 80, 143, 149	aḍukku, 93n
Achæmenids,	139	Aghaṭēśvarī, <i>te.</i> , 74
Āchārya,	139, 140, 145, 146	agnihōtra, 40, 299
a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya,	296	agnihōtrin, 106, 107, 115, 116, 117, 119
Achchuvadi, s. a. Aśvati,	237	Agnikulas, the thirty-six, 178
Achyutadēva-āya, Achyutarāya or Achyutēndra, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> ,	330, 340	agnikuṇḍa, 151, 155n
Achyutarāyābhilyudayam, <i>poem</i> ,	330	Āgrā, vi., 181n, 241
Ādam Shāh, <i>ch.</i> ,	303n	agrahāra, 40, 95, 132, 133, 300, 345
Adarśanadēva, m.,	288	Āgrahāyana, s. a. Mārgaśīrsha, 119
Adbhutakṛishṇarāja, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	11	agraja or agrajanman, the first-born son, 55n
Addanki, vi.,	50	Abichchhatrapura, vi., 71n
addhika, s. a. ārdhika,	59n	Abila, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddāla</i> , 71, 83
adhikāri,	236, 239, 316	Ahir, tribe, 279n
adhirājārāja,	22, 23	Āhlāḷana, s. a. Ālhapa, 72, 83
adhiśthāna (residence?),	47	Ahmad Niā'tigin, <i>ch.</i> , 321
Ādichchan, m.,	235, 237, 238, 239n	Ahmad Shāh, <i>ch.</i> , 308n
Ādil Khān, <i>Fārūqī k.</i> ,	307, 308, 310	Ahmed Shāh Bahmani, <i>Bahmani k.</i> , 105n
Ādil Khān, <i>sur. of Miran Ghani</i> ,	310	Āhmanasrāma, m., 296, 299
Ādil Si āh, <i>sur. of Miran Ādil Khān</i> ,	307	Ahwan Khān, <i>sur. of Miran Ghani</i> , 307, 310
Ādil Shāh, <i>sur. of Rāja Alī Khān</i> ,	306, 307, 308n, 309, 310	Āi (Āryā), 140n
Ādil Shāh Aynā, <i>sur. of Miran Ghani</i> ,	307, 310	Aihole, vi., 317
Ādil Shāh Āzim-ū-Humāyūn, s. a. Ādil Khān, 307, 308n, 309, 310		Āilāvalṭpuravarādhātēvara, <i>biruda</i> , 340, 341
		Āla-i-Aḥbari, <i>quoted</i> , 124n, 143n, 207
		Airāvata, <i>elephant</i> , 181
		Ālāna, m., 316
		Aivarmalai, vi., 88
		Aipanākūlam or Ainākūlam, vi., 331, 341
		Ajabakumāri, <i>queen of Dikpālādēva</i> , 165

¹ The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the Additions and Corrections on pp. vii and viii. The following other abbreviations are used:—ch. = chief; co. = country; di. = district or division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; f. = female; k. = king; m. = male; mo. = mountain; vi. = river; s. a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; vi. = village or town; W. = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Ajaina, m.,	6	Ālupa, family,	15, 16, 17, 20, 22
Ajayadēva, ch.,	119	Ālupai, s. a. Āluvāy,	15
Ajayavarman, Paramāra k.,	105, 114, 121	Ālupendra, biruda,	16, 20, 21, 22, 23
Ajayi, m.,	116	Āluva, s. a. Ālupa,	15, 16, 17, 20
Ajja, s. a. Ārya,	278	Āluvakhēda, six thousand, di.,	16, 17
Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikā, queen of Narēndrasēna,	269	Āluvarāja, biruda,	16
Ajjhitadēvi, queen of the Uchchakalpa ch. Vyāghra,	269n	Āluvarasa, do.,	21, 23
Ajmēr Singh, ch.,	166	Āluvāy (Alwe), vi.,	15
ājñapti,	48, 50, 133	Ālva, s. a. Ālupa,	17, 22
Akalanka, Jaina teacher,	266n	Ālvakhēda, s. a. Āluvakhēda,	16
Akālavarsha, sur. of Kṛishṇa II.,	25, 28, 40	Ālvarasa, s. a. Āluvarasa,	22
Akbar, Mughal emperor,	306	Āmadēva, m.,	119
Akola, vi.,	107	Amarakaṇṭak, hill,	269, 343
Akolā or Akolā-sthāna, s. a. Akola,	107, 116	Amaraprabhasūri, Jaina teacher,	154
akṣasālin,	272, 274	Amarāvatī, vi.,	136, 262n
akṣaya-tritīyā,	71n, 74	Amarēśvara or Amarēśvara-tirtha, vi.,	120
ālaku (ālaku), measure,	92, 93	Amarēśvaradēva, te.,	119
alamkāra,	166	Amarēśvara-kṣētra, s. a. Amarēśvara,	119, 120
Alandi, vi.,	200	amātya,	132
Al Beruni,	284n	Ambā or Ambikā, goddess,	257n
Alexander,	139	Ambalavāsi, caste,	236
Ālhaṇa or Ālhaṇadēva, Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla,	62, 63, 64, 67, 72, 80, 83, 159	Ambāsamudra, vi.,	84, 85n, 88, 93n, 238n
Alī Khān, ch.,	303n	Ambikā, Jaina goddess,	151, 156n
Ālikūḍi, vi.,	331, 341	Āmbūr, vi.,	87
Allahābād, vi.,	181n, 184n, 293	Amma or Ammarāja I., E. Chalukya k.,	49, 50, 55, 134
Alli, m.,	116	Amma or Ammarāja II., do.,	47, 48, 50, 55, 56, 131, 132, 133n
alphabets :—		Ammakunde, s. a. Anmakonḍa,	257, 259, 266
box-headed,	171, 268, 282, 342	Amoghavarsha I., Rāshtrakūṭa k.,	26, 27, 251
Brāhmī,	139n, 239, 240, 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 292	Amoghavarsha III., do.,	3n, 28
Dēvanāgarī,	123	Amoghavarsha, sur. of Kakkarāja II.,	3n
Grantha,	85, 234	Amoghavarsha, sur. of Vākpatirāja II.,	71
Hindi,	294	Amṛitadēvi, queen of Pūrṇapāla,	11
Kanarese or Kannaḍa,	258, 328, 339n, 341	Amṛitaghaṭēśvara, te.,	208, 209, 213
Kharōṣṭhī,	136n, 137, 139n, 240	Amṛitakund, tank,	185
Malayālam,	234	amṛitayōga,	207
Nāgarī,	1, 2, 11, 63, 67, 70, 79, 94, 104, 117, 150, 161, 163, 166, 167, 175, 182, 302, 306, 311, 312, 319	amṛtembavaragaṇḍa,	329
Nandināgarī,	328	Āmuktamālyada, Telugu poem,	330n and add.
Oṛiyā,	293, 294	Amvulaka (Ambulaka), s. a. Amvullaka,	2
Persian,	137, 306	Amvullaka (Ambullaka), vi.,	2
Śāradā,	300	Anahilapāṭaka, vi.,	71, 72, 105
Telugu,	48, 131, 162, 163, 164, 175, 311	Anahilla, Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla,	64, 67, 71, 80, 83
Vaṭṭeluttu,	85, 88, 234	Anahillapura, s. a. Anahilapāṭaka,	72
Ālpa, s. a. Ālupa,	16	Anahula, Rāshtrakūṭa ch.,	67
Āluarasa, sur. of Guṇa 4,	16	Ānandajñāna, Advaita teacher,	296
		Ānandasūri, Jaina teacher,	154
		Ananta, m.,	116
		Anantapāla, ch.,	261

	PAGE		PAGE
Anantasvâmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288	ariyasachchas, the four,	292
Anautavarman, <i>sur. of E. Gaṅga kings</i> ,	95, 322	Arjumand Bânu Bêgam, <i>queen of Shâh Jehân</i> ,	306n
Aparudha, <i>m.</i> ,	303	Arjuna, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	165
Âṇḍâl, <i>Śrīvaiṣṇava saint</i> ,	330n	Arjuna, Arjunadêva or Arjunavarman,	
Âṇḍâlî, <i>s. a. Ândnî</i> ,	167, 168, 170	<i>Paramâra k.</i> ,	104, 105, 107, 108, 109n,
Andhra, <i>co.</i> ,	257, 260, 269	114, 118n, 120, 121n	
Ândnî (Âñjñî), <i>vi.</i> ,	168	Arjunêśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	223, 224
aṅga,	103	Arkkadêva, <i>ch.</i> ,	272
Aṅga, <i>co.</i> ,	326	Armian Shâh, <i>ch.</i> ,	308n
Aṅgâra (Aṅgiras), <i>rishi</i> ,	184	Arṇôrâja, <i>Châhamâna k. of Śâkambharî</i> ,	67n
Anivârîta-Puṇyavallabha, <i>m.</i> ,	203n	Arrian,	343, 344
Anmakonḍa, <i>vi.</i> ,	256, 257, 259n, 260, 261, 262	Ârriṅgal, <i>vi.</i> ,	234n
Anmakundâ, <i>s. a. Anmakonḍa</i> ,	257, 265	Artas, <i>ch.</i> ,	139
Ânnalladêva, <i>Châhamâna k. of Śâkambharî</i> ,	67n	artha,	113n
Annalladêvi, <i>queen of Âlhanadêva</i> ,	67, 83	Arundhati, <i>f.</i> ,	316
Annamdêva or Annamrâja, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	165, 166	Ârya, <i>tribe</i> ,	277, 278
antapâla, <i>a frontier-guard</i> ,	2n	Âryadiṇḍa, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Anuḷam, <i>s. a. Anurâdhâ</i> ,	210n	Âryan,	311
Anumakonḍa, <i>s. a. Anmakonḍa</i> ,	257n, 261	Âśâdhara, <i>Jaina author</i> ,	107, 108, 118
Anuruddhasvâmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288	Âśâdhara, <i>m.</i> ,	116
anusvâra,	25, 41, 57, 175, 182, 188, 247, 258,	Âsala, <i>Kérâdu ch.</i> ,	72
273, 277, 312		Âsarâja or Âsarâja, <i>s. a. Âśârâja</i> ,	67, 80,
Anyor, <i>vi.</i> ,	147	81, 82, 83, 152	
Aparâjita, <i>Guhila k.</i> ,	188	Âśârâja, <i>Châhamâna k. of Naddûla</i> ,	64, 67n,
Aparâjita or Aparâjitavikramavarman, <i>s. a.</i>		72, 82, 83	
Vijaya-Aparâjitavikramavarman,	87, 88	Ashab Shâh, <i>ch.</i> ,	308n
Aparâjita-ohaturvêdimangalam, <i>s. a. Ukkal</i> ,	87, 88	Ashghar, <i>ch.</i> ,	308n
Aparâjîtêsa, <i>te.</i> ,	74	Ashtasâhasrikâ, <i>work</i> ,	321
appakkâykkari,	92n	Asirgarb, <i>vi.</i> ,	306
Araisûr, <i>vi.</i> ,	86, 88, 91	Asnî, <i>vi.</i> ,	4
Arakella, <i>m.</i> ,	23	Âśôka, <i>Maurya emperor</i> ,	136, 137, 248, 287n
Ârang, <i>vi.</i> ,	171, 172, 282n, 283, 342, 344	Âśrama-sthâna, <i>vi.</i> ,	107, 115
Ârangyarâja, <i>Paramâra k.</i> ,	11	aśvamêdha, <i>sacrifice</i> ,	133
Ârâsana or Ârâsanâkara, <i>vi.</i> ,	191	Aśvapâla, <i>Châhamâna k. of Naddûla</i> ,	71, 83
Âravîṭi-Bukka, <i>Karṇâṭa ch.</i> ,	329	aśvapati,	321
Âravîṭîpura, <i>vi.</i> ,	329	Aśvati, <i>s. a. Aśvini</i> ,	210n, 235, 237
Arbuda, <i>s. a. Âbû</i> ,	12, 71, 80, 81, 148, 149,	Atharva-Vêda,	146, 240
151, 152, 154, 189n		atithisantarpana,	40
Arbuda-mâhâtmya,	189n	Ativirarâma-Pândya, <i>Pândya k.</i> ,	331
Arbuda-maṇḍala, <i>co.</i> ,	11, 12, 151	Atri, <i>rishi</i> ,	26, 38, 185n, 186
Arcot, <i>vi.</i> ,	231	Attam, <i>s. a. Hasta</i> ,	210
Ardhatintrîṇi (Arappulî ?),	331, 341	attippêru,	235, 237n
ârdhika or ardhasîrin,	59n	avabhîṭha,	204
Arhat,	67	avagraha,	67, 70, 104, 117
Ârigôm, <i>s. a. Hâḍigrâma</i> ,	300, 301	Âvalladêvi, <i>Hûna princess</i> ,	3
Arikêasari Parâkrama-Pândya, <i>Pândya k.</i> ,	330, 331n	Avalôkitêśvara, <i>Buddhist god</i> ,	301, 302
Arisimha, <i>author</i> ,	73n	Avâṅgânaka, <i>family</i> ,	199
Âriyakulam, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341	Avanivarman, <i>Chaulukya ch.</i> ,	3
		Avanivarman I., <i>Châlukya ch.</i> ,	1, 2, 3

	PAGE		PAGE
Bhadradēva, <i>m.</i> ,	192	Bheem Sen pillar,	248
Bhadra-vāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288	bhikkhu,	144, 146
Bhadreśvara, <i>m.</i> ,	115	bhikṣu,	291
bhāga-bhōgākara, <i>tax</i> ,	305	Bhil, <i>tribe</i> ,	188
Bhāgalpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	26n, 28	Bhilamālaku, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Bhagavadgītā,	200	Bhilima, <i>s. a.</i> Bhillama,	72
Bhagavat,	172, 269, 284, 317, 319	Bhillāditya, <i>Pratihāra ch.</i> ,	280
Bhāgavata, <i>purāṇa</i> ,	343	Bhillama, <i>Yādava k.</i> ,	72, 83n
Bhagavati, <i>goddess</i> ,	236	Bhima, <i>ch.</i> ,	260
Bhāgiratha, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	164n	Bhima, <i>k.</i> ,	322
Bhāgirathī, <i>s. a.</i> Ganges,	270	Bhima, <i>m.</i> ,	127, 153
Bhāgudalana, <i>m.</i> ,	289, 290	Bhima I., <i>s. a.</i> Chālukya-Bhima I.,	132n
Bhai Raj, <i>s. a.</i> Bhairavadēva,	165	Bhima or Bhimadēva I., <i>Chaulukya k.</i> , 71, 72,	
Bhairamadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	166	81, 83n, 148, 149, 151	
Bhairamgarh, <i>vi.</i> ,	160, 161, 164	Bhima or Bhimarāja II., <i>s. a.</i> Chālukya-Bhima	
Bhairamguḍī, <i>shrine</i> ,	161, 164	II.,	133, 134
Bhairava II., <i>Kaṣa-Kārkaṣa ch.</i> ,	174	Bhima or Bhīmasēna, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	113, 255
Bhairavadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	165	Bhimadēva II., <i>Chaulukya k.</i> ,	73, 83
Bhāndaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	162n	Bhimānā, <i>vi.</i> ,	150
bhaṇḍārī,	313, 316 and add.	Bhīmasēna I., <i>k.</i> ,	342, 345
Bhañja, <i>family</i> ,	273, 274	Bhīmasēna II., <i>k.</i> ,	342, 343, 344, 345
Bhānu or Bhānudēva, <i>Kākāira ch.</i> , 123, 124,		Bhinmāl (Bhīnmāl), <i>vi.</i> ,	72, 73, 74
127, 128, 183, 184		Bhīttarrās, <i>vi.</i> ,	185
Bhārasīva, <i>tribe</i> ,	269n, 270	bhōga, <i>a district</i> ,	16
Bharata (author of the <i>nāṭyaśāstra</i>),	73	Bhōga, <i>m.</i> ,	169
Bharatapāla, <i>m.</i> ,	116	Bhōgasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	298
Bhārati, <i>s. a.</i> Sarasvatī,	266	Bhōgavardhana, <i>di.</i> ,	296, 299
Bharhut, <i>vi.</i> ,	136	Bhōgavati, <i>vi.</i> ,	161, 163, 178, 181, 312, 315, 316
Bhāruṇḍa, <i>vi.</i> ,	11n, 13n	bhōgika or bhōgin,	273, 299
Bhāskara, <i>m.</i> ,	6	Bhōja, <i>k.</i> ,	28, 329
Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa, <i>astronomer</i> ,	28	Bhōja or Bhōjadēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , 72, 83n,	
Bhāskara-Ravivarman, <i>k.</i> ,	85, 238n	105, 113, 118, 151, 230	
Bhāskarasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	282, 284	Bhōjadēva I., <i>Kanauj k.</i> , 1, 2, 3, 4, 192, 249, 250	
Bhaṭārka, <i>Valabhi k.</i> ,	195	Bhōpalladēvi, <i>queen of Karparājā</i> , 182, 183,	
bhaṭṭa,	273n	185, 187	
bhaṭṭanāyaka,	313, 316	Bhramarakōṭya-maṇḍala, <i>di.</i> , 176, 178, 179,	
bhaṭṭāraka (bhaṭṭārakar), 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 316		181, 312	
Bhaṭṭāraka, <i>viruda of Vijayāditya I.</i> ,	55, 134	Bhrigu, <i>m.</i> ,	115
bhaṭṭārāṇaka,	169, 170	Bhrigukachchha, <i>vi.</i> ,	251
Bhaṭṭōji-dīkṣhita, <i>grammarian</i> ,	206n	bhū, <i>land measure (?)</i> ,	341
Bhāva, <i>m.</i> ,	6	Bhuiya, <i>tribe</i> ,	184n
Bhāva-Brihaspati, <i>temple priest</i> ,	4	Bhujabala-Mahārāja, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> ,	174
Bhavadēva, <i>ch.</i> ,	162n	bhukti,	282, 284
Bhāvadēva, <i>m.</i> ,	316	Bhumabhuvaka, <i>ch.</i> ,	199
Bhavagṛpta, <i>ch.</i> ,	11	bhūmichchhidra-nyāya,	5, 10, 299
Bhavanāga, <i>Bhārasīva ch.</i> ,	270n	Bhūmīśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	224
Bhavāni, <i>s. a.</i> Pārvatī,	38, 60, 61	Bhunzu, <i>s. a.</i> Bhañja,	274n
Bhavāni, <i>te.</i> ,	60, 61n, 62	Bhūpālādēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	166
Bhaviṣya-purāṇa,	279	bhūsphōṭa, <i>a mushroom</i> ,	71
Bhavya, <i>the Jaina community</i> ,	265	Bhūsuratāṭaka, <i>s. a.</i> Pāppāṅkuḷam,	331, 341

	PAGE
bhuvana-śāle,	174
Bihar, <i>co.</i> ,	42
bijak,	125
Bijaoli, Bijolia or Bijholi, <i>s. a.</i> Bijoli,	62
Bijjalendra, <i>k.</i> ,	329
Bijoli, <i>vi.</i> ,	62, 71n
Bilhana, <i>ch.</i> ,	107
Bilhana, <i>poet.</i> ,	15, 178
Bilhari, <i>vi.</i> ,	3
birudamainniyavibhāla,	330
boar, <i>crest.</i> ,	48, 99, 131, 133, 201, 274n, 328
Bōdh Gayā, <i>vi.</i> ,	286, 287
Bōdhisattva,	190n, 290, 291
Bōdrā, <i>fort.</i> ,	161
Borai, <i>vi.</i> ,	344
borisalo, <i>the Maliah Pātra</i> ,	177n
Bōtaka, <i>m.</i> ,	190
Bōtasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	282, 284
bow, <i>crest.</i> ,	181, 313
Bōya-Padda, <i>m.</i> ,	259, 267
Bōygavarma, <i>m.</i> ,	21
Brahmakshatri, <i>caste.</i> ,	195
Brahman, <i>god.</i> , 26, 37, 38, 42, 67, 75 <i>add.</i> , 115n, 125n, 191, 266, 327, 343	
Brahman, <i>m.</i> ,	116
Brahma-siddhānta, 12, 119, 130, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 223, 224, 225, 226	
Brahmaujhāka, <i>m.</i> ,	316 and <i>add.</i>
Brihadāranyakōpanishadbhāshyaṭikā, <i>quoted.</i> ,	296n
brihadbhōgin,	273n
Brihad-gaṇachha, <i>school of Jaina teachers.</i> ,	71
Brihatsamhitā, <i>quoted.</i> ,	269, 278
British Museum, 57, 135, 239, 248, 329, 330n, 332n, 335n	
Broach, <i>vi.</i> ,	344n
Buchkalā, <i>vi.</i> ,	198, 199
Buddha, <i>god.</i> ,	141, 146, 190, 292, 293, 320, 327
Buddha, <i>Nātarādi ch.</i> ,	262n
Buddhadēva, <i>Buddhist teacher.</i> , 139, 140, 144, 145	
Buddharāja, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> ,	296
Euddharāja, <i>Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi ch.</i> ,	260n
Buddhila (Buddhila), <i>Buddhist teacher.</i> , 139, 140, 144, 146	
Buddhism,	301
Buddhist, 56n, 135, 138, 140, 162n, 190, 201, 266n, 290, 291, 292, 293, 321	
Bukkamā, <i>queen of Īśvara.</i> ,	340
Buguda,	42, 272, 274, 320n
Burud, <i>vi.</i> ,	169n
Bundelkhand, <i>di.</i> ,	284n

	PAGE
Burhānpūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	306, 308
Burma, <i>co.</i> ,	231
Burud, <i>vi.</i> ,	120
Busbalrao, <i>Vijayanagara prince.</i> ,	174
Būṭā, <i>f.</i> ,	189
Butkā Sudh, <i>tribe.</i> ,	184n

C

Calcutta Museum,	291
calf, <i>crest.</i> ,	161, 163, 312, 315, 316
Cambay, <i>vi.</i> ,	27
Ceylon, <i>island.</i> ,	87n, 178, 230, 234n
Chabbi, Chhabbi or Chhebbi, <i>s. a.</i> Sebbi,	258n
Chacha, <i>ch.</i> ,	11
Chācha, <i>s. a.</i> Chāchiga,	74, 83
Chāchiga or Chāchigadēva, <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i> <i>Naddūla.</i> ,	70, 71, 73, 74, 83, 278n
Chāgi, <i>family.</i> ,	260n
Chāhamāna, <i>do.</i> , 13n, 62, 63, 67, 71, 79, 80, 81, 152, 158, 251	
Chāhamāna, <i>k.</i> ,	71
Chāhamāna, <i>s. a.</i> Chāhamāna, 62, 64, 71n, 73, 74, 79, 82	
Chāhuvāma, Chāhuvāna or Chāhuvāna, <i>do.</i> , 81, 152	
chaitya,	150
Chakrakōṭa or Chakrakōṭṭa, <i>s. a.</i> Chakrakōṭya, 178, 179, 230	
Chakrakōṭya, <i>vi.</i> ,	178, 179
Chakrakōṭya-maṇḍala, <i>di.</i> ,	181
Chakrakōṭṭa, <i>vi.</i> ,	48, 49
Chakrapāni, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu,	270
Chakrāyudha, <i>k.</i> ,	4, 26, 28
chakrin (chakravartin),	258, 266
chakrin, <i>a provincial chief.</i> ,	259n
Chalikka, <i>k.</i> ,	329
Chalikya, <i>s. a.</i> Chalukya (Western),	99, 101
Chālukya, <i>family.</i> ,	1, 2, 3, 7n
Chalukya or Chālukya, Eastern, <i>dy.</i> , 27, 39, 47, 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, 132, 133, 179n, 261n, 317, 322	
Chalukya, Chalukya, Chālukya or Chālukya, Western, <i>dy.</i> , 15, 16, 26, 38, 162, 165, 166n, 201, 202, 204, 230, 258, 260, 261, 262, 265, 266, 317, 319	
Chālukya-Bhima I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	50, 55, 134
Chālukya-Bhima II., <i>do.</i> ,	48, 49
Chālukyachakravartin, <i>sur. of Taila III.</i> ,	258n
Chālukyachūdāmaṇi, <i>title.</i> ,	260n
Chamba, <i>State.</i> ,	284n
Chammak, <i>vi.</i> ,	268, 271n

	PAGE		PAGE
Chāmunda, goddess,	74	Chhikkōra, family,	320, 322, 326
Chāmundaipai, f.,	233	Chhindaka, s. a. Sinda,	176, 178, 181
Chāmundaṛāja, Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla, 73, 83		Chhittā, m.,	116
chāṇḍāla, an outcaste,	125n	Chhurikāra Mēdipōta, s. a. Mēdipōta, 176, 177, 181	
Chāṇḍasimha, m.,	149	chhuriprabandha,	177, 181
Chāṇḍavarman, Śālaṅkāyana k.,	58	Chicacole, vi.,	95
Chandayika, m.,	195	Chikhali, vi.,	167, 168, 169
Chand Bardai, poet,	178	Chikhalivāṭaka, vi.,	95
Chandēlla, family,	62, 165	Chipurupalle, vi.,	318
Chandikā, s. a. Pārvati,	71	Chitrakaṇṭha, horse,	101, 201, 205
Chandra or Chandradēva, Kanauj k., 302, 303,		Chitrakūṭ, vi.,	161
304, 320, 323, 327		Chitrakūṭa or Chitrakōṭa, vi.,	179
Chandrāditya, W. Chalukya prince,	102	Chitrarathasvāmin, te.,	58, 59
Chandragupta I., Gupta k.,	343	Chitravāha or Chitravāhana I., Ālupa k.,	16
Chandragupta II., do.,	342n	Chitravāhana, Ālupa (?) k.,	16
Chandraka, m.,	192	Chitravāhana II., Ālupa k.,	16, 17, 18
Chandrakaṇṭha, m.,	115	Chitrōtpalā, s. a. Mahānadi,	184n
Chandrasvāmi, m.,	288	Chōḍa, s. a. Chōḷa,	322
Chandrāvati, vi., 12, 62n, 80, 81, 82, 83n, 149,		Chōḍa or Chōḍi, s. a. Rājendra-Chōḍa,	262n
151, 302, 304		Chōḍagaṅgadēva, E. Gāṅga k.,	95, 322
Chanduka, Pratihāra ch.,	280	Chohān, s. a. Chāhamāna,	82n
Chāṅgāḷva, family,	16	Chōḷa, co., 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 92n, 93n,	
Chāpa, do.,	3, 4	101n, 165, 166n, 178, 179n, 201, 205, 206,	
Chapkā, vi.,	160, 161, 166	207, 217, 225n, 229, 230, 231, 233n, 234n,	
chār,	234n	235, 260, 322, 340	
charu,	40, 95, 299	Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya, family,	84
Chārudēvi, queen of Vijaya-Buddhavarman,	57	chōḷlikā,	5n
chāṭa, s. a. chār,	172n, 284n	Chūdāsamā, family,	4
chāṭabhaṭa,	5	Chullaṇḍaraka (Chulāudur), vi.,	282, 283, 284
Chattullihā, vi.,	42, 43, 47	Cochin, vi.,	85
chaturvēda,	106, 116, 117, 119	Conjeeveram, vi.,	88n, 92n, 205n and add.
Chāudhārī, m.,	316	Cuttack, di.,	286
Chaulukya, family, 3, 71, 72, 73, 81, 83n, 105,			
118n, 148, 149, 151, 168n			
chaurī,	24		
chāvāḍi,	331, 341		
Chēbrōlu, vi.,	259, 260		
Chēdi, co.,	3, 27, 39, 48, 269, 321, 322		
Chēngunnūr (Chēngannūr), vi.,	236		
Chēra, co.,	86n, 234n, 340		
Chhādrū, m.,	318		
Chhādrūka, m.,	316		
Chhaharāta, s. a. Khabarāta,	139n		
Chhalamattigaṇḍa, sur. of Gaṇapati,	165		
Chhanṭū, m.,	169		
Chhatrapa, s. a. Kshatrapa,	139		
Chhattisgarh, di.,	184n, 294, 343, 344		
Chhātū, s. a. Chhanṭū,	170		
Chhēdivāmi, m.,	288		
Chhēdivāmi, m.,	288		

D

Dabhālā, co.,	343
Dadhikarṇa, Nāga te.,	241
Dāhala or Dāhāla, s. a. Chēdi,	48, 55, 321
Daityasūdana, te.,	105
Dakshinākōśala, co.,	294
dakshināsamudrādhipati, biruda,	330
Dakshina-Virāṭa (Southern Berār), co.,	281
Dālana, m.,	116
Dālhanadēvi, queen of Gōvindachandra,	321
Dālana, m.,	116
Dalpatdēva, Bastar ch.,	166
Dāmara Prithvihara, ch.,	300
Dāmōdara, m.,	68, 116, 127, 169, 170
Danārdana (Janārdana), m.,	180n, 181
dānavira,	114n

	PAGE
Dandabhukti, <i>di.</i> ,	231, 232
dandāddhinātha,	258, 265
dandānāyaka,	246, 261, 290
dandapāsika,	5
dandapati,	81, 149, 151
Dandimahādēvi, <i>queen</i> ,	272n, 273n
dandōddharapika,	5
Dankini, <i>vi.</i> ,	161
Dantēsvari, <i>te.</i> ,	160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 176
Dantēwārā, <i>vi.</i> ,	160, 163, 164, 165, 176
Dantidurga, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> ,	26, 38, 193, 196
Danu, <i>demon</i> ,	319
Darbharanyēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	212
Dārīā, <i>m.</i> ,	181
Darijī, <i>vi.</i> ,	67
Darius, <i>k.</i> ,	139
Dārokhāṇḍī, <i>m.</i> ,	274
Daryāodēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	166
daśaharā, <i>tithi</i> ,	223n
Daśaratha, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	80n, 340
Daśaratha, <i>Prāgrāṭa ch.</i> ,	152
Daśasyandana (Daśaratha), <i>sur. of Vijaya</i> , 80,	83, 152
Daśāvatāra cave,	26
daśerah, <i>festival</i> ,	177n
dates :—	
recorded in numerical symbols, 57, 59, 171,	
240, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246,	
288, 296, 300, 342, 345	
recorded in numerical words, 55, 95, 134,	
154, 296, 330, 340	
Datrabhīlvamālakuya, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Datta, <i>m.</i> ,	6
Dattakamīmāmsā, <i>quoted</i> ,	165n and add.
Dattasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	282, 284
Daulatābād, <i>vi.</i> ,	193, 195
dāvāṇi (dāmani),	18n
Dāwūd Khān, <i>Fārūqī k.</i> ,	307, 310
dayāvira,	114n
Dayita I., <i>k.</i> ,	342, 345
Dayitavarman II., <i>k.</i> ,	342, 345

days, lunar :—

bright fortnight :—

first,	152, 207, 215
second,	158, 159, 213, 215, 278, 279
third,	71n, 119, 176, 214, 216, 223, 224
fifth,	199, 208, 210, 212, 301, 302
sixth,	1, 2, 3, 4, 210, 211, 250, 256
seventh,	25, 40, 130, 210

	PAGE
eighth,	80, 81, 209, 214
ninth,	155, 216
tenth,	223, 309
eleventh,	119, 120, 215, 304, 306, 309
twelfth,	162, 163n, 208, 216
thirteenth,	211, 212, 216
fourteenth,	63, 64, 224, 225
fifteenth (pañchadaśī)	296, 300, 304
full-moon, 95, 105, 106, 161, 201, 206, 312, 316	
dark fortnight :—	
first,	294, 296
second,	209
third,	164, 217, 343, 345
fifth,	67, 68, 124, 128, 129n
seventh,	290
eighth,	81, 159, 203
ninth,	12, 82, 154, 155, 210
tenth,	57, 59, 129, 130, 167, 169, 226
eleventh,	212, 224
twelfth,	68n, 211, 225
thirteenth,	56, 134
fourteenth,	171
fifteenth,	42, 47, 102, 259, 267
new-moon,	330, 340

days, solar :—

sixth,	223
eighth,	224
thirteenth,	212, 213n, 223
fifteenth,	220n
sixteenth,	214
twenty-first,	229n
twenty-third,	229n
twenty-fifth,	220n
thirtieth,	228n
thirty-first,	228n

days of the week :—

Sunday, 63, 64, 119, 129, 159, 162, 163,	
167, 170, 174, 207, 208, 210, 217, 218,	
219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227,	
228, 229, 235, 237, 301, 304	
Monday, 67, 68, 80, 81, 82, 102, 118,	
125, 130, 154, 155, 167, 169, 208, 210,	
211, 213, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220,	
221, 222, 226, 227, 228, 229, 235, 259,	
267, 306, 309, 330, 340	
Tuesday, 106, 124, 129, 211, 212, 214,	
215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223,	
226, 227, 343	

	PAGE		PAGE
Wednesday, 81, 124, 129, 158, 159, 161, 162, 176, 181, 208, 209, 212, 213, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 226, 227, 228, 229, 278, 312, 316		Dévendravarman, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	95
Thursday, 56 and add., 106, 119, 120, 212, 214, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 226, 227, 229, 304		Devrā, <i>sub-tribe of Chokāns</i> ,	82n
Friday, 56 add., 134, 152, 212, 218, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 250, 256		Dēvu, <i>m.</i> ,	19
Saturday, 208, 214, 215, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229		Dēvulapalli, <i>vi.</i> ,	330n
deer, <i>crest</i> ,	313	dhakkā,	205
Dēgā, <i>m.</i> ,	153	Dhaladi, <i>s. a. Dhalaga</i> ,	49
Dēhādā, <i>m.</i> ,	6	Dhalaga, <i>ch.</i> ,	49
Dēiā, <i>m.</i> ,	199	Dhāmādēva, <i>m.</i> ,	181
Delhi, <i>vi.</i> , 62, 67n, 154, 293, 294, 296		Dhāmādēvaśarman, <i>m.</i> ,	119
Dēmati, <i>f.</i> ,	153	Dhamēkh stūpa,	319
Dēndvānaka, <i>s. a. Didwāna</i> ,	107	Dhammapada,	137
Dēgadh, <i>vi.</i> , 120n, 250		Dhāmtari, <i>vi.</i> ,	183
Dēo Kōngērā, <i>vi.</i> ,	167, 168	Dhanadatta, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Dēoli, <i>vi.</i> , 28, 43, 194		Dhanadattabasu, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Dēori, <i>vi.</i> ,	169n	Dhanadēva, <i>m.</i> ,	288
Dēsala, <i>m.</i> ,	153	Dhanagara, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Dēśinānamālā, <i>quoted</i> ,	320	Dhanañjaya, <i>poet</i> ,	206n
Desuri, <i>vi.</i> ,	68	Dhanañjaya-Puṇyavallabha, <i>m.</i> ,	206
Dēuka, <i>m.</i> ,	12	Dhanasimha, <i>m.</i> ,	150, 153
Dēutha, <i>m.</i> ,	6	Dhāndhaladēvi, <i>f.</i> ,	153
Dēvāchūrya, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	71	Dhandhu, Dhandhuka or Dhandhurāja, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , 11, 13n, 72, 151	
dēvadā (dēvara, dēvri), <i>a younger brother</i> ,	82	Dhanōrā, <i>vi.</i> ,	183
Dēvadāsa, <i>m.</i> ,	316	Dhānūka, <i>m.</i> ,	181
Dēvadā-vamśa, <i>family</i> ,	82n	Dhār, <i>vi.</i> ,	103
Dēvadhara, <i>m.</i> ,	116	Dhārā, <i>s. a. Dhār</i> , 28, 72n, 105, 114, 131, 151, 179, 230	
Dēvāditya, <i>s. a. Nēmāditya</i> ,	23	Dhārālitya, <i>m.</i> ,	6
Dēvagiri, <i>vi.</i> , 72, 83n, 119n, 165, 300		Dhārāṇa-Mahādēvi, <i>queen of Sōmēśvaradēva</i> (I.), 162, 163, 316	
Dēvagupta, <i>k.</i> ,	268	Dharanidhara, <i>m.</i> ,	116
Dēvahrada or Dēvahradatirtha, <i>s. a. Sihāvā</i> , 182, 184, 187		Dharanigga, <i>ch.</i> ,	64
Dēvaki, <i>queen of Timma</i> ,	340	dharanivarāha, <i>biruda</i> ,	330
dēvakula,	290	Dharanivarāha, <i>Chāpa ch.</i> , 2, 3, 4, 9n	
Dēvakūta, <i>hill</i> , 184, 185n and add.		Dhārāvarsha or Dhārāvarshadēva, <i>Nāga-</i> <i>vamśi k.</i> , 161, 164, 179, 312, 315	
Dēvam-Pavittiraṇ, <i>m.</i> ,	239	Dhārāvarsha, <i>Paramāra prince</i> ,	159
Dēvapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , 3n, 251		Dhārēśvara, <i>m.</i> ,	181
Dēvapāla, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , 103, 105, 108, 115, 118		dharma, 113, 114n, 146, 326	
dēvaputra, 239, 240, 242, 244, 245		Dharma, <i>s. a. Dharmapāla</i> , 2, 3, 26n	
Dēvarāja, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	72	Dharmachakra,	136
Devāñj, <i>Rāṣṭrakūta k.</i> ,	172	Dharmachakra-Jina, <i>s. a. Buddha</i> , 320, 327	
Dēvarak-hita, <i>ch.</i> , 320, 322, 323, 326		Dharmachakra-mudrā,	292
Dēva-ēna, <i>Vākṭaka k.</i> ,	269	Dharmaghōsha or Dharmaghōsha-ūri, <i>s. a.</i> Dharmasūri,	154
Dēvasūri, <i>s. a. Desur</i> , 67, 68		Dharmakalāśa, <i>sur. of Vidyādhara</i> bhañjadēva, 278	
		Dharmāmṛita, <i>Jaina work</i> , 107, 118	
		Dharmānyga, <i>m.</i> ,	24
		Dharmapāla, <i>ch.</i> , 231, 233, 223	
		Dharmapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , 3, 4, 26, 28, 251	

	PAGE
Dudia, <i>vi.</i> ,	268
Duḥśāsana, <i>Epic warrior</i> ,	255
Dupḍā, <i>vi.</i> ,	344
Durgā, <i>goddess</i> ,	165n, 189, 257
Durga, <i>s. a.</i> Durgārka,	12
Durgagaṇa, <i>m.</i> ,	188
Durgarāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	49, 50, 56
Durgārka (Durgāditya), <i>m.</i> ,	12
Durjaya, <i>Kākatīya k.</i> ,	165, 259, 260
Durjaya-kula, <i>s. a.</i> Chāgi,	260n, 262n
Durlabhadēvi, <i>queen of Kakka</i> ,	280
Durlabharāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	11
dūta or dūtaka, 64, 107, 113n, 119, 272, 274,	300, 345
duvagga (dvārga),	59n
Dvisandhānakāvya, <i>quoted</i> ,	206n
dvivēda,	106, 116, 117, 119
 E 	
eclipse, lunar,	95, 105, 106, 201, 206, 304
eclipse, solar, 95, 96, 101, 102, 129, 163, 167, 170	
Edaman, <i>vi.</i> ,	236
Edevola(-vishaya), <i>dī.</i> ,	16
Ēkāmranātha, <i>te.</i> ,	164n
Ēkaśilānagara or Ēkaśilānagari, <i>s. a.</i> Waran-	
gal,	165, 257
Ēkāvali, <i>quoted</i> ,	113n, 114n, 115n, 253n
Ēklingī, <i>vi.</i> ,	189n
Elasatti, <i>vi.</i> ,	99, 101
Elavāṇu, <i>vi.</i> ,	132, 133, 135n
Ellore, <i>vi.</i> ,	58
Elurā, <i>vi.</i> ,	26
Ēlūru or Ēlūra, <i>s. a.</i> Ellore,	58, 59
Elvānāsūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	209, 210, 213, 217
Eraṇṇobase, <i>s. a.</i> Hiraṇyavāha,	343
eras :—	
Chālukya-Vikrama,	256, 259, 260, 261, 366
Gāṅgēya-saṃvat,	95
Gupta (or Gauptha),	4, 285, 286, 287, 288,
	342, 343, 345
Gupta-Valabhī,	1, 2, 4
Harsha,	285, 286, 289, 290
Hijra,	306, 308
Kalachuri (Chēdi), 129, 130, 166, 167, 169,	
	170, 184, 294, 296, 300, 321
Kaliyuga,	129, 130, 217
Kollam,	234, 235, 237
Laṅkika-saṃvat,	300, 301, 302

	PAGE		PAGE
Ghazni- or Ghizul-Khan I. <i>Fārūqī k.</i> , 307, 308n, 309, 310		Lakshmanā,	25, 40
Ghazni-Khan II., <i>do.</i> ,	307, 310	Mānavya,	133, 204, 319
Ghoraghāt, <i>vi.</i> ,	181n	Mārkandēya,	116
Ghughaka, <i>m.</i> ,	192	Mudgala,	116
Ghughi, <i>m.</i> ,	316	Parāśara or Pātāśara,	115, 116
Ghumara, <i>the falls of Indrāvati</i> ,	179	Parāvasu,	116
Girnār, <i>mo.</i> ,	4	Pavitra,	115
Godarpura, <i>vi.</i> ,	117	Śāṇḍilya,	28, 116
Gōdāvari, <i>vi.</i> ,	160, 179	Vasishtha or Vāsishtha, 102, 116, 132, 262, 303	
Gōggā, <i>f.</i> ,	296, 299	Vata,	71n, 116
Gōindarasa, <i>s. a. Gōvinda III.</i> ,	16	Vishnaviddha,	270
gōkarṇā,	303	Upamanjū, Upamanyava, or Anpatma- nyava,	274, 276n
gōkula,	303	Gōvardhana, <i>k. (P)</i> ,	40, 194
Gollani-guṇṭha, <i>pond</i> ,	56	Gōvardhana, <i>m.</i> ,	181
Gōlmādhītōl, <i>vi.</i> ,	286	Gōvardhana, <i>mo.</i> ,	40, 194, 255
Gōmibhata, <i>m.</i> ,	290	Gōvāsa, <i>m.</i> ,	6
Gōmidēvasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	283	Gōvinda, <i>m.</i> ,	117, 169, 170
Gōmika, <i>m.</i> ,	192	Gōvinda or Gōvindadandēsa, <i>s. a. Gōvindarasa</i> , 261	
Gōmisvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288	Gōvinda or Gōvindarāja I., <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i> ,	193
Gond, <i>tribe</i> ,	43, 311	Gōvinda or Gōvindarāja II., <i>do.</i> ,	26, 193, 194
Gondwānā (Central Provinces), <i>co.</i> ,	124n	Gōvinda or Gōvindarāja III., <i>do.</i> , 15, 16, 17, 26, 28, 42, 195, 251	
Goṅka or Goṅkaya I., <i>Velandāṇḍu ch.</i> ,	261n	Gōvindachandra, <i>Kanauj k.</i> , 291n, 320, 321, 322, 323, 327	
Goṅka II., <i>do.</i> ,	261	Gōvindachandra (Gōvindaśandan), <i>k.</i> , 231, 233	
Goṅka or Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa-Goṅka III., <i>do.</i> ,	261, 262n	Gōvindapātra, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Gōpāditya, <i>ch.</i> ,	300	Gōvindarāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	165
Gōpālasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	287, 288	Gōvindarasa or Gōvindarāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	261
Gōsala, <i>m.</i> ,	116, 153	grāmapātra,	169n
Gōsaladēvi, <i>queen of Gōvindachandra</i> ,	321	Grāmārthanāthēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	209, 210, 213, 217
gōsami (gōsāiga),	22n	grāmāṭikā, <i>a small village</i> ,	50
Gōsē, <i>m.</i> ,	106, 116, 119	grihaveṭaka,	316
Gōsēka, <i>m.</i> ,	106n, 119	Guḍimallam, <i>vi.</i> ,	92n
gōshṭhi,	189, 191	Guḍimallūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	224, 231
gōshṭhika,	188	Gubāvihāra,	146
gōtra, <i>a family</i> ,	132	Guhila, <i>family</i> ,	143, 149, 188
gōtras :—		Gujarāt, <i>co.</i> ,	42, 231n, 278, 310n, 343
Audalya,	115	Gujarāt-Rāshṭrakūṭa, <i>family</i> ,	3, 29
Babhura (Babhru),	59	Gujarattā, <i>co.</i> ,	278
Bharadvāja or Bhāradvāja, 115, 116, 119, 195, 342, 345		Gumsūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	272, 273, 274, 275, 276n
Bhāgrava,	116, 119	Gupachandra, <i>m.</i> ,	154
Dhanmya,	116	Guṇadēvi, <i>f.</i> ,	153
Gautama,	116, 119, 296, 299	Guṇaga, <i>sur. of Vijayāditya III.</i> ,	134
Ghrita-Kausika,	170	Guṇakenalla, <i>do.</i> ,	50
Harita-Kutsa,	116	Guṇamahārṇava, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	95
Kāśyapa, 115, 116, 161, 206, 312, 315, 316, 431		Guṇasāgara, <i>Ālupa k.</i> ,	16, 17
Kātyāyana,	115	Guṇḍa, <i>ch.</i> ,	165, 261
Kausika,	172, 282, 284	Guṇḍa-Mahādēvi, <i>queen of Dhārācaraha</i> , 161, 179, 311, 312, 316	
Kautsa,	116		

	PAGE
Gaṇḍāmbikā, <i>Velaṇḍāṇḍu queen</i> ,	261n
guṇja, <i>weight</i> ,	176n
Gupta, <i>dy.</i> ,	246, 248, 286, 319, 342n, 343
guppyadguru,	70
Gūṛjara, <i>co.</i> ,	27, 39, 71, 72, 73, 105, 114, 121
G. rjjaratrā (Gurjaratrā), <i>s. a.</i> Gujjaratā,	277, 278
Gurmha, <i>vi.</i> ,	250
guru,	63, 99, 102, 153, 154
Gūvaka I., <i>Chāḥamāna k. of Śākambharī</i> ,	62, 251
Gwalior, <i>vi.</i> ,	26n, 249

H

Haḍḍālā, <i>vi.</i> ,	3, 4 and add.
Hādigrāma, <i>vi.</i> ,	300, 301
Haibaya, <i>family</i> ,	184, 293, 294, 295
Haibaya, <i>s. a.</i> Kalachuri,	27, 39
hala,	175
Halavūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	313 and add.
Halāyudha, <i>lexicographer</i> ,	146
Halbā (Halvā), <i>tribe</i> ,	124n, 169, 184n
Hāmiradēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	165
Hāmsaladē, <i>f.</i> ,	153
Hāmsa-saṅghārāma,	146
haṇa, <i>coin</i> ,	267n
Hana, <i>princess</i> ,	140, 141
Hanumkoṇḍā, <i>s. a.</i> Anmakonḍa,	256, 257n, 258n
Hara, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva,	37, 273, 327
Haragupta, <i>ch.</i> ,	199
Haravandam, <i>vi.</i> ,	67
Haravijaya, <i>quoted</i> ,	113n
Hari, <i>m.</i> ,	6, 12, 117
Hari, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu,	11, 39, 40, 193, 250, 256, 327
Harichandra, <i>founder of the Pratihāra family</i> ,	279
Haridhara, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Harigupta, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Haribar, <i>vi.</i> ,	16
Harisarman, <i>m.</i> ,	119
Harischandra, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	315, 316
Harischandra or Harischandradēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	105, 115, 121
Harisvāmin, <i>m.</i> ,	342, 345
Hārītiputra, Hārītiputra or Hārītiputra,	183, 204, 319
Harivamśa-purāṇa,	26, 1-9
Harsaudā, <i>vi.</i> ,	105
Harsha <i>k.</i> ,	62, 81, 21
Harsha <i>m.</i> ,	25, 251
Harshacharita,	201

	PAGE
Harshadēva, <i>m.</i> ,	119
Harshavardhana, <i>Kanauj k.</i> ,	101, 201, 205, 286, 289
Haruṅga-vāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	283
Hasan Khān, <i>Fārūqī prince</i> ,	307, 308, 309, 310
Hastikuṇḍī, <i>vi.</i> ,	71, 83n
Hastināpura, <i>s. a.</i> Hathināvara,	107, 115n, 116
Hāthamo, <i>vi.</i> ,	72
Hathināvara, <i>vi.</i> ,	107
Hāt-Kōngērā, <i>vi.</i> ,	168
haṭṭa,	279
Hayuarā, <i>m.</i> ,	141
Hebballi, <i>vi.</i> ,	201
Hebsur, <i>vi.</i> ,	201
Hemachandra,	207, 320
Hēma, <i>Prāgrāṭi ch.</i> ,	152
Hetamji, <i>vi.</i> ,	81
Hēṭṭaūmji or Hēṭṭhūnji, <i>s. a.</i> Hetamji,	80, 81
Himālaya, <i>mo.</i> ,	26n, 61, 189n
Himasuṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Himavat, <i>s. a.</i> Himālaya,	71n, 189
Hirahadagalli, <i>vi.</i> ,	57, 268
Hiranyavāha or Hiranayavāhin, <i>s. a.</i> Sōn,	343
Hirdēnagar-Garhākōṭā, <i>vi.</i> ,	169n
Hirdē-Shah, <i>Bundelā ch.</i> ,	169n
Hitopadēśa,	139
Huen Tsiang,	43, 201
hōra or hōraka, <i>a lady</i> ,	140, 141
Hoṭṭūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	166n
Hoysala, <i>family</i> ,	179n
Humcha, <i>vi.</i> ,	16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23
Hūpa, <i>family</i> ,	2, 3
Huvashka, <i>s. a.</i> Huviṣhka,	244n
Huviṣhka or Hūviṣhka, <i>Kushana k.</i> ,	244, 245, 291

I

Ibrāhim Shāh, <i>ch.</i> ,	308n
Idaidurai, <i>s. a.</i> Yeḍatore,	230, 233
Idaiyamaṇam, <i>s. a.</i> Edamaṇ,	236, 239
idaiyidu,	235, 238, 239
Idavai, <i>vi.</i> ,	86, 87, 88
Iftikbār, <i>Fārūqī prince</i> ,	310
Ikshvāku, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	260
Ilāḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Virāṭa,	231n
Ilam or Ilamāṇḍala, <i>s. a.</i> Ceylon,	214, 230, 233
Ilāṅg kuḍi o Ilāṅg' y kuḷ, <i>s. a.</i> Ambāṅg-mudraṇ,	84, 86, 91, 92
Imām Nāsir Abū lā,	308n
Immaḍi Bhairava-Oḍeyar, <i>Kalasa-Kāṇḍala ch.</i> ,	174

	PAGE
Immaḍi-Nṛsiṃha, <i>Sāluva k.</i> ,	330n
Indian Museum,	285n, 287, 289
Indra, <i>god</i> , 40, 114, 115n, 118, 181, 206n, 230, 233, 284, 299, 340	
Indra II., <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭa k.</i> ,	196
Indra or Indrarāja III., <i>do.</i> , 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 38, 40, 41, 194n	
Indrarāja, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	55, 133
Indrarāja, <i>s. a.</i> Indrāyudha,	4
Indraratha, <i>ch.</i> ,	230, 233
Indrasthāna, <i>s. a.</i> Delhi,	304
Indravarman, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	42, 95
Indrāvati, <i>ri.</i> ,	161, 178, 179, 311
Indrāyudha, <i>k.</i> ,	4, 26
Iravi-Parandavan, <i>m.</i> ,	239
Iron valley,	43
Īśāna, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva,	63
Isuva, <i>m.</i> ,	6
Īśvara, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva,	326
Īśvara, <i>Tuḷuva ch.</i> ,	340
I-tsing,	190
Īttampāṭṭu, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341

J

Jābālipura, <i>s. a.</i> Jāvālipura,	73n
Jabalpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	73n, 107, 124n
Jābarṇa, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Jagadāla-Mummaḍi, <i>ch.</i> ,	259n
Jagaddēva, <i>Sāntara ch.</i> ,	165, 261
Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa-Mahārāja, <i>sur. of</i> Sōmās-varadēva II.,	163n
Jagadēkamalla II., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , 258n, 261, 262	
Jagadīśarāyadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	165, 166
Jagannātha or Jagannāthapuri, <i>s. a.</i> Purī, 42, 124	
Jagatikēśarin, <i>sur. of</i> Prōla,	165, 260
Jagattunga, <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince</i> ,	27, 28, 39
Jagattunga, <i>sur. of</i> Gōvinda III., 26, 39, 255n	
Jagdulpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	160, 161, 178, 259n, 311
Jaggati, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Jaggayyapēṭa, <i>vi.</i> ,	50
Jahlapa, <i>author</i> ,	27
Jaina, 26, 48, 63, 67, 71, 92n, 139, 146, 153, 155n, 199, 230, 231, 257, 265n, 266, 277	
Jāihka, <i>k.</i> ,	4
Jaiparā, <i>s. a.</i> Jēprā,	167, 168, 169
Jaitarāja, <i>Kākaiira ch.</i> ,	124, 127, 183
Jaitrasimha, <i>m.</i> ,	118n
Jaitrasimha, <i>s. a.</i> Jayantasimha,	118n, 121

	PAGE
Jaitugidēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , 103, 108, 118, 119	
Jaitugidēva, <i>Śilāra k.</i> ,	119n
Jājalladēva, <i>Ratnapura ch.</i> ,	43n, 294
Jajhauti, <i>s. a.</i> Jējābhukti,	284n
Jajjaka, <i>ch.</i> ,	6, 199
Jajjapa, <i>Hūṇa k.</i> ,	2, 3
Jālor, <i>vi.</i> ,	62n, 73
Jambai, <i>vi.</i> ,	216
Jambukēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	215, 216
Jambuki, <i>f.</i> ,	320, 327
Jambunātha, <i>te.</i> ,	216
Jamna, <i>ri.</i> ,	321
Jamvuvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288
Janārdana, <i>m.</i> ,	117, 119
Jānglā, <i>vi.</i> ,	161n
Jasadēva, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Jasadhavala, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Jasōdhara, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Jaswantapura, <i>vi.</i> ,	70
Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> ,	226
Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, <i>do.</i> ,	225, 228
Jaṭavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya, <i>Chōla-Pāṇḍya k.</i> ,	84
Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , 227, 238n	
Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., <i>do.</i> ,	228
Jaṭilavarman, <i>do.</i> ,	85
Jaṭilavarman (Śaḍaiyan), <i>sur. of</i> Pāṇḍya kings,	86n
Jaṭilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Arikēśaridēva, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> ,	229
Jaṭilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Kulasēkhara, <i>do.</i> ,	229
Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabha, <i>do.</i> ,	229
Jaṭilavarman Śrīvallabha Ativirarāma, <i>do.</i> ,	229
Javalakūpaka, <i>s. a.</i> Jolwa,	28, 29, 40n
Jāvālipura, <i>s. a.</i> Jālor,	62n, 72, 73, 83n
Jayāditya, <i>grammarian</i> ,	190
Jayādityadēva II., <i>k.</i> ,	250
Jayakēśin I., <i>Kādamba k.</i> ,	15
Jayamaṅgala, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	71
Jāyana, <i>Ayya ch.</i> ,	262n
Jayanātha, <i>Uchchakalpa ch.</i> ,	269n
Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla-maṇḍala, <i>co.</i> ,	231, 233
Jayantasimha, <i>Chalukya k.</i> ,	118n
Jayantasimha, <i>s. a.</i> Jaitrasimha,	118n
jayanti,	211n
Jayapura, <i>vi.</i> ,	1, 3
Jayasimha, <i>k.</i> ,	300, 301
Jayasimha I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	55, 133

	PAGE
Jayasimha II., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , . . .	55, 133
Jayasimha, <i>s. a. Jayantasiimha</i> , . . .	105, 114, 118n, 120
Jayasimha, <i>sur. of Siddharāja</i> , . . .	72
Jayasimha II., <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . .	230, 233
Jayasimhadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> , . . .	165
Jayasimhadēva, <i>Nāgavaṁśi k.</i> , . . .	163, 164
Jayasingha, <i>m.</i> , . . .	274
Jayasinghadēva, <i>k.</i> , . . .	118
Jāyāvali, <i>f.</i> , . . .	199
Jayavardhana I., <i>Śailavāṁśa k.</i> , . . .	42, 46
Jayavardhana II., <i>do.</i> , . . .	41, 42, 44, 46, 47
Jayavarman II. or Jayavarṁmadēva, <i>Para-</i> <i>māra k.</i> , . . .	103, 117, 118, 119
Jājābhukti, <i>s. a. Bundelkhand</i> , . . .	284n and add.
Jājja, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . .	250, 251, 252, 255
Jālbā or Jēlhāks, <i>m.</i> , . . .	153, 154, 157n
Jēndrarāja, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> , . . .	64, 67, 72, 83
Jēprā, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	168
Jēsalmēr, <i>State</i> , . . .	278
Jāulla, <i>m.</i> , . . .	6
Jews, . . .	85
Jhālrapātan, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	60 and add., 198
Jhōṭa, <i>Pratihāra ch.</i> , . . .	280
jihvāmūliya, . . .	48, 171, 188
Jimūtavāhana, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . .	114n
Jina, <i>god</i> , . . .	49, 50, 56, 64, 67, 231, 320, 328
Jinabhadra, <i>m.</i> , . . .	118n
Jinanandin, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . .	56
Jinaprabhasūri, <i>Jaina author</i> , . . .	149
Jinasēna, <i>do.</i> , . . .	205n
Jindurāja, <i>s. a. Jēndrarāja</i> , . . .	72, 80, 83
Jinēndra, <i>s. a. Jina</i> , . . .	55, 258, 265
Jinēndrabuddhi, <i>author</i> , . . .	190
Jisapāla, <i>m.</i> , . . .	70
Jisaravi, <i>m.</i> , . . .	70
Jñānachandra, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . .	154
Jñānasakti, <i>Śaiva teacher</i> , . . .	150
Jñānasūryōdaya, <i>Jaina work</i> , . . .	154n
Jñānēśvara, <i>m.</i> , . . .	200
Jñānēśvari, <i>commentary on Bhagavadgītā</i> , . . .	200
Jōdhā, <i>k.</i> , . . .	278n
Jōdhpur, <i>State</i> , . . .	4n
Jōdhpur, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	73, 74, 180n, 198, 277, 278, 279
jōḡini, . . .	178, 181
Jōjala or Jōjala, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> , . . .	64, 72, 83, 158, 159
Jolwa, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	29
Jontāchārya, <i>m.</i> , . . .	133
Jubbulpore, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	343

	PAGE
Junāgadh, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	4
Jupiter cycle, . . .	128
Jupiter, <i>planet</i> , . . .	235, 237
Jyēsthāsavāmi, <i>m.</i> , . . .	288

K

Kachāndur, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	233
Kadalalāya, <i>Jaina goddess</i> , . . .	257
Kadalalāya-basadi, <i>te.</i> , . . .	259, 266
Kadamba, <i>family</i> , . . .	273n
Kādamba, <i>do.</i> , . . .	15
Kadamba-maṇḍala, <i>s. a. Vanavāsi</i> , . . .	16
Kadāram, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	231
kaḍeyarāja, <i>s. a. kaṭakarāja</i> , . . .	50
kāḍi, <i>measure</i> , . . .	89n
Kadphises, <i>k.</i> , . . .	140
Kaikar, <i>s. a. Kanker</i> , . . .	124n
Kailāsa, <i>mo.</i> , . . .	38, 42, 46
Kaiingōda, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	42
Kaiser (Qaisar) Khān, <i>Fārūqī prince</i> , . . .	307, 308, 309, 310
Kākaira, <i>s. a. Kanker</i> , 124, 125, 127, 128, 167, 168, 182, 183, 184, 187	
Kākati, <i>family</i> , . . .	262n
Kākati, <i>goddess</i> , . . .	165n
Kākati or Kākati, <i>s. a. Kākatiya</i> , . . .	165, 258, 259, 265, 266
Kākatiya or Kākatiya, <i>family</i> , . . .	161, 164, 165, 256, 257 and add., 258, 259, 260, 262n, 266
Kākēr, <i>s. a. Kanker</i> , . . .	124n
Kakilaka, <i>m.</i> , . . .	192
Kakka, <i>Pratihāra ch.</i> , . . .	278n, 279
Kakkarāja I., <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . .	194
Kakkarāja II., <i>do.</i> , . . .	3n
Kakkuka, <i>Pratihāra ch.</i> , . . .	277, 278, 279
Kalabhra, <i>co.</i> , . . .	205, 206
Kalachuri, <i>dy.</i> , . . .	3, 27
Kālāhandi, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	180n, 184n
kalam, <i>measure</i> , . . .	89, 92, 93
Kalamba, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	163
kalāñju, . . .	89n, 238
Kalasa or Kalāsa, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	16, 174
Kalavana, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	296
Kalbana, <i>author</i> , . . .	300
Kali age, . . .	114, 187
Kali, <i>sur. of Vishṇuvardhana V.</i> , . . .	55, 134
Kālikā-purāṇa, . . .	177n
Kaliṅga, <i>co.</i> , . . .	26, 42, 48, 179n, 269

	PAGE		PAGE
Kalinganagara, <i>s. a.</i> Mukhalingam,	42, 95	Kaneshka, <i>s. a.</i> Kanishka,	241
Kalingarāja, <i>Kalachuri ch.</i> ,	294	Kānhada, <i>m.</i> ,	117, 119
Kalingas, the three,	95	Kānhadadēva, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> ,	82, 83, 153
Kalingattu-Parani, <i>Tamil poem</i> ,	179n, 322	Kānhadadēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	151
Kalvālabha-Narēndradēva, <i>sur. of Dhruva</i> ,	195	Kanhaka, <i>m.</i> ,	6
Kalla, <i>Chālukya ch.</i> ,	2	Kanharadēva, <i>Nāgavamsī k.</i> ,	161, 163, 164, 312, 316
Kallāvana, <i>s. a.</i> Kalavana,	293, 299	Kanharasāi, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Kalīṇaikkurichchi, <i>vi.</i> ,	84	Kanishka or Kānishka, <i>Kushana k.</i> ,	140, 239, 240, 241, 291
Kallikulam, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341	kanishṭha (kanishṭha),	140, 143
Kāltide, <i>m.</i> ,	18	kaṅkaṭa, <i>a boundary</i> ,	105, 122
Kaluchumbargu, <i>vi.</i> ,	49	Kanker, <i>vi.</i> ,	123, 124, 128, 129, 166, 167, 168, 169n, 176, 183, 184n, 185
Kālūi, <i>m.</i> ,	140, 143	Kanpachi, <i>m.</i> ,	21
Kalvakuru, <i>vi.</i> ,	50, 56	Kanṣuvām, <i>vi.</i> ,	188
Kalyāṇa, <i>vi.</i> ,	261n	Kanṭhikā-Bēta, <i>s. a.</i> Vijayāditya V.,	49
Kalyāṇakālśā, <i>sur. of Nētribhaṇja</i> ,	273, 275n	Kanṭhikā-Vijayāditya, <i>do.</i> ,	49, 55
Kalyāṇapurānātha, <i>biruda</i> ,	330	Kanyakubja, <i>s. a.</i> Kanauj,	304, 321
kāma,	113n, 340	kapardikā, <i>a cowry</i> ,	125n
Kāmakōḍa, <i>m.</i> ,	19	Kapardīśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	211
Kamalakadali, <i>banner</i> ,	181, 313	Kapilā, <i>vi.</i> ,	119, 120
Kaman, <i>vi.</i> ,	243	Kapila Sangam,	120
Kāmandakīyanitisāra, <i>quoted</i> ,	299n	Karaivali, <i>di.</i> ,	231, 233
Kāmārpaṇa II., <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	95	karambam (karambu), <i>sterile ground</i> ,	267n
Kāmarūpa, <i>co.</i> ,	178	karapa,	181, 316
Kamban, <i>Tamil poet</i> ,	92n	karapa-kuttiyam,	313
Kammāka-rāshṭra or Kamma-rāshṭra, <i>s. a.</i>		karapas:—	
Kamma-nāṇḍu,	50	Gara	176, 181
Kammāka-raṭha, <i>s. a.</i> Kammāka-rāshṭra,	50	Vaija,	309
Kamma-nāṇḍu, <i>di.</i> ,	50, 56	kārāpaka,	189
Kammanijja, <i>s. a.</i> Kāmrej,	28, 29, 40	Kerhād, <i>vi.</i> ,	27, 28, 194
Kāmrej, <i>vi.</i> ,	29	Karial, <i>s. a.</i> Khariār,	171
Kāmsa, <i>demon</i> ,	38, 113, 255	Karikāla, <i>sur. of Aditya II.</i> ,	84
Kāmūḍ, <i>m.</i> ,	140, 143	Karikāla-Chōla, <i>mythical Chōla k.</i> ,	260
Kanakāchala, <i>fort</i> ,	73	Kāritadāi, <i>vi.</i> ,	269n
Kānasuvam, <i>vi.</i> ,	67	Kariyamānikka-Perumāl, <i>te.</i> ,	226
Kanauj, <i>vi.</i> ,	1, 3, 4, 26, 27, 28, 130, 291n, 320, 321	Karka, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> ,	26
Kanaujiya, <i>sect of Brāhmaṇas</i> ,	304	Kārkala, <i>vi.</i> ,	16, 174
Kapavirikā, <i>vi.</i> ,	2, 3, 4	Kārkārāja, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> ,	250, 251, 255
Kāñchana-gaḍha, <i>s. a.</i> Kanakāchala,	73	Karṇa, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> ,	72, 83n
Kāñchi or Kāñchipura, <i>s. a.</i> Conjeeveram,	26, 38, 165, 178, 201, 202, 205, 206, 259, 260, 341	Karṇa, Karṇadēva or Karṇarāja, <i>Kākaṭra ch.</i> ,	182, 183, 184, 185, 187
Kāñchipuravarādīśvara, <i>biruda</i> ,	330	Karṇa, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> ,	3, 321, 322
Kandambā, <i>f.</i> ,	132	Karṇāṭa, <i>co.</i> ,	250, 251, 255, 340
Kaṇḍan-Dāndōdaran, <i>m.</i> ,	239	Karṇa, <i>s. a.</i> Rāshtrakūṭa,	2, 3
kāṇḍa-ṛaṭika,	326n	Karṇa śvar or Karṇēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	182
Kandarpa, <i>Cupid</i> ,	40	Karpūramāñjari, <i>quoted</i> ,	4
Kandh, <i>tribe</i> ,	184n	Kārttikēya, <i>god</i> ,	161, 204, 205 and add.
Kand yūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	231		
Kandūrōdara-Chōḍa, <i>ch.</i> ,	262n		
Kanēsar, <i>s. a.</i> Karnēśvar,	182		

	PAGE		PAGE
Kārtiki, <i>tithi</i> ,	47	Kerāḍu, <i>vi.</i> ,	72
Karūr or Karuvūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	231n	Kērala, <i>co.</i> , .101n, 178, 201, 205, 206, 230, 233	
Karuvai, <i>s. a.</i> Karūr,	231n	Kēralavarman II., <i>Vēṇāḍu k.</i> ,	234n
Kāsadrām, <i>s. a.</i> Kāyadrām,	159	Kēramapuka or Kēramarka, <i>s. a.</i> Kōdmalnār,	162, 163
Kāsahrada, <i>do.</i> ,	72, 73, 159	Kēsava, <i>m.</i> ,	117, 167, 169, 170, 274
Kāsahrada, <i>s. a.</i> Kāsandra,	73	Kēsava, <i>s. a.</i> Vishṇu,	182, 185, 187
Kāsandra or Kāsandhra, <i>vi.</i> ,	73	Kēta II., <i>Amarāvati ch.</i> ,	262n
Kashmir, <i>co.</i> ,	301	Kēyūravārsha, <i>sur. of</i> Yuvarāja I.,	3
Kāsi, <i>co.</i> ,	46	Khadikā, <i>s. a.</i> Khadi,	42, 43, 47
Kāsi, <i>s. a.</i> Benares,	42, 46, 304	Khadgāvalōka, <i>sur. of</i> Dantidurga,	251n
Kāśikāvṛitti,	190	Khadi, <i>vi.</i> ,	43
kāśu,	86, 89, 91, 92, 93n, 233	khadūra,	146
Kaṭachchūri, <i>s. a.</i> Kalachuri,	296, 299	khadūrikā,	146
Kaṭāba, <i>s. a.</i> Kaḍāram,	231	Khaharāta (Kshaharāta), <i>dy.</i> ,	139
Kaṭakābharana-Jinālaya, <i>te.</i> ,	49, 56	Khajjuri-bandha, <i>tank</i> ,	161
kaṭakādhipati, kaṭakādhiśa or kaṭakōśa, <i>s. a.</i>		Khakharāta, <i>s. a.</i> Khaharāta,	139n
kaṭakarāja,	49, 50, 56	Khalama or Khalamasa, <i>prince</i> ,	140, 143
kaṭakarāja, <i>a superintendent of the royal</i>		Khalasamuśa, <i>m.</i> ,	140, 145
camp,	49, 50, 56, 133	khalula,	146
Katangi, <i>vi.</i> ,	43	Khamba, <i>m.</i> ,	274
Katera, <i>vi.</i> ,	43	Khān, <i>title</i> ,	306
Kaṭeraka, <i>s. a.</i> Katera,	42, 43, 47	Khāndōsh, <i>di.</i> ,	306, 310
Kāthiāwād or Kāthiāwār, <i>co.</i> ,	4, 28, 195, 343	Khān Jahān, <i>ch.</i> ,	308n
Kaṭuka, <i>m.</i> ,	117	Kharamōsta, <i>ch.</i> ,	139
kaṭumukhavāditra, <i>musical instrument</i> ,	206	Kharaōsta, <i>Satrap</i> ,	139, 140, 141, 143, 147
Kātyāyāni, <i>s. a.</i> Pārvatī,	168	Kharapallāna, <i>Kshatrapa ch.</i> ,	139
kaṭi or kaṭika, <i>s. a.</i> kapardikā,	125	Kharatara-gachchha, <i>school of</i> Jaina teachers,	149
kaṭihai,	125n	Kharḍa, <i>vi.</i> ,	3n
Kauḍika-bandha, <i>tank</i> ,	125 and add., 128	Khardaa, <i>Satrap</i> ,	140, 147
Kauṇḍiyya, <i>sur. of</i> (?) Rachhila,	147	Khārēpāṭan, <i>vi.</i> ,	28
Kaurava, <i>s. a.</i> Kavar,	293n	Khaviār, <i>vi.</i> , .170, 172, 282 and add., 283 and add.	
Kausalyā, <i>queen of</i> Daśaratha,	340	Khajjuri-bandha, <i>tank</i> ,	312, 313, 316
Kausikī,	133	Kharṇṇa, <i>Buddhist preacher</i> ,	245
Kaustubha, <i>gem</i> ,	38	khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja,	206
Kavēra, <i>co.</i> ,	205	Khēḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Kher,	73
Kāvērī (Cauvery), <i>vi.</i> ,	87, 340	Kher, <i>vi.</i> ,	73
Kavilāda, <i>vi.</i> ,	67	Kherārū, <i>vi.</i> ,	72n
Kāvyaprakāśa, <i>quoted</i> ,	114n	Khilaku, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Kāwadgaon, <i>vi.</i> ,	175	Khimel Mātā, <i>te.</i> ,	188, 189, 191
Kawar, <i>tribe</i> ,	294, 295, 296	Khizr Khān, <i>Fārūqī k.</i> ,	310
Kāyadrām, <i>vi.</i> ,	159	Khond, <i>tribe</i> ,	176, 177
Kāyastha,	68, 181	Kigga, <i>vi.</i> ,	16, 17
kāykkari,	92	Kilāḍi, <i>vi.</i> ,	223, 224
Kēkū, <i>m.</i> ,	119	Kilappērūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	284
Keleya, <i>m.</i> ,	20n	Kilavēmbu-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> ,	331, 341
Kēlhaṇa, <i>m.</i> ,	117	killiḍu,	235, 237, 238, 239n
Kēlhaṇa or Kēlhaṇaōḍva, <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i>		Kilūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	89n
Naddūla,	67, 68n, 72, 83	Kirānapura, <i>vi.</i> ,	48, 49, 50, 56
kēli, <i>the earth</i> ,	71	Kirāṭakūpa, <i>s. a.</i> Kerāḍu,	72n
Kēndūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	200, 201		

	PAGE		PAGE
Kirātakūṭa, <i>s. a.</i> Kerāḍu,	72	Kōṭikkulām, <i>s. a.</i> Kōdikulām,	341
Kirtikaumudi, <i>quoted</i> ,	62n	Kōṭimaḍuva(P-)gaṇa,	56
Kirti-Nārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of</i> Indra III.,	27, 40	Kōṭisvara, <i>te.</i> ,	95
Kirtipāla, <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i> Naddūla,	66, 67,	Kōṭṭayam, <i>vi.</i> ,	85
	68, 72, 73, 80, 83	Kōṭṭiya(Kōṭṭika)-gaṇa,	245
Kirtivarman I., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	99, 101,	kōṭwāl,	173n
	201, 204, 317, 319	kōṭwār,	178n
Kirtivarman II., <i>do.</i> ,	102, 200, 201, 202, 206	Kowtah, <i>vi.</i> ,	160, 162
Kisumaṅgalam, <i>s. a.</i> Kusugalla,	201, 206	Kṛishṇa, <i>god</i> ,	26, 38, 113n, 115n.
Kōdai, <i>title</i> ,	234n		193, 250, 255, 294, 295, 340
Koḍalsetti, <i>m.</i> ,	24	Kṛishṇa, <i>Kākaira ch.</i> ,	124, 127, 183
Kōdikulām, <i>vi.</i> ,	331	Kṛishṇa, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Kōdmalnār, <i>vi.</i> ,	163	Kṛishṇa, <i>vi.</i> ,	28, 178, 260n, 262n
Kōgarā, <i>s. a.</i> Dēo Kōngērā,	167, 168, 170	Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja I., <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> ,	26,
Kokkalla I., <i>Kalachuri k.</i> ,	27, 39, 48		38, 193, 194
Kokkantāmpārāi, <i>s. a.</i> Kōṅgandāmpārāi,	331, 341	Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja II., <i>do.</i> ,	25, 27, 28,
Kokkili, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	55, 133		39, 48, 49, 56
Kōkkilli, <i>mythical Chōla k.</i> ,	89n	Kṛishṇa III., <i>do.</i> ,	27, 28, 43, 194
Koḍavenu, <i>vi.</i> ,	49	Kṛishṇabhūpati, <i>s. a.</i> Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka,	
Kolchumkonṇa, <i>vi.</i> ,	99, 102		329, 341
Kollabigaṇḍa, <i>sur. of</i> Vijayāditya IV.,	132	Kṛishṇadēva, <i>s. a.</i> Kṛishṇarāja,	72, 83n
Kollam, <i>s. a.</i> Quilon,	236, 237, 239n	Kṛishṇagiri, <i>di.</i> ,	42
Kolleru, <i>lake</i> ,	58	Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka, <i>Madura Nāyaka</i> ,	329,
Kollipāke, <i>s. a.</i> Kollippākkai,	230		330, 331
Kollippākkai, <i>vi.</i> ,	230, 233	Kṛishṇāpuram, <i>vi.</i> ,	328, 329, 331, 341
Komaramā, <i>queen of</i> Kēta II.,	262n	Kṛishṇarāja, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> ,	296, 299
Kōṇa-Kandravāḍi, <i>di.</i> ,	262n	Kṛishṇarāja, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	48, 72
Konārak, <i>te.</i> ,	43n	Kṛishṇarāja, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa prince</i> ,	49
Koṇḍapadmaṭi, <i>family</i> ,	260n, 262n	Kṛishṇarāja or Kṛishṇadēvarāja, <i>Vijaya-</i>	
Koṇḍapaḷli, <i>three hundred, di.</i> ,	261	<i>nagara k.</i> ,	174, 262, 330, 340
Koṇḍarāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	329, 330	Kṛishṇēśvara, <i>m.</i> ,	279
Koṇḍavidu, <i>vi.</i> ,	174	K(r)ōṇina, <i>Satrap</i> ,	140, 147
Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya</i>		krōśa,	125n
<i>k.</i> ,	228	Kshatrapa, <i>dy.</i> ,	135, 139
Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ, <i>biruda</i> ,	86n	Kshatrapa, <i>Western, dy.</i> ,	245
Kōṅāḷva, <i>family</i> ,	16	Kshatriya, <i>caste</i> ,	43, 113, 114, 162, 279, 326, 340
Kōṅgandāmpārāi, <i>vi.</i> ,	331	Kshēṇā, <i>Kshēmakari or Kshēmamakari, s. a.</i>	
Kōṅgaṇimār, <i>sect</i> ,	238n	Durgā,	189n
Kōṅgōḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Kaingōḍa,	42	Kshēmāryyā, <i>s. a.</i> Khimel Mātā,	189, 191
Kōṅgu, <i>co.</i> ,	223, 225n	Kshēmēndra, <i>author</i> ,	248
Kōṅ-u-to, <i>co.</i> ,	42	K-bētrasamha, <i>k.</i> ,	74, 83n
Kōṅkanachakravartin, <i>sur. of</i> Jaitugidēva,	119n	Kshitimāṇḍa-āhāra, <i>di.</i> ,	172
Kōṇbōyu-tatāka, <i>tank</i> ,	56	Kubēra or Kuvēra, <i>god</i> ,	189, 233, 299
Kōriṇṭhaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	3	Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	55, 133
kōsajā,	316		259, 267
Kōsala, <i>co.</i> ,	26, 38, 269	Kudagōṭṭūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	236, 239
Kōsala or Kōsala (South), <i>co.</i> ,	18, 23	Kudrahāra, <i>di.</i> ,	58
Kōsalaī naḍu, <i>s. a.</i> Kōsala (South),	231, 233	Kudiyama Virama, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Kōsambakūṭi,	291	Kuladhara, <i>m.</i> ,	116, 153, 154
Kōṭa, <i>sur. of</i> Amarāvatī chiefs,	262n		

	PAGE
kulapati,	289, 290
Kulappirāyankuḷam, <i>s. a.</i> Pirayāṅkuḷam, . . .	341
kulaputraka,	6
Kulavardhana, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Kullaḍāva, <i>m.</i> ,	301, 302
Kulōttuṅga, <i>sur. of</i> Vijayālaya,	89n
Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa or -Chōḷa I., <i>Chalukya-Chōḷa k.</i> ,	179n, 218, 230, 261n, 322
Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa II., <i>do.</i> ,	219
Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II., <i>Chōḷa k.</i> ,	207, 219n
Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III., <i>do.</i> ,	213, 214, 220
kumāra,	140, 143, 181
kumāra, <i>an heir-apparent</i> ,	67
Kumāra (Skanda), <i>god</i> ,	55
Kumara, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Kumārachandra, <i>m.</i> ,	274
Kumārādatta, <i>m.</i> ,	272
Kumaradēvi, <i>queen of</i> Gōvindhachandra,	319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 326, 327
Kumāra Erega, <i>m.</i> ,	21
kumarigadīnaka, <i>tar</i> ,	305
Kumāra-Nārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of</i> Sindhurāja,	118n
Kumārāpāla, <i>Chalukya k.</i> ,	72, 83n, 149
Kumārasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288
Kumbhakōṇam, <i>vi.</i> ,	87
kummāya-amudu,	92n
kummāyam,	92
Kumūlūra, <i>vi.</i> ,	317, 319
Kunda, <i>m.</i> ,	321, 323, 328
Kundakadēvi, <i>queen of</i> Amōghavarsha III.,	3n
Kundavai, <i>Chōḷa princess</i> ,	231
Kundavarmanasa, <i>m.</i> ,	21n
Kuntala, <i>co.</i> ,	269
Kūpadēsa, <i>co.</i> ,	234n
Kuppanāmātya, <i>s. a.</i> Kuppanayya,	132
Kuppanayya, <i>m.</i> ,	132
Kurundaka, <i>s. a.</i> Kurundwād,	25, 28, 40
Kurundwād, <i>vi.</i> ,	23
kuṛuṇi, <i>measure</i> ,	89, 93
Kurusāl, <i>vi.</i> ,	160, 161, 163, 164, 179
Kuṣaṇa, <i>dy.</i> ,	239, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246
Kūṣhmāṇḍini, <i>Jaina goddess</i> ,	156n and add., 266n
Kuśika, <i>s. a.</i> Kanauj,	304
Kusugalla, <i>vi.</i> ,	231
Kusūlaa (Kusūlaka) Pādika, <i>Satrap</i> ,	139, 140, 144
Kusumapāla, <i>m.</i> ,	116
kuṭṭam,	313, 316n
Kuttakkal, <i>vi.</i> ,	331 and add., 341

L

	PAGE
Lachhamī-dēi, <i>queen of</i> Narasimhadēva,	165
lagitvā,	67
lagnas :—	
Ghaṭa,	56, 134
Kanyā,	309
Lāhaḍa, <i>m.</i> ,	116
Lahadha, <i>Prāgvāṭa ch.</i> ,	151
Lāhini, <i>queen of</i> Vighararāja,	11, 12
Lakhmaṇa, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Lakkāmbikā, <i>queen of</i> Rāmarāja I.,	329
Lakshmaṇa, <i>m.</i> ,	345
Lakshmaṇa, <i>mythical hero</i> ,	340
Lakshmana I., <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i> Naddūla,	62, 64, 67, 71, 80, 82, 83
Lakshmaṇa (II.), <i>do.</i> ,	80, 83, 152
Lakshmaṇasvāmi, <i>te.</i> ,	158, 159
Lakshmeśvara, <i>vi.</i> ,	201
Lakshmi, <i>goddess</i> ,	38, 39, 40, 171, 187, 233, 249n, 255, 266, 326
Lakshmi, <i>queen of</i> Jagattuṅga,	27, 39
Lakshmidēvi, <i>queen of</i> Chāchigadēva,	74, 83
Lakshmidēvi, <i>queen of</i> Pamparājadēva,	167, 168, 170, 183
Lakshmidhara, <i>ch.</i> ,	64
Lakshmidhara or Lakshmidharaśarman, <i>m.</i> ,	167, 169, 170
Lakshmīvarmadēva or Lakshmīvarman, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	105, 120
Lala-dadanayaga, <i>ch.</i> ,	246
Lālīga, <i>Prāgvāṭa ch.</i> ,	152
Lālīga, <i>s. a.</i> Lalla,	149, 151, 152, 153
Lalla, <i>m.</i> ,	149, 151, 153
Lāṁphā, <i>s. a.</i> Lāphā,	294, 296
lāñchhana,	274
languages :—	
Arabic,	306
Hindī,	124n, 148, 166
Kanarese,	16, 21, 150, 253
Māhārāṣṭrī-Prākṛit,	320
Maithilī,	164
Malayāḷam,	86, 234
Marāṭhī,	63n, 124n, 200
Oṛiyā,	124n
Pahlavi (Afghan),	140
Pāli,	237, 292, 293
Persian,	140, 243
Prākṛit,	50, 57, 58, 59n, 188, 263, 317

	PAGE		PAGE
Sanskrit,	1, 2, 11, 25, 41, 48,	Lūpa-vasahikā, s. a. Lūṇiga-vasahikā,	148n
57, 58, 60, 63, 67, 70, 79, 85, 88, 95,		Lunḍha, s. a. Lunṭiga,	80, 81, 82, 83, 152
99, 104, 117, 123, 131, 138, 139,		Lunḍha or Lunḍhāka, do.,	81
150, 161, 162, 163, 164, 167, 171,		Lunḍhāgara or Lunṭāgara, do.,	80
175, 182, 188, 193, 199, 201, 249,		Lutgā, m.,	294, 295, 296
251, 258, 268, 273, 277, 282, 293,		Lūṇiga, s. a. Lāvanyakarna,	81, 82, 83, 152
296, 301, 302, 306, 312, 317, 320, 328, 342		Lūṇigadēva, s. a. Lavanaprasāda,	82n
Tamil,	18n, 20n, 21n, 85, 86,	Luniga-sahika, s. a. Lūṇiga-vasahikā,	148n
	230, 231, 234	Lūṇiga-vasahikā, <i>Lūṇiga's temple</i> ,	148n
Telugu,	48, 131, 162, 181 add.	Lūṇiga-vasati, s. a. Lūṇiga-vasahikā,	148n,
Zend,	140		149, 150
Lanji, vi.,	43	Lunṭhāka, s. a. Lunṭiga,	81
Lañjikā, s. a. Lanji,	43	Lunṭiga or Lunṭigadēva, <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i>	
Laṅkā, s. a. Ceylon,	250, 312, 340	Naddūla,	62n, 71n, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 152, 153
Lāphā, vi.,	293, 294, 295		
Lāshū, m.,	119		
Lāta, eo.,	26, 28, 40, 231n, 250, 251,		
	252, 255, 269, 277, 278		
Lavanaprasāda, <i>Vāghelā k.</i> ,	73n, 82n		
Lāvanyakarna, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> ,			
	80, 82, 83, 152		
Leiden plates,	84, 231		
Letter numerals,	199n, 272		
Liaka Kusūlaka, <i>Satrap</i> ,	139		
Lilādēvi, <i>queen of Bhimadēva II.</i> ,	73, 83		
Līmadēva, m.,	119		
linga,	24, 162, 166, 175, 181		
Lingāyat, caste,	162		
Lingo, <i>Gond leader</i> ,	43		
ion, crest,	272, 342		
ion-capital, of Mathurā,	135, 147		
Lohata, m.,	116		
Lōkamahādēvi, <i>queen of Chālukya-Bhima II.</i> ,			
	55, 134		
Lōkanātha, s. a. Avalokitāsvara,	301		
ōkapālas,	328		
Lōkaprakāsa, work,	248		
Lōkāsvara, te.,	161, 312, 316		
Lōpa, m.,	153		
Lōthana, k.,	300		
Lucknow Museum,	59, 290, 291		
Lumbha or Lumbhaka, s. a. Lūṇavarman, 81,			
	82, 83, 152, 153		
Lumbhā or Rāvalumbhā, <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i>			
Naddūla,	152		
Lumbhāka, do.,	152		
Lūpasimha(Lūpasimha)-vasahikā, s. a. Lūṇiga-			
vasahikā,	148n		
Lūṇavarman, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> , 80,			
	82, 83, 152		
		M	
		Machāndur, vi.,	283
		Māda, s. a. Jēsalmēr,	277, 278
		Mādāda, vi.,	67
		Mādāśas-champū, name of a work,	28
		Madāmma, m.,	24
		Madana, Cupid,	39
		Madana, m.,	117
		Madana, poet,	107
		Madanachandra, s. a. Madanapāla,	321, 323, 327
		Madanapāla, Kanauj k.,	321
		Madanūr, vi.,	47
		Maḍḍōdara, s. a. Maṇḍōr,	278
		Mādhnva, m.,	117
		Mādhnava, s. a. Vaiśākha,	71n
		Mādnavabhatṭa, m.,	133n
		Mādnavarāja II., <i>Sailōdbhava ch.</i> ,	42
		Mādnavasarman, m.,	119, 170
		Mādnavasūri, m.,	296
		Mādnavavarman, ch.,	262
		Mādnavavarman, mythical ch.,	259, 262, 267
		Mādnavavarman, <i>Sailōdbhava ch.</i> ,	42, 272,
			274, 320n
		Madhu, demon,	256
		Madhu, m.,	117
		Madhuban, vi.,	286
		madhūka, tree,	303
		Madbukantṭha, m.,	117
		Madhurā, s. a. Madura,	230
		Madhurāntaka, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	235n
		Madhurāntakadēva, <i>Nāgavamsi k.</i> ,	174,
			176, 178, 181
		Madhusūdana, m.,	116

	PAGE		PAGE
Madhyadēśa, co.,	26, 38, 107, 116n, 116	mahārāja, 16, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 95, 101,	
Madra, co.,	2n	105, 108, 119, 158, 161, 163, 239, 240,	
Madras Museum,	85, 94, 99	242, 244, 245, 257n, 269, 273, 285, 288,	
Madura, vi.,	330, 331, 340	289, 290, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317, 319,	
Madurai, s. a. Madura,	213, 214	342, 343, 345	
Madura-maṇḍala, di.,	230, 233	mahārājādhirāja, 1, 2, 4, 25, 28, 40, 42, 47,	
maga, a Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇa,	279	56, 68n, 72, 73, 95, 101, 105,	
Māgha, poet,	190, 250, 251	118, 119, 132, 159, 163,	
Maghavan, s. a. Indra,	327	199, 253, 265, 268, 295, 304	
Mahaban, vi.,	107	mahārājakula,	67n, 73, 74, 80, 81, 82
Mahābhairava, god,	270	mahārāja-panḍita,	106, 116
Mahāchandaṇḍapāla, m.,	47	mahārājaputra,	68
mahāchatuṛdaśī-parvan, the fourteenth day of		mahāsāmanta,	1, 2, 289
the bright half,	63	mahāsāmantaādhīpati,	3, 4, 251
mahāchandaṇḍanāyaka,	246	mahāsāndhivigrahādhikaraṇādhikṛita,	300
Mahādēva (Mādhava), Kākatīya prince,	165	mahāsāndhivigrahika,	107
Mahādēva, s. a. Śiva,	43, 124, 125, 128, 162, 185	Mahāśāṅghika, school of Buddhist teachers, 139, 146	
Mahādēvi, queen of Jayasimhadēva,	163	Mahāsēna, s. a. Skanda,	133, 319
Mahādītya, m.,	117	Mahāsēnasvāmi, m.,	288
mahādvādaśī (pāpanāśinī), tithi,	211n, 216	Mahā-Sudēva or -Sudēvarāja, ch., 170, 171,	
mahājana,	278, 279	172, 281, 282, 283, 284	
Mahā-Jayadēva, Mahā-Jayarāja or Jayarāja, ch.,		mahattara,	2, 6
171, 172, 282, 283, 342		Mahā-Vaiśākha,	105n
Māhaka, m.,	268n	Mahāvamsa, quoted,	87n, 142, 230, 234n
Mahākābhṛta, m.,	133	Mahāvāna-sthāna, s. a. Mahāban,	107, 115, 116
Mahākālī, goddess,	125n	Mahāvira or Mahāvīradēva, te.,	63, 64, 67
Mahākāntāra, co.,	184n	Mahāyāna, sect of Buddhists,	321
Mahā-Kōśala, co.,	283, 343	Mahēndra, Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla,	64,
mahākshatrapa,	243, 245, 247	67, 71, 83	
mahākumāra,	105	Mahēndra, Mahākōśala k.,	343
Mahalla, Chālukya ch.,	2	Mahēndrapāla, Kanauj k.,	1, 2, 3, 4,
mahāmaṇḍalachakravartin,	165	9n, 27, 130, 199n	
mahāmaṇḍalēśvara,	149, 165, 257n,	Mahēndrāyudha, s. a. Mahēndrapāla,	1, 2, 3, 4
258, 259, 260n, 265, 267		Mahēśa, s. a. Śiva,	56
mahāmaṇḍalika,	124, 167, 168, 170	mahēśvara,	58, 59
mahāmātya,	265	Mahēśvara, m.,	169, 170
Mahana, Rāshtrakūṭa ch.,	320, 321,	Mahēśvara, s. a. Śiva,	11, 42, 47, 55, 67, 95,
322, 323, 326		125n, 181, 265, 273, 288, 315, 316	
Mahānadi, vi.,	184n, 283, 344	Maheswar, vi.,	106
Mahanaka, m.,	316	Mahicandra, k.,	303
Mahānāman, Buddhist teacher,	286	Mahidhara, m.,	79, 117
Mahāpanda, m.,	304	Mahiduka or Mahimduka, Prāgvāṭa ch.,	152
Mahāpasimha, m.,	149, 153	Mahindra, s. a. Mahēndra,	71
Mahāpasimha or Mahāpasimbabhaṭa, s. a.		Mahindu, do.,	71, 80, 83
Mānavasimha,	81, 82, 83, 152	Mahipāla or Mahipālādēva, Kanauj k.,	4, 28, 199n
Mahāṇḍaka, m.,	316	Mahipāla I., Pāla k.,	231, 233, 321
mahāpanḍita,	107	Mahipāla II., do.,	321
mahāpilupati,	300 and add.	Mahipāla, Paramāra k.,	11
mahāpradhāna,	119	Mahipālādēva, Bastar ch.,	166
mahāpratibāra,	289, 290	Mahishāsūramardini, goddess,	160, 161

	PAGE		PAGE
Mābīshmatī, <i>s. a.</i> Maheswar,	105, 106	maṇḍala,	27, 55
Mahmūd, of Ghazni,	321	Maṇḍalēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	289, 290
Mahmūd Shāh, <i>ch.</i> ,	308n	maṇḍalika or maṇḍalika,	178, 258, 259, 266
Mahōdaya, <i>s. a.</i> Kanauj,	4, 27, 28, 40	Maṇḍapadurga, <i>s. a.</i> Mandōgarh,	119, 120
Mahuāḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Mohod,	105, 106, 119, 120	Maṇḍapapura, <i>s. a.</i> Maṇḍapadurga,	120n
Māi, <i>f.</i> ,	153	maṇḍapikā,	63n
Mailama, <i>f.</i> ,	257n, 259, 266	Mandara, <i>mo.</i> ,	331, 341
Mailigidēva, <i>ch.</i> ,	165	Mandasōr, <i>vi.</i> ,	286
Maitapaṭa, <i>vi.</i> ,	65n	Maṇḍavyapūra, <i>s. a.</i> Mandor, 73, 154, 157n, 278n	
Maithila,	164	Māndhātā, <i>island</i> ,	103, 105n, 106, 117, 120
Maitra, <i>s. a.</i> Anurādhā,	56, 134	Māndhātā, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	266
Maitraka, <i>family</i> ,	269	Mandōdari, <i>wife of Rāvaṇa</i> ,	113
Maja, <i>prince</i> ,	140, 143	Mandōgarh (Māṇḍū), <i>vi.</i> ,	120
makara, <i>banner</i> ,	319n	Mandor, <i>vi.</i> ,	73, 154, 278
Mākaya, <i>m.</i> ,	206	Maṇḍuka, <i>m.</i> ,	22
Malabar, <i>co.</i> ,	230, 234, 313	Māṅgalīśa, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	201
Mālādhara, <i>m.</i> ,	119	Māṅgalūru (Mangalore), <i>vi.</i> ,	174
Mālava, <i>co.</i> , 26, 71, 72, 103, 104n, 105, 107n, 108, 115, 118, 151, 178 and add., 269		Māṅgi or Māṅgirāja, <i>Nolamba k.</i> ,	48, 49, 55
maḷave,	22	Māṅgiyuvarāja, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	55, 133
Malaya, <i>hill</i> ,	178	maṅgura, <i>fish</i> ,	288
Malay, <i>peninsula</i> ,	231	Māṇikīāla, <i>s. a.</i> Manikyāla,	137, 143
Malayālam (Malabar), <i>co.</i> ,	236	Māṇikkavāsagar, <i>Śaiva saint</i> ,	89
mālī,	316	Māṇikyadēvi, <i>s. a.</i> Dantēśvari,	164
Malik Khān, <i>s. a.</i> Rāja Malik,	308n	Manikyāla, <i>vi.</i> ,	240, 246
Maliyapūṇḍi, <i>vi.</i> ,	47, 48, 49, 50, 56, 132	Māṇikya-mahādēvi, <i>queen</i> ,	272, 274
Malkaparru, <i>vi.</i> ,	56	Māṇikyēśvari, <i>s. a.</i> Dantēśvari,	164
Mālkhed, <i>vi.</i> ,	27, 28, 251, 255n	Māṇṇai-kkaḍakkam or -kaṭaka, <i>s. a.</i> Maṇṇe, 230, 233	
Mallāṇi, <i>di.</i> ,	278	Māṇṇarkōyil, <i>vi.</i> ,	84
Mallapadēva, <i>E. Chalukya ch.</i> ,	48	Maṇṇe, <i>vi.</i> ,	230
Mallinātha, <i>commentator</i> ,	104n, 165n, 250n	Māṇṇi-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> ,	87
Mallishēṇa, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	266n	Manōratha, <i>m.</i> ,	64
Malliyūr, <i>s. a.</i> Guḍimallūr,	231, 233	Mansehra, <i>vi.</i> ,	136
Mālwā (Mālava), <i>co.</i> ,	189	Mantani, <i>vi.</i> ,	261n
Māmā bhāṇjā-kā mandir, <i>te.</i> ,	160	Mantena, <i>vi.</i> ,	261
Māmbaḷli, <i>vi.</i> ,	234	Manthena, <i>s. a.</i> Mantena,	261
māṇḍavi, <i>a custom house</i> ,	63n	Mantrakūṭa, <i>do.</i> ,	165, 261
Māpa, <i>family</i> ,	287, 288	Manu, <i>sage</i> ,	95, 260, 341
Mānābharaṇa or Mānakavacha, <i>sur. of</i> Arikēsari Parākrama-Pāṇḍya,	331n	Maṇugasāttava, <i>m.</i> ,	24
Mānābhūsha, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> ,	330, 331, 340	Mānyakhēṭa, <i>s. a.</i> Mālkhed,	25, 28, 40
Manalmāṅku, <i>vi.</i> ,	236, 239	Māramaraiyar, <i>s. a.</i> Mārasimha,	88n
Mānamātra, <i>s. a.</i> Mānāṅka,	172	Māramma, <i>sur. of Vijayāditya</i> ,	17, 22, 23
Mānāṅka, <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i> ,	172	Māraṇ, <i>the Pāṇḍya king</i> ,	86n
Mānapura, <i>vi.</i> ,	172	Māraṇjajaiyaṇ, <i>sur. of Varaguna</i> ,	86, 87
Mānasāra, <i>work</i> ,	125n	Mārasimha, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	88n
Mānavasimha, <i>Chāḍamāna k. of Naddūla</i> , 74n, 80, 82, 83		Marāṭhā, <i>co.</i> ,	43n, 201
Mānavira, <i>ch.</i> ,	165	Māṇavarman, <i>sur. of Pāṇḍya kings</i> ,	86n
Maṇavridhi, <i>m.</i> ,	181	Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara I., <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , 222, 223, 224, 225, 227	
		Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara II., <i>do.</i> , 222, 224, 225, 228	

	PAGE		PAGE
Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , .	228	Mevaku, <i>Satrap</i> ,	140n
Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., <i>do.</i> , .	223, 226	Mihira, <i>sur. of Bhōjadēva</i> ,	3
Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., <i>do.</i> , .	223, 227	Mihira-vihāra,	146
Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya III., <i>do.</i> , .	229	Miraboyana, <i>ch.</i> ,	140
Māṇavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, <i>do.</i> ,	229	Miran Ādil Khān, <i>Fārūqī k.</i> ,	310
Mārāyā, <i>m.</i> ,	316	Miran Ghani, <i>do.</i> ,	310
Mardian hills,	311	Miran Hussain Khān, <i>Fārūqī prince</i> , .	308n, 310
Mārjārakēśari, <i>s. a. Narasimhanāth</i> , .	184n	Miran Mubārak Shāh, <i>Fārūqī k.</i> ,	310
Mārkaṇḍa, <i>m.</i> ,	117	Miran Mubārīk Khān, <i>do.</i> ,	310
Mārkaṇḍēya, <i>m.</i> ,	116	Miran Muḥammad Khān or Miran Muḥammad	
Mārtanḍa, <i>m.</i> ,	272	Shāh I., <i>do.</i> ,	310
Maru or Maru-māḍa (Mārwaḍ), <i>co.</i> , .	79, 278	Miran Muḥammad Khān II., <i>do.</i> , .	308n, 310
Marusthali-maṇḍala, <i>co.</i> ,	61, 152	Miran Shāh, <i>sur. of Miran Ādil Khān</i> , .	307, 310
Māsūpidēsa, <i>di.</i> ,	233	Mirichebigam, <i>s. a. Vṛiśchika</i> ,	237
Mātā-ki-sāl, <i>Jaina temple</i> ,	191n, 277, 278, 279	Mirzā Ali Isfahānī, <i>m.</i> ,	308
maṭha,	18, 290	Mitāksharā, <i>commentary</i> ,	69n
Matha-a or Mahana, <i>s. a. Mahana</i> ,	322	Mithra (Mihra),	140
Mathurā or Mathurā-sthāna, <i>s. a. Muttra</i> , .	107,	Mitrayu, <i>family</i> ,	132
116, 135, 136, 138, 139, 147, 230,		Mlēchebhas,	149
240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 290, 291		Mōga (Mauaka), <i>k.</i> ,	139, 140, 141, 147
Mātrādasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288	Mōgalikā, <i>vi.</i> ,	28, 29, 40n
Mātriravi, <i>m.</i> ,	279	Mōha, <i>m.</i> ,	153
mātris, the seven,	319	mohaliza-shud, <i>it has been seen</i> ,	268n
Mātrisarman, <i>m.</i> ,	12	Mōhana, <i>m.</i> ,	153
mattar, <i>measure of land</i> ,	259, 267	Mohod, <i>vi.</i> ,	106
Mauos Mauakes, <i>k.</i> ,	140, 147	mōkālīpattāvardhana, <i>biruda</i> ,	330, 341
Maukhari, <i>family</i> ,	60, 138	mōksha,	113n
Mauḍēvi, <i>te.</i> ,	124n		
Mauḍē, <i>vi.</i> ,	67	months, lunar :—	
Māvāli, <i>vi.</i> ,	16, 17	Āśvina,	129, 130
Mayaṇalladēvi, <i>f.</i> ,	163	Bhādra or Bhādrapada, 67, 102, 105, 106,	
Mayidavōlu, <i>vi.</i> ,	268	129, 130, 159, 167, 169, 343, 345	
Mayūradhvaja, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	294	Chaitra,	81, 199, 250, 256, 278, 279
Mechakā, <i>vi.</i> ,	184	Jyēshṭha or Jyaishṭha, 68n, 82, 119, 124,	
Mēḍipōta,	176, 177, 181	128, 129, 152, 154, 155, 163	
Mēharipaka, <i>m.</i> ,	6	Kārttikā, 42, 47, 129, 161, 167, 170, 176,	
Mēhra (Mēhara), <i>family</i> ,	28	181, 290, 303, 312, 316	
Mēkala, <i>mo.</i> ,	269	Māgha,	1, 2, 3, 4, 218n, 294, 296
Mēkala-kanyā, <i>s. a. Narmadā</i> ,	269	Mārgasīra or Mārgasīrsha, 56, 95, 119, 134,	
Mēlāmbikā, <i>Kākatīya princess</i> ,	262n	301, 302	
Mēlarasa, <i>ch.</i> ,	259, 263, 267	Pausha, Paushya, or Pushya, 57, 59, 259,	
melliah, mallia or mēli (mēdi), <i>a kidnapper of</i>		267, 306, 309, 330, 340	
<i>victims for sacrifice</i> ,	177, 178n	Phālguna,	25, 40, 102, 129, 162, 163n, 218n
Mēlāśvūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	212	Śrāvāṇa, 12, 63, 64, 67, 68, 101, 102, 159,	
meriah, <i>a victim to human sacrifice</i> ,	176, 177	171, 296, 300	
Mēru, <i>mo.</i> ,	40, 189, 340	Vaiśākha (Baisākh), 71, 74, 80, 81, 158,	
Mēru, <i>s. a. Mahōdaya</i> ,	28, 40	159, 164, 201, 206	
Mēru or Mēra, <i>s. a. Mēhra</i> ,	28		
Mērutunga, <i>Jaina author</i> ,	105n, 149n, 156n	month, solar :—	
Mevaki Miyika, <i>Satrap</i> ,	140, 144	Purattādi,	208
		Moodanidambore, <i>vi.</i> ,	21

	PAGE	N	PAGE
Moon, race of the (<i>Sôma-vamśa</i> or <i>Sôma-vamśi</i>), 21, 22, 23, 26, 38, 113, 124, 127, 164, 167, 168, 170, 182, 183, 186, 230, 233, 320, 326, 329, 340			
Môrakarâ, <i>vi.</i> ,	67	Nabha, <i>s. a. Śrāvana</i> ,	12
Môrbi, <i>vi.</i> ,	4	Nābhāga, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	241
Mubārak or Mubārik Shāh, <i>s. a. Miran</i> Mubārak Shāh,	307, 308n, 309	nāda (nāḍa),	313, 316
Mubārik Shāh Chaukhandi, <i>sur. of Miran</i> Mubārik Khān,	307, 310	Nādāda, <i>vi.</i> ,	67
Muchukunda, <i>rishi</i> ,	184	Nadagām, <i>vi.</i> ,	94, 95
Mudgala, <i>family</i> ,	283	naḍai (naḍa), <i>a temple</i> ,	238n
Mudhasēli, <i>m.</i> ,	181 and add.	nāḍa-kutṭam, <i>a territorial assembly</i> ,	313
Mudusali,	181 add.	Nādāluva, <i>family</i> ,	16
Mugai-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> ,	231, 233	Naddūla, Naddūla or Nadūla, <i>s. a. Nadol</i> , 13n, 62, 63, 64, 67, 71, 72, 73, 79, 80, 81, 82n, 83, 152, 158, 159	
Mugdhathūga, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> ,	27	Naddūlai or Naddūlaigrama, <i>s. a. Nārulai</i> , 67, 159	
Mughal, <i>dy.</i> ,	306	Naddulapura or Nadūlapura, <i>s. a. Naddūla</i> ,	62n
Muhammad Ahmad, <i>ch.</i> ,	308n	Nadida, <i>vi.</i> ,	29
Muhammadan,	321	Nadol (Nādol), <i>vi.</i> , 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 72, 73, 158, 159	
Muhammad Shāh, <i>ch.</i> ,	308n	Nadūla, <i>s. a. Nadol</i> ,	159
Makhalingam, <i>vi.</i> ,	95	Nāga, <i>god</i> ,	239, 241
mukhāvattam,	236, 238	Nāga, <i>family</i> ,	89n
Muktāvasthū-sthāna, <i>vi.</i> ,	107	Nāga, Nāgavamśa or Nāgavamśi, <i>do.</i> , 161, 162, 163, 164, 176, 178, 181, 311, 312, 315, 316	
Mūla or Mūlarāja I., <i>Chaulukya k.</i> ,	151	Nāga, <i>m.</i> ,	6, 12
Mūlarāja, <i>k.</i> ,	207	Nāgabhaṭa, <i>Kanauj k.</i> ,	4, 26n
Mullī-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> ,	86, 92	Nāgabhaṭa, <i>Pratihāra ch.</i> ,	62n, 199, 280
mullūla,	59	Nāgabhaṭa, <i>s. a. Nāgabhaṭa</i> ,	198, 199
Mumtāz Mahall, <i>sur. of Arjumand Bānū</i> Bēgam, 306n		Nāga-dēva, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Mundēsvari, <i>te.</i> ,	285, 286, 287, 289	Nāga-hasti, <i>m.</i> ,	181
Mungir, <i>vi.</i> ,	251	Nāgakulamdhvara, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Muñjarāja, <i>s. a. Utpala</i> ,	3n	Nāgakumāra, <i>m.</i> ,	22
Muñjarāja, <i>s. a. Vākpatirāja II.</i> ,	71, 83n	Nāgalādēvi, <i>queen of Narasa</i> ,	340
Muñjanyuru, <i>vi.</i> ,	56	Nāgalamahādēvi, <i>queen</i> ,	181
Muñjiriva, <i>ch.</i> ,	49	Nāgamā, <i>queen of Kēta II.</i> ,	262n
munuḍa, <i>s. a. mṇuḍa</i> ,	59n	Nāgamā, <i>queen of Viśvanātha-Nāyaka</i> ,	330, 341
Muppidi, <i>ch.</i> ,	165	Nāgama-Nāyaka, <i>Madura Nāyaka</i> ,	330, 341
muraka, <i>measure</i> ,	95	Nāgamunḍin, <i>m.</i> ,	189
Murappunāḍu, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341	Nāgara (Nagara), <i>s. a. Nagarahāra</i> ,	144, 146
Murāri, <i>s. a. Vishṇu</i> ,	250	Nagarahāra, <i>vi.</i> ,	144
Muruṇaiyūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	236, 239	Nagarakatakam, <i>vi.</i> ,	95
Musalman or Mussalman,	124n, 165, 306, 321	Nagardhan or °dhana, <i>vi.</i> ,	43, 44
Musāngi, <i>s. a. Uchohāngi</i> ,	250, 233	Nāgāsvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288
Mutāvasthū-sthāna, <i>s. a. Muktāvasthū-sthāna</i> , 107, 115, 116		Nāgati, <i>k.</i> ,	257n
Muttavara, <i>m.</i> ,	22, 24	Nāgāvalōka, <i>k.</i> ,	62, 250, 251, 255
Muttra, <i>vi.</i> ,	107	Nāgōśvara, <i>m.</i> ,	6
Muttūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341	Nāgi, <i>god/ess</i> ,	241
Muttūrmala, <i>hill</i> ,	341	Nāgpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	43
Mysore, <i>State</i> ,	87	Nāgpur Museum,	103, 117, 160, 162, 171
		Nahara, <i>k.</i> ,	73
		Nāharman, <i>vi.</i> ,	169n

	PAGE		PAGE
Nāharni, <i>vi.</i> ,	175	Nandipōtavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	202, 205
Nahnā, <i>vi.</i> ,	172	Nandi-saṅgha,	56n
Nabusha, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	340	Nandivarīhana, <i>s. a. Nagardhan.</i>	43, 44
Naigama, <i>family</i> ,	64, 68	Nanna, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> ,	194, 195
Nainā, <i>s. a. Nahnā</i> ,	172	Nannaka, <i>m.</i> ,	6
Naishadhiyacharita, <i>quoted</i> ,	113n, 115n	Nannappaya, <i>m.</i> ,	233
Nakkavāram, <i>s. a. Nicobar islands</i> ,	231	Nannaratanāga, <i>m.</i> ,	192
nakshatras :—		Nannu, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Anurādhā,	56, 176, 181	Nānū, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Ādrā,	211	naptri, <i>a great-grandson</i> ,	319n
Chitrā,	129, 167, 170, 214, 215	Narabhaṭa, <i>Pratikāra ch.</i> ,	279
Dhanishṭhā,	224, 228n	Naraka, <i>demon</i> ,	255
Hasta,	210, 225, 229n, 278	Nārālāi (Narlāi), <i>vi.</i> ,	159
Kṛittikā,	217, 309	Nātāmbā, <i>queen of Gaṇapati</i> ,	262n
Maghā,	211, 212, 226	Narapāla, <i>m.</i> ,	153
Mṛiga, Mṛigaśirā, Mṛigaśiras or Mṛiga-		narapati,	321
śirsha,	12, 129, 130, 167, 169, 209, 210	Narasa or Narasā-Nāyaka, <i>Tuḷuva ch.</i> , 330,	
Mūla,	207		331, 340
Punarvasu,	208, 210, 211	Narasimha, <i>m.</i> ,	116, 117
Pūrva-Bhadrpadā,	214, 220n	Narasimhadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	165, 166
Pūrva-Phalguni,	214, 220n, 226, 228n	Narasimhadēva, <i>Nāgavamsi k.</i> ,	163, 164
Pūrvāshāḍhā,	119	Narasimhanāth, <i>te.</i> ,	184n
Punhya,	209, 214, 223, 224, 228n	Narasimhapōtavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	202, 206
Rēvati,	208, 235	Naravarman, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	105, 114, 121
Rōhini,	212, 216, 224, 309	Nārāyaṇa, <i>m.</i> ,	115, 117, 170
Śravaṇa,	208	Nārāyaṇa, <i>s. a. Vishnu</i> , 118, 133, 204, 311,	
Svāti,	212, 215		312, 316
Uttara-Bhadrpadā,	208, 220n	Nārāyaṇa, <i>te.</i> ,	161, 162, 290, 311, 313
Uttara-Phalguni,	223, 226	Nārāyaṇa I., <i>Ayya ch.</i> ,	262n
Uttarāshāḍhā,	220n, 225	Nārāyaṇapura, <i>s. a. Narāyanpāl</i> , 161, 162, 163,	
Nakshisapura, <i>vi.</i> ,	1, 4		179, 312, 313, 316
Nakshisapura, eighty-four, <i>di.</i> ,	1, 3, 4	Narāyanpāl or Nārāyanpāla, <i>vi.</i> , 160, 161, 162,	
Nala, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	340, 341		163, 179, 311, 313
Nalachampū, <i>kāvya</i> ,	28	Narēndramṛigarāja, <i>sur. of Vijayāditya II.</i> , 27,	
nāli, <i>measure</i> ,	89, 92, 93, 235, 238		55, 134
Nāmagantha, <i>work</i> ,	279	Narēndrasōna, <i>Vākātaka k.</i> ,	269
Nāmaladēvi, <i>s. a. Nāmalladēvi</i> ,	81	Narmadā (Narbādā), <i>ri.</i> , 27, 103, 105, 106,	
Nāmalladēvi, <i>queen of Vijaya</i> ,	80, 81, 83		107, 117, 119, 120, 269, 311, 343
Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, <i>di.</i> ,	233	Narsapur, <i>vi.</i> ,	57
Naubaya, <i>ch.</i> ,	260n, 262n	Narwar, <i>vi.</i> ,	181n
Nāmbhātaka, <i>s. a. Nadida</i> ,	29, 40	Nāsik, <i>vi.</i> ,	139n, 194n
Nāmvasthā, <i>m.</i> ,	70	Nasir Khān, <i>sur. of Ghazni Khān I.</i> , 307, 308,	
Nāpā, <i>vi.</i> ,	191n		309n, 310
Nāpaka, <i>s. a. Nāpā</i> ,	191n	Nātavāti or Nātavādi, <i>di.</i>	262n
Nanda, <i>k.</i> ,	329	nāthan,	313
Nandanpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	181n	nattam, <i>a village site</i> ,	313
Nandasi-Akasā, <i>queen of Rājula</i> ,	141	nāṭṭu-mudumai,	21n, 181 add.
Nandavilmudī, <i>m.</i> ,	20	Nāṭṭudō, <i>m.</i> ,	140, 143
Nandi, <i>bull</i> ,	94	Nausāri, <i>vi.</i> ,	25
Nandi-gachchha, <i>school of Jaina teachers</i> ,	56		

	PAGE
Navagāmva or Navagāmva-sthāna, <i>s. a.</i> Nawegāon,	119, 120
navamikā,	240
Navaunaka, <i>s. a.</i> Nabnā,	172
Nāvarasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288
Navasāhasāṅkasharita, <i>quoted</i> ,	118n
Nawādā, <i>vi.</i> ,	287
Nawegāon, <i>vi.</i> ,	120
nāyaka, . 124, 127, 128, 169, 170, 181, 313, 316	
Nāyaka, <i>family</i> ,	331
Nāyaka, <i>Nāgavamsī ch.</i> ,	181
Nayapakēlidēvi, <i>queen of</i> Gōvindhachandra,	321
Nayapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> ,	321
nāyga (nāyaka),	18n
nāyīru, <i>the sun</i> ,	237n
Nēdha, <i>Prāgvaṭa ch.</i> ,	151, 152
Nellore, <i>vi.</i> ,	99n
Nēmāditya, <i>m.</i> ,	28, 41
Nēmijina, Nēmijinēsa or Nēmitīrthakara, <i>s. a.</i>	
Nēminātha,	152, 154
Nēminātha, <i>Jaina saint</i> , 148, 149, 152, 154,	257n
Nepal, <i>co.</i> ,	286, 287, 289, 321
Nerūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	102
Nētrībhañja or Nētrībhañjadēva, <i>Bhañja ch.</i> ,	272, 273, 274, 275
Nicobar islands,	231
Niḍubrōlu, <i>vi.</i> ,	262n
nigadi, <i>s. a.</i> nīśadi,	86, 92n
nīladvaja, <i>banner</i> ,	313
Nīlagiri, <i>s. a.</i> Jagannātha,	42
nilaya, <i>s. a.</i> tara,	313, 316
Niravadyadhavala, <i>ch.</i> ,	49, 50, 56
Nirupama, <i>sur. of</i> Dhruva,	26, 38, 194, 195
nīśadi (nīyadi),	86, 94n
Nishkalāṅki, <i>incarnation</i> ,	306
nisime, <i>a stūpa</i> ,	142
nīśamamālaka,	142
Nityavarshanarēndradēva, <i>sur. of</i> Indra III.,	25, 28, 40
nivartana, <i>land measure</i> ,	58, 59, 296, 299, 319
Niyamam, <i>vi.</i> ,	86
Noḍamba-rāshṭra, <i>s. a.</i> Noḷambavādi,	48, 55
Nōgha, <i>m.</i> ,	6
Nōhalā, <i>Chaulukya princess</i> ,	3
Noḷambavādi, <i>di.</i> ,	43
Nṛiga, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	340
Nṛipatunga or Nṛipatūṅgavikramavarman,	
<i>Gaṅga-Pallava k.</i> ,	87, 88n
Nṛisimha, <i>m.</i> ,	182, 187

	PAGE
Nṛisimha or Narasimha <i>k.</i> ,	113n, 114n
Nuniz,	174
nūru (nīru), <i>lime</i> ,	86, 93
Nyāsa, <i>commentary on Kāsikāśrīti</i> ,	190

O

Ōbāmbikā, <i>queen of</i> Narasa,	340
Ōḍa-vishaya, <i>s. a.</i> Orissa,	231, 233
Ōdra-dēsa, <i>do.</i> ,	273n
Ōghaniryuktisūtra, <i>Jaina work</i> ,	118n
Omar-ul-Farūq Khalifā,	30n
Ōṅgērumārga, <i>di.</i> ,	262n
Ōṅginimārga, <i>s. a.</i> Ōṅgērumārga,	262n
Ongole, <i>vi.</i> ,	47
Ōpilisiddhi II., <i>Telugu-Chōḷa ch.</i> ,	260n
Orissa, <i>co.</i> ,	42, 43, 124, 176, 184, 231, 271, 273n, 285
Ōriyā, <i>s. a.</i> Orissa,	180n, 294
Ōrūngallu, Ōrūngallu or Orūngallu, <i>s. a.</i>	
Warangal,	257 and add., 259, 267
Ōsavāla, <i>tribe</i> ,	154n
Ōśvāl Śrāvaka, <i>sect</i> ,	279
Onde, <i>co.</i> ,	268n

P

Pāchpadrā, <i>di.</i> ,	278
pada, <i>a share</i> ,	106n, 114n, 119
Padamañjarī, <i>quoted</i> ,	206n
Paḍaṅkalāru, <i>vi.</i> ,	48, 132, 133n
paḍiār, <i>s. a.</i> pratihāra,	190
Pāḍi, <i>vi.</i> ,	167, 168 and add., 169, 170, 183
Padmākshī, <i>te.</i> ,	256, 257, 259n
Padmanābha, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Padmasvāmin, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Padmāvati, <i>goddess</i> ,	257n
pāga (hāga), <i>coin</i> ,	259, 267
Pagārā-pratijāgarāṇaka, <i>di.</i> ,	107
Pāgunavara-vishaya, <i>di.</i> ,	133
Pāhalla, <i>m.</i> ,	6
Paithan, <i>vi.</i> ,	42, 195
Pākhāl, <i>lake</i> ,	259, 260
Pāla, <i>dy.</i> ,	3, 4, 26, 28, 231, 251, 322
pala or palam, <i>weight</i> ,	22, 92, 93, 289, 290
Palaki-vishaya, <i>di.</i> ,	317, 319
Pālākōl, <i>vi.</i> ,	262n
Palāndur, <i>vi.</i> ,	283
Pālāsu Padmāśivirā, <i>m.</i> ,	316

	PAGE		PAGE
Pālaṭṭu, <i>m.</i> ,	169	paṛai, <i>measure</i> ,	235, 238
pālidhvaṇṇa, <i>banner</i> ,	205, 255, 256	Parakēsarivarman, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	89n
palimpsest records,	131, 132n, 167, 169n, 272	Parakēsarivarman, <i>sur. of Chōla kings</i> , 86n,	
Palipare, <i>m.</i> ,	20	89, 209, 210, 213, 214,	
Palitānā, <i>vi.</i> ,	73	217, 218, 219, 220, 230, 232	
Pallava, <i>dy.</i> , 48, 88n, 89n, 201, 202, 205,		paramabhaṭṭāraka, 1, 2, 25, 28, 40, 95, 132,	
	206, 207	170, 199, 258, 265, 286,	
Pallava, <i>s. a.</i> Gaṅga-Pallava,	88	288, 304, 313, 315, 316	
pallichchandam,	231, 233	paramadēvatādhidaivata,	286
Pallikā, <i>vi.</i> ,	62n	paramamābhēśvara,	286, 304
Palnāḍu, <i>di.</i> ,	257 add.	Paramāra, <i>dy.</i> , 3n, 11, 12, 43, 62n, 71, 72, 81,	
Paltū, <i>s. a.</i> Pālaṭṭu,	170	83n, 103, 104, 105, 106, 112n, 113, 118,	
Pāṃgarh, <i>vi.</i> ,	283	120, 149, 151, 159*	
Pampa-Bhārata, <i>quoted</i> ,	205n	Paramāra, <i>k.</i> ,	151
Pamparāja or Pamparājadēva, <i>Kākairā ch.</i> ,		Paramardidēva, <i>Chandēlla k.</i> ,	62
124, 125n, 128, 129, 166, 167, 168, 169n,		paramēśvara, 1, 2, 22, 23, 25, 28, 40, 42, 47,	
	170, 183, 184	56, 101, 132, 159, 199, 205, 258, 265, 304,	
Pāmvā, <i>s. a.</i> Pāṃgarh,	283	313, 315, 316	
Paṇayāṅgulam, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341	Paramēśvara, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu,	199
Pañchagāṅgā, <i>ri.</i> ,	28	Parandavaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ, <i>m.</i> ,	239
Pañchahari, <i>m.</i> ,	199	Parāntaka I., <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	217
pañchakalpin (pañchōlī),	107, 117	Parāntaka II., <i>do.</i> ,	231
Pañchāla, <i>co.</i> ,	4	Pārasa, <i>m.</i> ,	153
Pañchaladēva, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	258n	Parāśarasamṛiti, <i>quoted</i> ,	114n
pañchamahāśābda,	1, 258	Parasēbya, <i>m.</i> ,	23
Pañchanaliya, <i>the 13th sarga of the Naisha-</i>		Pārasika, <i>co.</i> ,	205
<i>dhīyacharita</i> ,	115n	Parasurāma, <i>saint</i> ,	40, 113, 233
Pañchappalli, <i>di.</i> ,	233	parganā, <i>a district</i> ,	106
Pañchatantra,	139	Pārijāta, <i>k.</i> ,	194
Pāṇḍarāṅga or Pāṇḍarāṅga, <i>ch.</i> ,	49, 50, 56	pārijāta, <i>tree</i> ,	194
paṇḍita, 106, 107, 115, 116, 117, 119, 164,		Pārijātamañjarī, <i>nāṭikā</i> ,	113n, 114
	168n, 169, 316	Parivrājaka, <i>family</i> ,	342n, 343
Pāṇḍiyan rock,	86n	Pārlapalli, <i>vi.</i> ,	98
Pāṇḍu, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	38n	Parpagūlam, <i>s. a.</i> Pāppāṅkulam,	331
Pāṇḍya, <i>co.</i> , 84, 85, 86n, 87, 88, 89, 93n, 101n,		paṛṭu, <i>a bundle</i> ,	93n
201, 205, 206, 214, 222, 223, 225n, 226,		Pārśvanātha, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	257n
230, 233, 234n, 330, 331, 340		pārśvika,	168n
Pāṇḍyakulassthāpanāchārya, <i>biruda</i> , 330, 331, 341		Parthian,	139, 248
Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala, <i>co.</i> ,	331, 341	Parvata, <i>di.</i> ,	277, 278
Pāṇḍyavillarasā, <i>m.</i> ,	19	Pārvatī, <i>goddess</i> ,	71, 315, 316, 326, 327
Paṅḡala-vāḍu, <i>di.</i> ,	231, 233	Pārvatī, <i>queen of Kēta II.</i> ,	262n
Pāṇini, <i>quoted</i> ,	46n, 48, 206n, 248, 320	Pārvatī, <i>te.</i> ,	198, 199
Pantha, <i>m.</i> ,	59, 60, 61	Pārvatīya, <i>tribe</i> ,	278
Panwā, <i>tribe</i> ,	176	Pāsupata,	18, 19
Papōṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	192	Pāsupata, <i>m.</i> ,	300
Pappālam, <i>vi.</i> ,	231	Pāsupati, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva,	299
Pāppāṅkulam, <i>vi.</i> ,	331	Pāṭaliputra, <i>s. a.</i> Paṭṭā,	25, 28, 40
Parabala, <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i> , 26n, 248, 250, 251,		Patan, <i>vi.</i> ,	286
	252, 256	patati (padāti),	20n
Parachakrarāma, <i>sur. of Vijayāditya III.</i> , 49, 55		pāṭhaka (pathak),	106, 107, 116, 119

	PAGE		PAGE
pathaka, <i>a district</i> ,	106, 119, 120	pirāda,	306
Pathāri, <i>vi.</i> ,	26n, 246, 251	Pisṭapūra, <i>s. a.</i> Piṭhāpuram,	317, 319
Paṭi or Paṭṭi, <i>sur. of Humcha</i> ,	17, 18, 19,	Pispasi, <i>f.</i> ,	141
	21, 261	Pitāmaha, <i>m.</i> ,	189
Paṭiāzellā, <i>vi.</i> ,	285, 287	Pithaḍa, <i>m.</i> ,	149
Pātika, <i>Sutrap.</i> ,	139	Piṭhapura or Piṭhāpuri, <i>s. a.</i> Piṭhāpuram,	322n
Paṭṇā, <i>vi.</i> ,	28	Piṭhāpuram, <i>vi.</i> ,	48, 49, 317, 322
pātra,	175, 177, 181	Piṭhā or Piṭhikā, <i>s. a.</i> Piṭhāpuram,	320, 321,
paṭṭa,	154		322, 323, 326
paṭṭabandha,	25, 28	Pitṛisvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288
Paṭṭadakal, <i>vi.</i> ,	102	poduvāl,	235, 237, 238, 239
Pattah, <i>vi.</i> ,	181n	Polalarasa, <i>s. a.</i> Prōla,	259, 260, 266
Pātaikkulam, <i>vi.</i> ,	331 and add., 341	poli, <i>s. a.</i> poliśai,	86
paṭṭakila,	105, 119	Polikēsin or Polekēsin I., <i>W. Chalukya</i>	
pattalaka,	320n	<i>k.</i> ,	99 and add., 201
pattalikā,	320, 327	Polikēsi-Vallabha or Polekēsi-Vallabha, <i>s. a.</i>	
paṭṭa-mahādēvi,	315	Polikēsin I.,	101, 204
Pattana, <i>vi.</i> ,	114n	poliśai (paliśai) or paliśa,	86
paṭṭāvali,	149	Polokku, <i>m.</i> ,	20
paṭṭi, <i>a plot of land</i> ,	169n	Pōlū, <i>m.</i> ,	127
Pātuka, <i>k.</i> ,	73	Pōlūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	230
Paṇḍia, <i>co.</i> ,	42, 46	Pombuchcha or Pombuchchapura, <i>s. a.</i> Hum-	
Pavitra, <i>m.</i> ,	117	cha,	17, 18, 261
pavitra, 'the <i>argha</i> vessel,'	115n	Pombulcha, <i>do.</i> ,	17, 22
Pāvunavāra-vishaya, <i>s. a.</i> Pāgunavara-vishaya,		Ponbuchchu, <i>do.</i> ,	16, 17
	132, 133	Ponvulcha, <i>do.</i> ,	17, 23, 24
Pedda-Vēgi, <i>vi.</i> ,	58	Poollore, <i>vi.</i> ,	21
Pēḍhilaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	2	Poona, <i>vi.</i> ,	200
Peṇbasaaru, <i>s. a.</i> Hebsur,	201, 206	Pooramari, <i>vi.</i> ,	177n
Pennai, <i>s. a.</i> Pennar,	86, 91	Pōravāḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Prāgvāṭa,	149
Pennar (Southern), <i>vi.</i> ,	88	porikkari,	92
Pērāmbā, <i>queen of Gaṇapati</i> ,	262n	pōta, <i>a sacrificial victim</i> ,	177
Pēraṅgiyūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	208	Pōtanabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	133n
Perbballi, <i>s. a.</i> Hebballi,	201, 206	Potinār, <i>vi.</i> ,	160, 161, 164
pergaḍe,	259, 266, 267	Poṭunūnka, <i>vi.</i> ,	319
Periyālvār, <i>Śrivaishṇava saint</i> ,	330n	Poyśa, <i>s. a.</i> Hoysala,	16
Persian,	136, 139, 141	Prabandhachintāmaṇi, <i>quoted</i> ,	105n, 149n, 156n
Perumbāṇappāḍi, <i>di.</i> ,	231, 233	Prabhākaraḥhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	25, 40n
Perundēvaṇār, <i>commentator</i> ,	230	Prabhākarasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	282, 284, 288
Peruñjīṅgaḍēva, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	207, 216, 217, 222	Prabhavati, <i>queen of Rudrasēna</i>	
Peshwa,	43	II.,	268
Pēthaḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Pithaḍa,	150	Prabhūtavarsha, <i>sur. of Gōvinda III.</i> ,	16
Phalgusvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	282, 284	prabōḥini-ēkādaśi, <i>tithi</i> ,	304
Pharaskōṭ (Parasukōṭṭa), <i>vi.</i> ,	169n	Prāchētasa, <i>s. a.</i> Vālmiki,	11
pillaiyār-śūli,	318n	Prāgvāṭa, <i>family</i> ,	64, 81, 149, 151
Piṇḍwārā, <i>vi.</i> ,	188	Prahārahūshaṇa, <i>m.</i> ,	19
Pinnama II., <i>Karṇāṭa cā.</i> ,	329	Prahladanadēvi, <i>queen of Udayasimha</i> ,	73, 83
Piplānagar, <i>vi.</i> ,	120	palāra,	331
Pirayānkuḷam, <i>vi.</i> ,	301	prakuti, <i>the Kshatriya caste</i> ,	279
Piridipati, <i>s. a.</i> Prithivipati II.,	88n	Prulavā, <i>s. a.</i> Halbā,	169

	PAGE
Pramāra, <i>s. a.</i> Paramāra, 11, 12, 105, 115, 118, 121, 151	
pranava,	341
Prāndoru, <i>vi.</i> ,	132, 133
Prāṅkēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	168, 170
Prapannāmrīta, <i>poem</i> ,	330n
Prasanna, <i>ch.</i> ,	172
praśasti, 41n, 71, 79, 107, 118, 123, 128, 151, 182, 183, 189, 250, 251, 293, 300, 321, 328	
Prasiddhadhavaḥ, <i>sur. of</i> Mugdhatuṅga, . . .	27
prastha, <i>measure</i> ,	289, 290
Pratāpa, <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i> Naddūla, . . .	80, 83
Pratāpachakravartin, <i>sur. of</i> Jagadēkamalla II.,	258n
Pratāpamalla, <i>s. a.</i> Pratāpa,	81, 152
Pratāparājadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	166
Pratāparudra, <i>k.</i> ,	165n
Pratāparudra or Pratāparudradēva, <i>Kākatīya</i> <i>k.</i> ,	165, 166, 257n, 259, 261n
Pratāparudrayasōbhūṣaṇa, <i>s. a.</i> Pratāparu- driya,	166
Pratāparudriya,	165n, 166
prātibhēdikā,	299
pratihāra,	119, 190, 199
Pratihāra or Pratihāra, <i>dy.</i> , 28, 62n, 199, 277, 278, 279	
pratihārya or prātihārya,	56
pratiṭṭhāgarāṇaka, <i>s. a.</i> parganā,	105, 106, 120
pratōli,	125
pravaṇikara, <i>tax</i> ,	305
Pravarapura, <i>vi.</i> ,	268
Pravaras :—	
Ābharadvasu,	276n
Ambarīsha,	112
Āṅgīrasa,	109, 110, 111, 112, 122
Āpnavāna,	110, 111, 112, 122
Asita,	111, 112
Aurva,	110, 111, 112, 122
Autatthya (Auchatthya),	111, 122
Āvatsāra,	110, 111, 112
Bārhaspatya,	110, 111, 112, 122
Bhāradvāja,	110, 111, 112, 122
Bhārgava,	110, 111, 112, 122
Bhārmyasva,	111n
Chavāna,	110, 111, 112, 122
Devala,	111, 112
Gārgya,	109
Gaurīvīta,	109
Gautama,	111, 122

	PAGE
Indrapramada,	276n
Jāmadagnya,	110, 111, 112, 122
Kaṁkasa,	110
Kāmkāyana,	110
Kāśyapa,	110, 111, 112
Mudgala,	111
Naidhruva,	110, 111, 112
Parāśara or Pārāśara,	109, 112
Parāvasa,	110
Śaktī (Śakti),	109, 112
Śāṁḍilya,	111, 112
Sārētasa,	110
Vaitahavya,	110
Vasishṭha or Vāsishṭha, 109, 110, 112, 276n, 303	
Yauvanāśva,	112
Pravarasēna I., <i>Vākātaka k.</i> ,	268
Pravarasēna II., <i>do.</i> , 267n, 268, 269, 270n, 271n	
Prāyasvāmī, <i>m.</i> ,	268
pregadā, <i>a minister</i> ,	313
Prithā, <i>mythical queen</i> ,	255
Prithivīpāla or Prithvīpāla, <i>Chāhamāna k.</i> <i>of</i> Naddūla,	64, 72, 83
Prithivīpati I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	87, 88
Prithivīpati II., <i>do.</i> ,	87, 88n
Prithivīsāgara, <i>Ālupa k.</i> ,	17, 19, 20, 21, 22
Prithivishēṇa I., <i>Vākātaka k.</i> ,	268, 269
Prithivishēṇa II., <i>do.</i> ,	267, 269
prithivīvallabha,	101
Prithivīvarmadēva, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	274
Prithuvaidhana, <i>Śailavamsa k.</i> ,	42, 46
Prithvidēva, <i>Ratnapura ch.</i> ,	293, 294, 295
Prithvidhara, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Prithvirāja, <i>Chauhān k.</i> ,	178
Prithvirāja, <i>s. a.</i> Prithvidēva,	294
Prithvirāja II., <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i> Śākambhari, 62	
Prithvirāja-Rāsō, <i>quoted</i> ,	178n
prithivīvallabha,	265
Priyachelva, <i>m.</i> ,	20
Prōdarāja, <i>s. a.</i> Prōla,	165, 260
Prōla or Prōlarasa, <i>Kākatīya k.</i> , 165, 256, 257n, 259, 260, 261, 262, 266	
Prōlerāja, <i>s. a.</i> Prōla,	165, 260
Prōṭṭiyō, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Ptolemy,	331
Pudukkōṭṭai, <i>vi.</i> ,	331
Pūki-vishaya, <i>di.</i> ,	318
Pulakēśin, <i>s. a.</i> Polikēśin I.,	317

	PAGE
Pulakēsin, Pulikēsin or Polekēsin II., <i>W.</i>	
<i>Chalukya k.</i> , . 15, 99, 101n, 201, 317, 322	
Puleyarma, <i>m.</i> ,	24
Puliamma, <i>m.</i> ,	181
Pulindasēna, <i>Sailōdbhava ch.</i> ,	42
puliṅgarī,	92
Puliyāṅguḷa-ōḍai,	331, 341
puliyittadungarī,	92n
pulukkukkārī,	92
Puṇalūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	236, 239
Puṇḍarika, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	155n
Puṇḍāgavṛikṣhamūla-gaṇa, <i>school of Jaina teachers</i> ,	56n
Puralūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	89n
Pūram, <i>s. a. Pūrva-Phalgunī</i> ,	214
Purāṇas,	194n
puratōbbhadra,	125, 128
Pūratāḍī (Pūrva-Bhadrapadā),	214
Purī, <i>vi.</i> ,	42, 184
Purisadatta, <i>Andhra k.</i> ,	50
Pūrṇapāla, <i>ch.</i> ,	191
Pūrṇapāla, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , 10, 11, 13n, 71n, 151	
Purūravas, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	186
Purushōttama, <i>m.</i> ,	116, 117, 316
Purushōttamadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	165
Pūrvarāshṭra, <i>co.</i> ,	283
Pushyasvāmī, <i>m.</i> ,	288
pustakprakāśa,	189n
Puttanēri, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341
puṭṭige (puṭṭi), <i>a basket</i> ,	22n

Q

Quilon, <i>vi.</i> ,	236, 238n
--------------------------------	-----------

R

Rachhila, <i>s. a. Tachhila</i> ,	140, 147
Ragholi, <i>vi.</i> ,	41, 43, 44, 284n
Raghu, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	164n, 260
Baghuvamāsa, <i>quoted</i> ,	104n, 113n, 275n
Rāhatgaḍh, <i>vi.</i> ,	118
Raichur, <i>vi.</i> ,	261n
Raigarh, <i>vi.</i> ,	281
rainy season,	242
Raipur, <i>vi.</i> ,	167, 171, 172, 282, 283, 342
Rairākhōl, <i>di.</i> ,	124n, 184n
rājā or rāja,	119, 303
Rāja Alī Khān, <i>Fārūqī k.</i> ,	307, 308n, 310
Rājabbhima, <i>sur. of Chālukya-Bhima II.</i> ,	49, 55

rājādhirāja or rājātirāja, 2, 4, 163, 242, 244,	
	245, 345
Rājādhirāja I., <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	218, 230
Rājādhirāja [II.], <i>do.</i> , 207, 210, 211, 212,	
	213, 219
rājādhirājarshi,	342n
Rājāditya or Rājādityarasa, <i>k.</i> ,	16
Rāja-gacheba, <i>school of Jaina teachers</i> ,	154
rāja-guru,	107
Rājaka, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Rājakēsarivarman, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	92n
Rājakēsarivarman, <i>sur. of Chōla kings</i> , 86n,	
88n, 179n, 207, 210, 211, 212, 213, 217,	
	218, 219, 221
Rājakēsarivarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, <i>Koṅgu k.</i> ,	
	223, 225, 226
rājakula,	67
Rāja Malik or Malik Rāja, <i>Fārūqī k.</i> , 307,	
	308, 309, 310
Rājamārtanḍa, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	49, 55
Rājamayya, <i>s. a. Rājamārtanḍa</i> ,	49
rājan,	82, 106, 116
Rājanāthakavi, <i>poet</i> ,	330
Rājapur, <i>fort</i> ,	161
Rājapura, <i>vi.</i> ,	174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 181
rājaputra,	66, 67, 301
Rājārāja, <i>E. Chalukya ch.</i> ,	322
Rājārāja I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , 84, 89, 92n, 93n, 207,	
	217, 231, 238n
Rājārāja II., <i>do.</i> ,	207, 209, 210, 219
Rājārāja III., <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	213, 215, 216, 221
Rājārāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>sur. of Ambā-</i>	
<i>samudram</i> ,	84
Rājārājakēsarivarman, <i>s. a. Rājārāja I.</i> ,	207, 208
Rājārāja-maṇḍalam, <i>the Pāṇḍya country</i> ,	84
Rāja-Rājārājadēva, <i>s. a. Rājārāja I.</i> ,	208
Rājasēkhara, <i>poet</i> ,	4, 27
Rājasimhēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	202, 206
rājasthāniya,	190, 288
Rājatarāṅgiṇī, <i>quoted</i> ,	248, 300, 301n
rājāvalī	81, 151, 152
Rājāvalī-kathe,	266n
rājavallabha,	168n
Rājē, <i>m.</i> ,	116
Rājendra-Chōḍa, <i>Velanāṇḍu ch.</i> ,	261, 262n
Rājendra-Chōḍa I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , 54, 86n, 88,	
	179n, 217, 229, 230, 231, 232, 322
Rājendra-Chōḍa II., <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.</i> ,	218
Rājendra-Chōḍa III., <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	213, 222
Rājendra-Chōḍa-Vinnagar, <i>te.</i> ,	84n

	PAGE		PAGE
Rājēndradēva, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	89, 218	Raṇasāgara, <i>Ālupa k.</i> ,	17, 18, 19
Rājēndrasīmha-vaṇaśādu, <i>di.</i> ,	87	Raṇasūra, <i>k.</i> ,	231, 233
Rāj-Gonḍ, <i>tribe</i> ,	281	Raṇavigraha, <i>s. a. Mugdhatuṅga</i> ,	27, 39
Rājila, <i>m.</i> ,	192	Raṇavikrama, <i>sur. of Polikēśin I.</i> ,	317, 319
Rājīla, <i>ch.</i> ,	189, 191	Raṇavikramaśātha, <i>m.</i> ,	21
Rajjila, <i>Pratīhāra ch.</i> ,	279	Raṇavira, <i>m.</i> ,	316
rājūi,	303	Rāpāyini, <i>sākhā</i> ,	116
Rajpāldēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	166	Raṅgakṣhitindra, <i>brother of Achyutarāya</i> ,	340
Rājputānā, <i>co.</i> ,	150, 189, 279	raṅga-maṇḍapa,	331, 341
Rājūla, <i>Satrap</i> ,	138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143 and add., 147	Raṅganātha, <i>te.</i> ,	330, 340
Rājyaghaṅgakam, <i>vi.</i> ,	199	Ranjubala, <i>s. a. Rājūla</i> ,	143
Rājyamahādēvi, <i>queen</i> ,	284n	Raṇnādēvi, <i>queen of Dharmapāla</i> ,	251
Rājyasthala, <i>vi.</i> ,	2	rāshṭra, <i>a province</i> ,	40
rakṣābhōgam (rāja-bhōgam),	238n	Rāshṭrakūṭa, <i>dy.</i> ,	3, 15, 16, 25, 26, 27, 28, 38, 43, 44, 48, 49, 71, 172, 193, 194, 195, 250, 251, 255, 283, 322, 323
rākshasa,	55	rāshṭrakūṭa, <i>the headman of a village</i> ,	56, 132
Raktapura, <i>s. a. Lakshmeśvara</i> ,	201, 206	Rāshṭraūḍa, <i>family</i> ,	67
Rāma, <i>m.</i> ,	115	Rāshṭrōḍa, <i>do.</i> ,	67n
Rāma or Rāmarāja II., <i>Karṇāṭa</i> <i>ch.</i> ,	329, 330, 340	Rāṭahraḍa, <i>vi.</i> ,	73
Rāma, <i>saint</i> , 80n, 113, 164n, 185, 266, 312, 340		Ratanpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	27, 43n, 162n, 181n, 293, 295
Ramā, <i>s. a. Lakshmi</i> ,	266	Ratanpura, <i>vi.</i> ,	73
Rāmachandra, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	71	Ratāwā, <i>vi.</i> ,	184
Rāmachandra, <i>s. a. Rāma</i> ,	66, 181, 185	Rati, <i>goddess</i> ,	266
Rāmacharita, <i>poem</i> ,	321, 322	Ratidāsa, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Rāmadēva, <i>m.</i> ,	301, 302	Ratnapura, <i>s. a. Ratanpura</i> ,	73
Rāmadēva, <i>Dēvagiri Yādava k.</i> ,	200	ratna-traya,	265
Ramalavva-vishaya, <i>di.</i> ,	273, 275	Raṭṭa, <i>s. a. Rāshṭrakūṭa</i> ,	27, 39
Rāmalingēśvarasvāmi, <i>te.</i> ,	47	Raṭṭa-Kandarpa, <i>sur. of Indra III.</i> ,	27, 40
Rāmanākāsana, <i>m.</i> ,	316	Raṭṭapāḍi (Irattabāḍi), <i>co.</i> ,	230, 233
Rāmanāthapuram, <i>vi.</i> ,	86	Raṭṭarāja, <i>Silāra ch.</i> ,	28
Rāmaṅgulam, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341	Rāvāṇa, <i>demon</i> ,	39, 113n, 250
Rāmapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> ,	220, 321, 322, 326	Rāviparṇu, <i>vi.</i> ,	132, 133
Rāmapālacharita, <i>s. a. Rāmacharita</i> ,	322	Rāviya-peṇṇa-cheruvu, <i>tank</i> ,	56
Rāmappa lake,	257n	Rāyapāla, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> ,	158, 159
Rāmarāja I., <i>Karṇāṭa ch.</i> ,	329	Rēbhilāka, <i>m.</i> ,	192
Rāmasaṇṇa, <i>s. a. Rāmsen</i> ,	73, 74	Rēcharla, <i>family (?)</i> ,	257n
Rāmasarman, <i>m.</i> ,	201, 206	Red hill,	43
Rāmāyana,	312, 343	Rēvā, <i>s. a. Narmadā</i> ,	105, 119, 120
Rāmēśvara, <i>m.</i> ,	116, 117	Rēvatisvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	287, 288
Rāmsen, <i>vi.</i> ,	73	Rishabua, <i>s. a. Ādinātha</i> ,	148, 149, 151, 152, 154, 155n
Rāmtek, <i>vi.</i> ,	43, 44	Rishi, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Raṇabhaṇja or Raṇabhaṇjadēva, <i>Bhaṇja</i> <i>ch.</i> ,	272n, 273	Rōhaṇa, <i>mo.</i> ,	323, 328
Raṇadhāri, <i>m.</i> ,	22	Rōhimsaka, <i>s. a. Ghaṭiyālā</i> ,	278, 279
rāpaka,	73, 168n	Rōhimsakūpa or 'kūpaka, <i>do.</i> ,	278, 279
Raṇakēśarin, <i>Kākaira ch.</i> ,	183, 187	Rōhinsvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	298
Raṇakīrti, <i>ch.</i> ,	86n	Rūdalaḍēvi, <i>Chāhamāna princess</i> ,	72, 83
Rāṇapabbhatta, <i>m.</i> ,	25, 40n	Rudhirādhyāna, <i>puṣṭa</i> ,	177
Raṇarāga, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	317, 319	Rudra, <i>ch.</i> ,	

	PAGE		PAGE
Rudra, Rudradēva or Rudradēva-Mahārāja, <i>Kākatīya k.</i> , . 165, 256n, 257n, 259, 260, 261n, 262		Saka, <i>tribe</i> ,	139, 147
Rudra, <i>Nātavādī ch.</i> ,	262n	Śākadvīpa- or Śākadrīpīya-Brahmana,	279
Rudra, Rudramadēvi or Rudradēva-Mahārāja, <i>s. a.</i> Rudrāmbā, . . . 165n, 257n and add.		Śākambhari, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 62, 67, 71, 80, 82, 83, 154, 251	
Rudraka, <i>m.</i> ,	192	Śākambhari-māpikya, <i>sur. of</i> Lakshmana,	71n, 80
Rudramahādēvi, <i>s. a.</i> Rudrāmbā,	257 add.	Sakastāna, <i>the Saka country</i> ,	139, 147
Rudrāmbā, <i>Kākatīya queen</i> , . . . 164n, 165n and add.		Śakkaragōṭṭam or Śakkarakōṭṭam, <i>s. a.</i> Chakrakōṭya, 179n and add., 230, 233	
Rudrapratāpadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	166	Śaktikumāra, <i>m.</i> ,	128
Rudrasēna I., <i>Vākātaka k.</i> ,	268	Śākyamuni, <i>s. a.</i> Buddha,	141
Rudrasēna II., <i>do.</i> ,	268	Śālaṅkāyana, <i>family</i> ,	58, 59
Rudrēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	257n	Śāluva, <i>do.</i> ,	330n
Rūpādēvi, <i>queen of</i> Tējasimha,	74, 83	Śālya, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	255
rūpakāra,	119	Śālya or Śatruśālya, <i>k.</i> ,	73
S		samāhartṛi,	43
Sabbamā, <i>Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi princess</i> ,	262n	Sāmāngadh, <i>vi.</i> ,	193
Sabbamā, <i>Velanāṇḍu princess</i> ,	262n	sāmanta, 71n, 132, 172, 273	
Sabbi-sāyira (Sabbi, one thousand), <i>di.</i> , 258, 259, 260, 266		Sāmanta, <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i> Śākambharī,	62
Śabdānūsāsanavṛitti, <i>quoted</i> ,	207	Samara, <i>m.</i> ,	316
śabdika, <i>a grammarian</i> ,	119	Samarapura, <i>vi.</i> ,	73
Sabhapati Svayambhū, <i>m.</i> ,	331, 341	Samarasimha, <i>s. a.</i> Samarasimha,	73
Sadāśiva or Sadāśivarāja, <i>Tijayanagara k.</i> , 328, 329, 330, 331, 340, 341		Samarasimha, <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i> Naddūla, 62n, 73, 74, 80, 81, 82, 83, 152	
Sādha, <i>ch.</i> ,	72	Samarasimha, <i>m.</i> ,	153
Sadhanva, <i>Chaulukya ch.</i> ,	3	Samarāvalōka, <i>sur. of</i> Śaṅkaragana,	193, 195
Sādharapa, <i>m.</i> ,	117	Samastabhuvanāśraya, <i>sur. of</i> E. Chalukya kings, 48, 56, 132	
sādhu, 181, 238, 239n, 313, 316		Sāmatasimha, <i>Chāhumāna ch.</i> ,	82
Sadri, <i>vi.</i> ,	158	samayadrōharagandha, <i>biruda</i> ,	330, 341
Saduktikarnāṃrita, <i>poem</i> ,	323	samayakōlāhala, <i>do.</i> ,	330, 341
Sagalarāja or Saḷagarāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	330	Sambharirāja, <i>a Chāhamāna chief</i> ,	71n
Sagara, <i>mythical k.</i> , 164n, 206		Śāmbhu, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, 71, 72, 271, 340	
sāgarakṣobha, <i>musical instrument</i> ,	2n	Śāmbhukallu, <i>te.</i> ,	17, 19
Śagguyayyana, <i>k.</i> , 286, 288		Śāmbilaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	172
Saghastān, <i>s. a.</i> Seistān,	137	Samgama, <i>m.</i> ,	6
Sahadēva, <i>ch.</i> ,	301	Samgamarāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	11
Sahārāṅga (Sāhārāṇu), <i>m.</i> ,	181	Samgamasimha, <i>k.</i> ,	344n
Sāhasatūṅga, <i>sur. of</i> Dantidurga,	255n	Sāmira, <i>vi.</i> ,	195
Sahasrārjuna, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	39	Śāmkara, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, 67, 187	
Sahēt Mahēt, <i>vi.</i> , 290, 291		Śāmkarasvāmi, <i>m.</i> , 282, 284	
Sāhila, <i>m.</i> ,	250	Saṅki, <i>s. a.</i> Sanki, 28, 29, 40n	
Sāhityaprakāśa, <i>quoted</i> , 45n		samkrāntis :—	
Śailavāmā, <i>family</i> , 42, 43, 41, 46		Makara-samkrānti, 330, 340	
Śailōdbhava, <i>do.</i> , 42, 43		Uttarāyana-samkrānti (Winter solstice), 49, 56, 259, 266	
Śailōdbhava, <i>ch.</i> ,	42	Sāmoli, <i>vi.</i> ,	12
Śaiva, 18, 89		Samuddhara, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Śaivism,	257	samudraghōsha, <i>musical instrument</i> ,	206
		Samudragupta, <i>Gupta k.</i> , 184n, 343	
		Sāmyatasimha, <i>s. a.</i> Sāmyantasimha, 74n, 82	

	PAGE		PAGE
Sāmyantasiṃha, <i>Chāḥumāna k.</i> ,	74, 82	sarvamānya,	341
Sānchi, <i>vi.</i> ,	136, 244, 245, 246	Sarvāstivādin, <i>school of Buddhist teachers</i> ,	139, 141, 144, 146, 291
Sānchor, <i>vi.</i> ,	73	sarvatôbbhadra,	125
Sandavarada, <i>m.</i> ,	21	Sarvavandu (Sarvabandhu), <i>m.</i> ,	24
Sandēra- or Sandēraka-gaohchha, <i>school of Jaina teachers</i> ,	63	śāsana, <i>religion</i> ,	55
Sandēra, <i>s. a.</i> Sanderao,	63n, 72	Śāsanadēvi, <i>goddess</i> ,	257n, 266
Sanderao, <i>vi.</i> ,	63n, 72	Śāsānkarāja, <i>k.</i> ,	42, 286, 343n
sāndhivigrahika,	119, 272, 274	Satajana, <i>vi.</i> ,	106, 120
Sandhyākaranandi, <i>author</i> ,	321	Satājupā, <i>s. a.</i> Satajana,	105, 106
Śāṇḍilyakavichakravartin, <i>biruda of Trivikrama</i> ,	28	Sātārā, <i>vi.</i> ,	317
Śāṇḍimattivu, <i>the island of Śāntimat</i> ,	230, 233	sati pillars,	161, 166
Sandohal, <i>s. a.</i> San Doil,	172n	Satrap, <i>s. a.</i> Kshatraps,	138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144, 147
San Doil, <i>vi.</i> ,	172n	Śatrumjaya, <i>hill</i> ,	153
Saṅga, <i>k.</i> ,	73	Śatrumjaya-mābātmya, <i>quoted</i> ,	155n
saṅgha,	141, 146	Sattamadēva, <i>m.</i> ,	142
Sāngli, <i>vi.</i> ,	27, 28	Śāttan Śālaiyan, <i>m.</i> ,	239
Śānkarāchārya, <i>Advaita teacher</i> ,	296	Satyadēva, <i>m.</i> ,	189, 192
Śātkaradēvi, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa princess</i> ,	320, 322, 323, 326	Satyagirinātha-Perumāl, <i>te.</i> ,	225
Śānkaragaṇa, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> ,	48, 296, 299	Sātyaki, <i>branch of the Yadu dynasty</i> ,	26, 38
Śānkaragaṇa or Śānkaragaṇarāja, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> ,	193, 195	Satyapura, <i>s. a.</i> Sānchor,	73
Sānkhēḍā, <i>vi.</i> ,	300 add.	Satyāśraya, <i>sur. of W. Chalukya kings</i> ,	55, 99, 101, 133, 201, 265, 317, 319
Sānkhini, <i>ri.</i> ,	161, 164	Satyāśraya (Iṇivabēḍaṅga), <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	166n
Sauki, <i>vi.</i> ,	29	Saurāshṭra-maṇḍala, <i>co.</i> ,	3, 4
Sānkila, <i>s. a.</i> Śānkaragaṇa,	48, 49, 55	Saurāshṭrika,	67
Śānkuka, <i>do.</i> ,	48	Śauri, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu,	250, 256
saṅkura (saṅkara), <i>a double sack</i> ,	22n	Śauri-Nārāyaṇa, <i>te.</i> ,	303
Śānnaran Kaṇḍan, <i>m.</i> ,	239	Sauvādhana, <i>Śailavāmśa k.</i> ,	42, 46
sannidhātṛi,	43	Sauvarṇagiri, <i>s. a.</i> Sonalgarh,	73
santāna, <i>tree</i> ,	340	śavai-vāriyar,	86n
Śāntara, <i>family</i> ,	16 and add., 261	Śavalakkāraṅkulam,	331, 341
Śāntilla, <i>general</i> ,	300 add.	Sāvitri, <i>f.</i> ,	316
Sapādalaksha, <i>co.</i> ,	154	sāvu(sāu), <i>s. a.</i> sēṭhi,	167, 169, 170
sārā, <i>supervision (?)</i> ,	168n	Seythian,	140
Śarabhapura, <i>vi.</i> ,	172, 282, 283, 284 and add.	Sebbi, <i>thirty, di.</i> ,	258n
Śarangarh, <i>vi.</i> ,	281, 282, 283	Śēgrava (Śaigrava), <i>gōtra</i> ,	247, 248
Sarasvatī, <i>goddess</i> ,	114, 266, 316	Seistān, <i>di.</i> ,	137, 139
Sarasvatī, <i>ri.</i> ,	12	Sēnavadi, <i>m.</i> ,	22
Sarasvatī or Sarasvatī-sthāna, <i>vi.</i> ,	107, 116	Śendamil, <i>quoted</i> ,	330n
Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharana, <i>work</i> ,	28	Sēṇḍavaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	3
Sargachh, <i>vi.</i> ,	181n	Seorinārāyan, <i>vi.</i> ,	130, 233
Sarjupari, <i>sect of Brāhmaṇas</i> ,	304	Śēramāṇ, <i>the Chēra king</i> ,	231n
Sārānāth, <i>vi.</i> ,	139, 140, 240n, 241, 291, 292, 319	serpent, <i>banner</i> ,	312
śāringa, <i>bow</i> ,	38	Śēsha, <i>serpent</i> ,	256
Sarsavṇi, <i>vi.</i> ,	296, 298n, 299n	sēṭhi,	167, 169
Saruvigōśāsiga, <i>m.</i> ,	24	Set-Mahet, <i>ri.</i> ,	243
Sarvajñachakravartin, <i>sur. of Sōmēśvara III.</i> ,	258n	Sētu, <i>s. a.</i> Rāmēśvaram,	38, 340
		Śēvak, <i>s. a.</i> Śākadvipa-Brāhmaṇa,	279

	PAGE		PAGE
śevittṇ(śevīḍu), <i>measure</i> ,	86, 92, 93	Śītalā, <i>goddess</i> ,	125, 135
Shābhāzgarhī, <i>vi.</i> ,	136, 142	Śītalā, <i>tank</i> ,	123, 125
Shāhī Vāsashka, <i>s. a. Vāsushka</i> ,	244	Śiva, <i>god</i> , 25, 61, 72, 73, 86n, 95n, 105, 119, 132, 155n, 160, 162, 164, 168, 175, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 199, 205, 208, 223, 238n, 270, 275n, 291, 299, 301	
shamhalātāmaka,	105	Śivaliṅga,	270
Shandēra-ka-gachchha, <i>s. a. Sandēra-gachchha</i> ,	63n	Śivalli (Shivalli), <i>vi.</i> ,	21
Shatsahasra, <i>di.</i> ,	261n	Śivapāla, <i>m.</i> ,	12
Sheo, <i>di.</i> ,	278	Śivarāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	285, 286, 288
Shérmādēvi, <i>vi.</i> ,	86n	Śivavalli, <i>s. a. Śivalli</i> ,	21, 22, 24
Shimadhara, <i>m.</i> ,	153	Śivayōgarāthasvāmin, <i>te.</i> ,	207, 212
Shivully, <i>s. a. Śivalli</i> ,	21	Siwālik, <i>mo.</i> ,	62, 67n, 154
Sholinghur, <i>vi.</i> ,	88n, 89n	Siwani, <i>vi.</i> ,	270n, 271n
Siddhādhirāja, <i>s. a. Siddharāja</i> ,	72	Śiyadōni, <i>vi.</i> ,	63n, 180n and add.
Siddhapabbhatta, <i>m.</i> ,	25, 40	Śōbbhanadēva, <i>m.</i> ,	149n
Siddharāja, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> ,	72, 83n	Śōbhita or Śōbhita, <i>s. a. Sōhiya</i> ,	67, 68n, 71, 80, 83
Siddhēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	103	Śōdāsa, <i>s. a. Śōṇḍāsa</i> ,	243, 245, 247, 248
Siggava, <i>s. a. Śēgrava</i> ,	248	Śōdha, <i>m.</i> ,	68
Siba, <i>m.</i> ,	6, 153	Śōhāḍa, <i>m.</i> ,	118n
Sihavāhalaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	2	Śōhāḍa, <i>s. a. Subhāṭavarman</i> ,	105n
Sihāwā, <i>vi.</i> ,	124, 167, 182, 183, 184, 185	Śōhi, <i>m.</i> ,	153
Śilabhadrasūri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	154	Śōhi, <i>s. a. Sōhiya</i> ,	80, 83
Śilābhañjadēva, <i>Bhañja ch.</i> ,	273	Sōhiya, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> ,	64, 68n, 71, 80, 83
Śilābhañjapāti, <i>vi.</i> ,	273n	Solar race,	164n, 260, 262
Śilāra, <i>family</i> ,	119n	Sōmachandra, <i>Kākaira ch.</i> ,	124, 127, 183
Śilōbbhava, <i>s. a. Śailōdbhava</i> ,	42	Sōmana, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Śilpin,	323, 328	Sōmarājadēva, <i>Kākaira ch.</i> ,	167, 170, 183
Śiluka, <i>Pratihāra ch.</i> ,	280	Sōmēsa, <i>te.</i> ,	72
Simha, <i>s. a. Jayasimha</i> ,	301, 302	Sōmēśvara, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Śākambharī</i> ,	62, 71n
Simha or Simharāja, <i>Kākaira ch.</i> , 182, 183, 184, 186		Sōmēśvara, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Simhakantba, <i>m.</i> ,	117	Sōmēśvara I., <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> ,	230
simhakarpa,	15n	Sōmēśvara III., <i>do.</i> ,	258n
Simhaḷa, <i>s. a. Ceylon</i> ,	178, 205	Sōmēśvara or Sōmēśvaradēva (I.), <i>Nāgavamsī</i> <i>k.</i> ,	161, 162, 163, 164, 312, 316
Simharāj, <i>Kākaira ch.</i> ,	124, 127	Sōmēśvara or Sōmēśvaradēva (II.), <i>do.</i> ,	160, 162, 164
Simhavarman, <i>Chaulukya ch.</i> ,	3	Sōmidēva, <i>Karṇāṭa ch.</i> ,	329
Simhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	57	Sōn, <i>ri.</i> ,	343, 344
Simion Shāh, <i>ch.</i> ,	303n	Sonalgah, <i>fort.</i> ,	73
Sinda, <i>family</i> ,	164, 178, 312	Sōnānam, <i>vi.</i> ,	67
Sindho, <i>so.</i> ,	73	Śōṇḍāsa, <i>Kshatrapa k.</i> ,	246, 247, 248
Sindhupurra, <i>s. a. Sindhurāja</i> ,	79n	Sonos, <i>s. a. Sōn</i> ,	343
Sindhurāja (Simharāja), <i>Chāhamāna k.</i> ,	79	Sōnpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	184n
Sindhurāja, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	3n, 118n	Sorab, <i>vi.</i> ,	16
Siugadatta, <i>m.</i> ,	21	Śiavana-Belgoḷa, <i>vi.</i> ,	258n
Siṅghaṇa, <i>Dēvagiri Yādava k.</i> ,	165	Śrāvasti, <i>s. a. Sabāt Mahēt</i> ,	291
Śirijālabgulam, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341	Śravasrāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288
Sirohi, <i>State</i> ,	10, 82n, 148n, 188, 189		
Sironcha, <i>vi.</i> ,	160, 162		
Sirpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	342		
Śirrūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	238n		
Sirsāhi, <i>vi.</i> ,	253		
Śisūpālavadha, <i>poem</i> , 39n, 190, 250, 251, 252n, 253n, 254n, 255n			

	PAGE		PAGE
Śravishtā, s. a. Dhanishtā,	213	Śrī-Vira-Dēvadaraṇ-Kēraḷavarman, <i>Vēṇāḍu k.</i> ,	234
śrēshṭbin,	181, 316	śrī-Virūpāksha, <i>signature</i> ,	328, 341
Śrī, s. a. Lakshmi,	38, 266, 326, 327, 340	Śrī-vishaya, <i>co.</i> ,	231
Śrīdhara, m.,	64, 316	śrōtriya,	106, 115, 116
Śrīdhara, s. a. Viṣṇu,	66, 67	Stamba or Stambapura, s. a. Tāmralipta,	27, 39
śrī-Jayavardhanadēvasya, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	41	Stambhadēva, m.,	274
śrikaraṇa,	64	sthāna,	303
śrikarī, <i>musical instrument</i> ,	70, 71n	Stānēśvara, m.,	116
śrikōyil, <i>an orthodox Hindu temple</i> ,	92n	Stāṇu, s. a. Śiva,	256
Śrikulam, vi.,	331, 341	Stāṇu-Ravi, k.,	85
Śrī-Kundavai-Jipālaya, <i>te.</i> ,	231, 233	sthapati, <i>a carpenter</i> ,	12
śrī-Mahātāja-Bhīmasēnasya, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	342	sthavira,	328
Śrīmāla, s. a. Bhinnāl,	72, 73, 74	stūpa,	136, 141, 142, 145, 291
Śrīmāla-kula,	151, 152	Subhadra, <i>prince</i> ,	345
śrīmaṇḍalikagaṇḍa, <i>biruda</i> ,	330	Subhāmka, m.,	68
Śrīmāndiradēva, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	56	Subhāshitāvali, <i>quoted</i> ,	113n
śrīman-Nityaśaśhadēvasya, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	24	Subhāṭavarman, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	105, 114, 121
Śrīmātā or Śrīmātādēvi, <i>Jaina goddess</i> ,	151, 156n, 189	Subhātūga, <i>sur. of Rāshṭrakūṭa kings</i> ,	255n
Śrīmēghāchārya, <i>preceptor</i> ,	99, 102	Suchindram, vi.,	234n
Śrīnagar, vi.,	300	Śudāsa or Śudisa, s. a. Śoṇḍāsa,	139, 140, 143, 144, 247, 248
Śrīngāratilaka, <i>quoted</i> ,	114n	Śūdraka, m.,	181
Śrīngin, <i>rishi</i> ,	184	Śūdra-Kaṇalākara, <i>quoted</i> ,	119n and add.
Śrīpathā, vi.,	63n	Sue-Vihār, vi.,	137, 147, 240
śrīphala, <i>the bilva fruit</i> ,	253n	Sugandhādri, s. a. Sundhā,	72, 74
śrīpithivīvalabha,	101	Sūjēra, vi.,	67
Śrīpuṇja, <i>god</i> ,	156n	Sujji, <i>ch.</i> ,	300, 301
Śrīpuraṇbiya, s. a. Tiruppirambiyam,	87, 88	śukla (shukle),	106, 107, 115, 117
Śrīraṅgam, <i>island</i> ,	330	Śukranīti, <i>quoted</i> ,	47n
Śrīraṅgapattāṇa (Seringapatam), vi.,	340	Sukṛitasamkīrtana, <i>poem</i> ,	73n
Śrīraṅgarāja I., <i>Karṇāṭa ch.</i> ,	329	sūksma, <i>alamkāra</i> ,	113n
Śrīśāhika, s. a. Śrīśāhi,	283	Sūktīmuktāvali, <i>poem</i> ,	27
Śrīśaila, mo.,	26, 262	śulka-maṇḍapikā,	63
śrī-Tribhuvanāmkuśa, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	47, 131	Sulḷa, vi.,	201
śrīvadach (śrīmach)-Chāṇḍradēvaṇ, <i>do.</i> ,	502	Sulḷam, s. a. Sulḷa,	201, 206
Śrīvaishnava,	330	Sulṭān,	149
Śrīvallabha, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> ,	331	Sumitrā, <i>queen of Daśaratha</i> ,	340
Śrīvallabha, <i>sur. of Amōghavarsha I.</i> ,	26, 27, 39	summer,	240
Śrīvallamaṅgala, vi.,	331, 341	Sun, <i>god</i> ,	1, 2, 3n, 11, 12, 42, 43, 47, 63, 67, 191, 260
Śrīvallavaṇ (Śrīvallabha), <i>sur. of Pāṇḍya kings</i> ,	234n	Sunārpāl, vi.,	160, 161, 163
Śrīvallavaṅḍāi, <i>Vēṇāḍu k.</i> ,	234, 235, 237, 238, 239n	Sundara, k.,	233n
Śrīvardhana I., <i>Śailavamsa k.</i> ,	42, 46	Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār, <i>Śaiva saint</i> ,	89
Śrīvardhana II., <i>do.</i> ,	42, 46, 47	Sundarapāṇḍīyan-kāl,	331
Śrīvardhana, vi.,	43	Sundarapāṇḍīyan-pudukkāl, s. a. Sundara-	
Śrīvardhanapura, vi.,	42, 43, 44, 46, 47	pāṇḍīyan-kāl,	331, 341
Śrī-Vennapabbattā, m.,	25, 40	Sundhā or Sūndhā, <i>hill</i> ,	70, 72, 74, 278n
śrī-Vidyādharaḥaṇḍadēvasya, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	272	Sūpā, m.,	182, 187
śrī-Vishamasiddhi, <i>do.</i> ,	317	Suprabhadēva, <i>ch.</i> ,	190
		Śūra, k.,	342, 343, 345

	PAGE		PAGE
Śūra, m.,	115	Tāmaracheruva, s. a. Tāmaracheru,	95
Surāchand, vi.,	73	Tāmarachheru, do.,	95
Śūrāchanda, s. a. Surāchand,	73	tāmbūliya,	71 and add.
Surānanda, poet,	27	Tāmecha-rājya, the Chōla country,	340
Śūrapāla, Pāla k.,	321	Tamlūk, vi.,	27, 39n
Surāshtra, South Kāthiāwād,	4, 72	tāmra, a copper-plate charter,	113n
Śūrasvāmi, m.,	288	Tāmrālipta, s. a. Tamlūk,	27, 39n
sūri,	71, 154	Tāmrāparṇi, ri.,	84, 341
Śūridēva, m.,	274	tāmra-paṭṭaka, a copper-plate,	305
Śūrya-purāṇa,	279	Taṇḍabutti, s. a. Daṇḍabhukti,	231, 233
Busēnavadi, m.,	22	Tāṇḍeru, vi.,	132, 133
Bussala, k.,	300	Taṇḍralvalu, vi.,	287, 288
sūtradhāra, 12, 70, 149n, 182, 187, 199, 250,	279, 316	Tanjore, vi.,	86, 89, 92n, 93n, 94n, 231, 232n, 238n
Suvarṇapuri, s. a. Sōnpur,	184n	Taṅka, co.,	26
Suvarṇavarsha, sur. of Karka,	26	taṅka, coin,	125n, 169n
Suvarṇanadi, s. a. Sōn,	342, 343, 345	tara,	313
svabhasta, the sign manual,	2	Tārā, Buddhist goddess,	266n, 326
Svāmikirttisvāmi (Kirttisvāmin), m.,	282, 284	Taraṇa, m.,	192
Svarṇagōsasi, m.,	22	Tārānātha, m.,	139
svastika,	24, 25, 175	Tāriṇi, Buddhist goddess,	326, 327
svatāla,	63n	Tari Pennu, Earth-goddess,	176
Svayambhu, s. a. Śiva,	326	Tarunādityadēva, te.,	2, 3
Śvētavāhana, Ālupa k.,	17, 18, 19	tashdid,	306
T		Tāta, Pratihāra ch.,	280
Tachbila, Satrap,	140, 147	Tātabikyana, ch.,	49
tadāga,	125, 128	Tātāchārya, Śrīvaishṇava preceptor,	330n
tadāyuktaka,	288	tāvaremaṇi,	265n
Tahankāpār, vi.,	166	Tawar, s. a. Kavar,	295
Taila or Tailapadēva III., W. Chālukya k.,	165, 258n, 260, 261	Taxila, vi.,	137, 139, 140, 141, 143
Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka, quoted,	240	Tējapāla, m.,	148, 149, 150
Ṭākāri or Ṭākāri-stbāna, vi.,	107, 115, 116, 119, 120	Tējala-vasahī, s. a. Tējapālavasahikā,	148n
Takht-i-Bahi, vi.,	140	Tējapāla, m.,	81n
Takkaṇalādam, s. a. Dakṣiṇa-Virāṭa,	231, 233	Tējapāla-vasahikā, te.,	81n, 148n
Takkōlam, s. a. Takōpa,	231	Tējasimha, Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla, 81, 82, 83, 152, 153	
Takōpa, vi.,	231	Tējasimha, k.,	74, 83
Tākunguva, m.,	200	Tellicherry, vi.,	233n
Tāla or Tālapa, E. Chālukya k.,	49, 55, 134	Telugu-Chōḍa, family,	260
Talakiya (Talaki ?), vi.,	242, 246	Ten, vi.,	29
Talamanchi, vi.,	98, 99	Tengalai, a sect of Śrīvaishṇavas,	328
Talamanchipāḍu, field,	99	Tenna, s. a. Ten,	25, 29, 40
talapada,	63n	Tēnvi, vi.,	195
Tālikōṭa, battle of,	330	Tewar, vi.,	107
Tamaṇi, co.,	278	Tezpur, vi.,	343n
Tāmaracheru, vi.,	95	ṭhakkura,	106, 116, 168n, 304
		tiger, crest,	57, 161, 163, 181, 312, 313, 315, 316
		Tihuna or Tihunāka, Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla,	81, 82, 83, 152, 153

	PAGE		PAGE
Tillasthānam, <i>vi.</i> ,	87	Travanī, <i>s. a. Tamani</i> ,	277, 278
Tilwāra, <i>vi.</i> ,	73	Trennā, <i>s. a. Ten</i> ,	29
Timma, <i>Tuluva ch.</i> ,	340	trēpiṭaka,	291
Timmāmbā, <i>queen of Raṅgakhitindra</i> ,	340	Trētāyuga,	61n
Timmapuram, <i>vi.</i> ,	317	Trevandrum Museum,	86n
Tinnevelly, <i>vi.</i> ,	328	Tribhuvanamalla, <i>sur. of Bēta</i> , 165, 258, 259,	260, 266
Tippāji, <i>queen of Narasa</i> ,	340	Tribhuvanamalla, <i>sur. of Jagaddēva</i> ,	261
Tirathgarh, <i>vi.</i> ,	160 and add., 161	Tribhuvanamalla or Tribhuvanamalladēva, <i>sur.</i>	
Tirthakalpa, <i>Jaina work</i> ,	149	of Vikramāditya VI.,	258, 260, 261, 265
tirthamkara,	155n, 257n	Tribhuvanavira, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.</i> ,	220
tīrthika,	323	Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	222
Tiruchcheṅgunrūr, <i>s. a. Cheṅgunnūr</i> , 235, 236,	237, 239	Trichinopoly, <i>vi.</i> ,	86, 87, 88n, 90n, 92n, 94n,
tiruchchennaḍai-nel,	92n		215, 216
Tiruchchirrambalakkōvaiyār, <i>Tamiḷ poem</i> ,	89	Trikaliṅga-mahādēvi, <i>queen</i> ,	274
Tirukkaḍaiyūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	208, 209, 213	Trikūṭa, <i>co.</i> ,	269
Tirukkalayapuram, <i>vi.</i> ,	235, 236, 237	Trilōchana, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Tirukoilūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	89n	Tripura, <i>demon</i> ,	56
Tirumaiyam, <i>vi.</i> ,	223, 225	Tripurāntakam, <i>vi.</i> ,	257n, 259n, 261, 262n
Tirumala or Tirumalarāja I., <i>Karṇāṭa ch.</i> ,	329, 330, 341	Tripurāntakēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	257n
Tirumalai, <i>vi.</i> ,	229, 230, 231, 233	Tripuri, Tripuri-sthāna, <i>s. a. Tewar</i> ,	27, 107, 115
Tirumalāmbikā, <i>queen of Śrīraṅgarāja I.</i> ,	329	trivēda,	106, 115, 116, 117
Tirunādarkuṅgu, <i>hill</i> ,	85	Trividhavirachūdāmaṇi, <i>sur. of Arjunavarman</i> , 114n	
Tirunālār, <i>vi.</i> ,	213	Trivikrama, <i>poet</i> ,	28
Tirunelli, <i>vi.</i> ,	85, 238n	Trivikrama, <i>s. a. Viṣṇu</i> ,	319
Tirappirambiyam, <i>vi.</i> ,	87	Trivikramabhaṭṭa, <i>poet</i> ,	28, 41
Tirappōttuḍaiyār, <i>s. a. Eriṇchea-ṇḍaiyār</i> , 86, 92		tulāpuruṣha,	40
Tiruttani, <i>vi.</i> ,	87, 88	Tulsidās, <i>poet</i> ,	343
Tiruttonḍattogai, <i>Tamiḷ work</i> ,	89	Tulu-rāja, <i>co.</i> ,	174
Tiruvāḍi-rāja, <i>the Travancore country</i> ,	330, 341	Tuluva, <i>dy.</i> ,	330, 340
Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, <i>vi.</i> ,	84, 88, 214, 322	Tuṇḍāka or Tuṇḍāka-vishaya, <i>s. a. Tuṇḍai</i> ,	202, 205
Tiruvālūjūli, <i>vi.</i> ,	211	Tuṇḍaraka, <i>s. a. Tuṇḍrā</i> ,	282, 283, 284
Tiruvāliśvaram, <i>vi.</i> ,	84, 238n	Tuṇḍrā, <i>vi.</i> ,	283 and add.
Tiruvārūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	210, 211	Tuṇḍurāva, <i>vi.</i> ,	273, 275
Tiruvellaṅgai, <i>vi.</i> ,	92n	Tuṅga, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> ,	255
Tiruvembāvai, <i>Tamiḷ poem</i> ,	89	Tuṅgarāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	181
Tiruvēnkaṭaṇātha, <i>s. a. Veṅkaṭāchalapati</i> , 329,	331, 341	Tūrkaśarman, <i>m.</i> ,	132n
Tiruvīśālūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	207, 214	Tūrkkama, <i>m.</i> ,	132n
Tirvāḍi-rāja, <i>s. a. Travancore</i> ,	86n	Tūrkkaya-Peddiya, <i>m.</i> ,	132
Tissa Moggaliputta,	248	Tūrkkiya-Yajvan, <i>m.</i> ,	132
toki poojah (noroboli),	177n	Turushka,	72, 73, 321, 327, 340
Tōlējaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	28, 29, 40n	turoshkadāḍa, <i>tax</i> ,	305, 321
Topḍai, Topḍai-maṇḍalam, or Topḍai-nāḍu, <i>the</i>		Turvasu, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	340
<i>Draviḍa country</i> ,	86, 89n, 91, 205n, 313	Tyāgarājāsavāmin, <i>te.</i> ,	210, 211
tōrana,	72		
Tōsali, <i>co.</i> ,	286, 287n, 288		
Trailōkyaṃalla, <i>sur. of Karṇa</i> ,	72		
Travancore, <i>co.</i> ,	85, 86n, 234n, 331		

U

Uchchaṅgi, <i>vi.</i> ,	230
Udai (Udayi), <i>m.</i> ,	116

	PAGE
Udaipur, <i>vi.</i> ,	188
Udaya, <i>ch.</i> ,	114n
Udaya or Chôdôdaya, <i>s. a.</i> Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa- Gonka III.,	165, 261, 262n
Udayachandraganin, <i>Jaina author</i> ,	118n
Udayāditya, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	103, 105, 114, 120
Udayāditya, <i>sur. of</i> Prithivisāgara,	21
Udayagiri, <i>hill</i> ,	342n
Udayagiri-rājya, <i>di.</i> ,	262
Udayāpura or Udayapura, <i>s. a.</i> Udiyāvara, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24	
Udayapurānāyga, <i>m.</i> ,	21
Udayasēna, <i>k.</i> ,	285, 289, 290
Udayasimha or Udayasimhadēva, <i>Chāhamāna</i> <i>k. of</i> Naddūla,	73, 74, 80, 83
Udayavarman or Udayavarmadēva, <i>Para-</i> <i>māra k.</i> ,	105
Udayēndiram, <i>vi.</i> ,	87
Udaypur, <i>vi.</i> ,	118, 230
uddāman (uddāma),	104
Uddyōta, <i>work</i> ,	170
Udeyapura, <i>s. a.</i> Udiyāvara,	17, 18, 19, 20
Ūdhara, <i>m.</i> ,	116
Uḍipi, <i>vi.</i> ,	16, 21
Udiyāvara, <i>vi.</i> ,	15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
udraṅga,	5
Ugravādī, <i>vi.</i> ,	259, 262, 267
Ujjayini or Ujjain, <i>vi.</i> ,	104n, 296, 299
Ūkēsa-vamśa, <i>s. a.</i> Ōsavāla,	154
Ukkal, <i>vi.</i> ,	87, 88
ulakku, <i>measure</i> ,	92, 93
Ulhaṇa, <i>ch.</i> ,	301
Ulhaṇa or Ulhṇadēva (Alhṇadēva), <i>s. a.</i> Ulhaṇa,	301, 302
Umā, <i>s. a.</i> Pārvatī,	55, 61n
Umaiymmai, <i>f.</i> ,	235, 236, 237, 238, 239n
Ummatūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	174
Umvarā (Umbarā), <i>s. a.</i> Bagumrā,	25, 28, 40n
Ūnā, <i>vi.</i> ,	1
upadhmanīya,	11, 48, 99, 171, 188, 282, 317
upādhyāya (padhye),	106, 107, 116, 117
upāṅga,	102
uparika,	5, 288
Uparpalle, <i>vi.</i> ,	257n
upasampadā,	248
Upēndra, <i>k.</i> ,	27, 28, 40
Upēndra, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu,	26, 38, 40
ūrālan,	236, 238
uri, <i>measure</i> ,	92, 93
Uthmān Khān, <i>ch.</i> ,	308n

	PAGE
Utpala, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	3n
Utpalarāja, <i>do.</i> ,	11
Uttamacharitrakathānakam, <i>quoted</i> ,	70n
Uttama-Pāṇḍya, <i>sur. of</i> Prithivisāgara,	21
Uttama-Pāṇḍya, <i>sur. of</i> Vijayāditya,	22, 23
Uttarakōsalā, <i>s. a.</i> Ayōdhyā,	304
Uttara-Virāṭa (northern Berār), <i>co.</i> ,	231
utthāna-dvādaśī, <i>tithi</i> ,	208n
Uttirālādām, <i>s. a.</i> Uttara-Virāṭa,	231, 233
Uttiram, <i>s. a.</i> Uttara-Phalgunī,	221n
Uttirattādi, <i>s. a.</i> Uttara-Bhadrpadā,	221n

V

Vāchaspatyābhīdhāna, <i>lexicon</i> ,	289n
Vachchha, <i>s. a.</i> Vatsa,	71n, 79
Vadagavā, <i>vi.</i> ,	303, 304
Vadanakumārī, <i>queen of</i> Virasimhadēva,	165
Vadāpānaya-maṇḍala (Vaṭa-Nāṇaka-maṇḍala), <i>co.</i> ,	191n
Vadaūda, <i>s. a.</i> Burud,	119, 120
Vaidiga, <i>s. a.</i> Baddiga,	28
Vādichandra, <i>Jaina author</i> ,	154n
Vādichandra, <i>m.</i> ,	154
Vāgbhaṭa-ṇeru, <i>s. a.</i> Barmer,	73
Vāgharāja, <i>Kākaira ch.</i> ,	182, 183, 185n, 187
Vāghēla, <i>dy.</i> ,	73
Vāghu, <i>m.</i> ,	170
Vāhukadhavala, <i>Chālukya ch.</i> ,	2, 3
Vaibhāshika, <i>school of</i> Buddhist teachers,	139
Vaidumba, <i>family</i> ,	95
vaidya,	301, 302
Vaidya, <i>family</i> ,	99, 102
Vaigavūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	231, 233
Vaija, <i>ch.</i> ,	258, 259, 265, 266
Vaimbālgulī, <i>vi.</i> ,	87n
Vairā (Vajri)-śākhā,	245
Vaishṇava,	199, 287
Vaiśravaṇa, <i>s. a.</i> Kubēra,	180
vaiśvadēva,	40, 299
vaiśvāsika,	320n
Vaiśya, <i>caste</i> ,	279
vājapēya, <i>sacrifice</i> ,	206
Vājappasārman (Vājareśarman), <i>m.</i> ,	204n, 206
Vajrabhaṭa Satyāśraya, <i>ch.</i> ,	189
Vajrahasta III., <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	94, 95
Vajravarman, <i>m.</i> ,	99, 102
Vajrāyudha, <i>k.</i> ,	4
Vākātaka, <i>family</i> ,	267, 268, 269
Vakkūḍimalla, <i>sur. of</i> Rudra,	262n

	PAGE		PAGE
Vakkalēri, <i>vi.</i> ,	201, 206n	Vardhamānasūri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	149
Vakōmarya, <i>m.</i> ,	316	Vardhanapet, <i>vi.</i> ,	261n
Vākpatirāja, <i>Chākhāmāna k. of Śākambhari</i> , 67,	82, 83	Varmalāta, <i>k.</i> ,	10n, 11n, 12, 71n, 187, 189, 190
Vākpatirāja II., <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	71, 104n	Varuṇa, <i>god</i> ,	299
Valabhi, <i>vi.</i> ,	4, 63n, 195, 269, 343	Varuṇēśvarasārman, <i>m.</i> ,	303
Valasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288	Vāsadhara, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Vālereya, <i>m.</i> ,	20	Vāsala (Vīsala P), <i>m.</i> ,	64
Vālina, <i>m.</i> ,	242	Vāsantadēvi, <i>queen of Gōvindhachandra</i> ,	321
Valisā or Balisā, <i>s. a. Wanesa</i> ,	29, 40	Vasantgaḍh (Basantgaḍh), <i>vi.</i> ,	10, 12,
Valla, <i>co.</i> ,	277, 278		71n, 187, 188, 189n, 191
Vallabha, <i>sur. of W. Chalukya kings</i> ,	196	Vāsavadattā, <i>quoted</i> ,	255n
Vallabha, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	234n	Vasishṭha, <i>sage</i> ,	11, 12, 151, 189n
Vallabha or Vallabhendra, <i>sur. of Pulakēśin II.</i> ,	317, 319	Vastupāla, <i>m.</i> ,	150
Vallabha or Vallabhendra, <i>sur. of Rāshṭra-</i>		Vāsudēva, <i>Kushāna k.</i> ,	246
<i>kūṭa kings</i> ,	48, 55	Vāsudēva, <i>m.</i> ,	6, 124, 127, 128, 316
Vallabhanarendra, <i>do.</i> ,	195	Vāsudēva, <i>s. a. Vishṇu</i> ,	303
Vallabharāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	320, 323, 326	Vasudhārā, <i>Buddhist goddess</i> ,	320, 326, 327
Vallabharāja, <i>sur. of Dantidurga</i> ,	196	Vasushka or Vāsashka, <i>Kushāna k.</i> ,	246
Vallavaraiyar-Vandyadēvar, <i>ch.</i> ,	231	Vaṭa, Vaṭanagara or Vaṭapura, <i>s. a. Vasant-</i>	
Vallisikā, <i>vi.</i> ,	296, 299	<i>gaḍh</i> ,	11, 12, 189, 191, 192n
Vālmiki, <i>sage</i> ,	11, 343	Vaṭākara or Vaṭakarasthāna, <i>do.</i> ,	11n, 189, 191
Vāmana, <i>grammarian</i> ,	190	Vaṭapallikā, <i>vi.</i> ,	342, 344, 345
Vāmana, <i>m.</i> ,	321, 323, 328	Vaṭāranyēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	214
Vāmarāhārya, <i>m.</i> ,	114n	Vāṭchaliu, <i>m.</i> ,	300
Vāmsārātha, <i>di.</i> ,	11, 12	Vatsa, <i>rishi</i> ,	71, 79
Vanavāsi, Vanavāsi or Vanavāsi-man-		Vatsarāja, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	206
<i>ḍala, di.</i> ,	16, 101, 201, 204, 230, 233	Vatsarāja, <i>Pratihāra ch.</i> ,	199
Vandram, <i>vi.</i> ,	131, 132	Vāvana-pattalā, <i>di.</i> ,	303
Vaṅga (Baṅga), <i>co.</i> ,	323, 328	Vavulika, <i>vi.</i> ,	3
Vaṅgāla-dēśa (Bengali), <i>co.</i> ,	231, 233	Vavviyana (Babbiyana), <i>s. a. Baben</i> ,	29, 40
Vāṇī, <i>s. a. Sarasvatī</i> ,	11, 266	Vāyudēva, <i>m.</i> ,	116
Vaṇikōṭṭa, <i>vi. (P)</i> ,	167, 168, 169	Vēda, <i>m.</i> ,	119
Vaṇjulvaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	273, 275	Vēdāṅgas,	206
vapṭaka, <i>a share</i> ,	106, 119	Vēdas and śākhās :—	61, 102, 206, 300, 319
Vappasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288	<i>Rich</i> ,	342, 345
Varadāmbā, <i>queen of Achyutadēvarāya</i> ,	330n	Āśvalāyana,	115, 116, 119, 276n
Vārāḍapallikā or Bārāḍa°, <i>s. a. Bārḍoli</i> ,	29, 40	Bahvrīcha,	274
Varaguna or Varaguna-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> ,		Śāṅkhāyana,	116
	84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 93n, 94n	Sāman or Sāmavēda,	115
Varaguna-Mahārāja, <i>s. a. Varaguna</i> , 86, 87,	91, 92, 93, 238n	Chhandōga,	317, 319
Varāhamihira, <i>astronomer</i> ,	278	Yajus,	170
Varāhosvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	303	Kāṭha,	116
Varāhavartani, <i>di.</i> ,	95	Kauthuma,	115, 116
Vārāpāsi, Vārāpāsi or Vārāpāsi, <i>s. a. Benares</i> ,		Mādhyandina,	115, 116, 119
	21, 24, 60, 61, 327	Taittiriya,	296, 299
Vardhamāna, <i>s. a. Wadhvān</i> ,	3	Vāji-Mādhyandina,	25, 40, 115
Vardhamānanagari, <i>vi.</i> ,	261	Vājisanēyin,	172
		Vēlamkulam, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341
		Velanāḍḍu, <i>co.</i> ,	261, 262
		velasu,	22n

	PAGE		PAGE
Vēlhāka, <i>m.</i> ,	153	Vijayāditya, <i>ch.</i> ,	49, 50, 56
veḷḷilai (vergilai), <i>betel-leaves</i> ,	92n	Vijayāditya, <i>m.</i> ,	132
Velvola, <i>s. a.</i> Belvola,	201, 206	Vijayāditya, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	201, 205
Vēmba-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> ,	331	Vijayāditya III., <i>E. Chalukya ch.</i> ,	322
Vēmbāra, <i>vi.</i> ,	268	Vijayāditya I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	55, 134
Vēmbarrūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	87	Vijayāditya II., <i>do.</i> ,	27, 55, 134
Vēmbil, <i>s. a.</i> Vēmbarrūr,	86, 87, 88	Vijayāditya III., <i>do.</i> ,	48, 49, 50, 55, 134, 179n
vēṇa (vēṇḍiya),	86	Vijayāditya IV., <i>do.</i> ,	55, 134
Vēṇāḍu or Vēṇāḍ, <i>s. a.</i> Travancore,	234, 237, 239	Vijayāditya V., <i>do.</i> ,	49, 134
vēṅatribhuvanīmalla, <i>biruda</i> ,	330	Vijayāditya VI., <i>sur. of Ammarāja II.</i> ,	48, 56, 132
Vēṅgi, one thousand, <i>di.</i> ,	132	Vijayāditya VII., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	322
Vēṅgi, <i>vi.</i> ,	261	Vijayālāya, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	89n
Vēṅgi or Vēṅgi, <i>co.</i> ,	27, 55, 56, 133, 178, 179, 322	vijayalēkha,	294
Vēṅgipura, <i>s. a.</i> Pedda-Vēgi,	58, 59	Vijayamaṅgala, <i>vi.</i> ,	225
Veṅkaṭāchalapati, <i>te.</i> ,	328	Vijayanagara, <i>vi.</i> ,	174, 262, 328, 330, 340
Veṅkaṭādri, <i>Karnāṭa ch.</i> ,	329, 330	Vijaya-Nandivarman, <i>Śālaṅkāyana k.</i> ,	57, 58, 59n
Vēṅkaṭarāja, <i>Vijayanagara prince</i> ,	340	Vijayapāla, <i>m.</i> ,	70
Vēṅkaṭeśa, <i>s. a.</i> Veṅkaṭāchalapati,	341	Vijayi, <i>m.</i> ,	117
Vērāval (Verāwal), <i>vi.</i> ,	4, 343n	Vikrama, <i>s. a.</i> Vikramāditya VI.,	178, 179
vētrika,	168n	Vikrama-Chōla, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	209, 219
Vibhīṣaṇa, <i>k.</i> ,	342, 345	Vikramāditya I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	55, 132
Vidhu, <i>s. a.</i> Vishnu,	326	Vikramāditya II., <i>do.</i> ,	49, 55, 134
Vidyādharaḥaṇḍādēva, <i>Bhaṇḍa ch.</i> ,	271, 273	Vikramāditya I., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	98, 99, 101, 103, 201, 205
Vidyānagarī, <i>s. a.</i> Vijayanagara,	329, 340	Vikramāditya II., <i>do.</i> ,	202, 206
Vidyānātha, <i>author</i> ,	166	Vikramāditya VI., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	15, 230, 258, 260, 261
Vigraha or Vigrabarāja, <i>ch.</i> ,	11, 12	Vikramāditya-kāla, <i>s. a.</i> Vikrama-saṁvat,	12
Vigraha or Vigrabarāja, <i>s. a.</i> Visaladēva-Vigrabarāja,	154	Vikramāṅkadēvacharita,	178
Vigrahāditya, <i>te.</i> ,	74	Vikramāvalōka, <i>sur. of Govinda II.</i> ,	251n
Vigrahapāla, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> ,	64, 67, 71, 83	Villamarāyaṇ Neḍuṅgulam, <i>vi.</i> ,	331, 341
Vigrahapāla III., <i>Pāla k.</i> ,	321, 322	Vilāṇam, <i>vi.</i> ,	86n
Vigrabarāja, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Śākambhari</i> ,	62, 82, 251	Vimala, <i>Prāgvaṭa ch.</i> ,	62n, 72n, 81, 82, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154
vihāra or vihāra,	245, 301, 302, 320, 327, 328	Vimalachandragani, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	118n
Vihēkarātamiēra, <i>m.</i> ,	276n	Vimala-Sāh, Vimala-Sāha or Vimala-Shāh, <i>s. a.</i>	81, 148n
Vijaḍa, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> ,	80, 81, 82, 83, 152	Vimala-vasahī,	148n, 149
Vijaḍa, <i>m.</i> ,	150, 151, 153	Vimala-vasahī or Vimala-Vasahikā, <i>Vimala's temple</i> ,	81, 148n, 149, 154
Vijayanāyga, <i>m.</i> ,	18	Vimala-vasati or Vimala-vasatikā-tirtha, <i>s. a.</i>	148n, 149
Vijapāla, <i>m.</i> ,	153	Vinayāditya, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	15, 16, 101n, 201, 205
Vijasetṭi, <i>m.</i> ,	24	Vināyaka, <i>s. a.</i> Gaṇapati,	277, 278
Vijaya-Aparājitavikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pallava k.</i> ,	87	Vināyakapāla, <i>s. a.</i> Mahipāla,	199n
Vijayabhāṭṭārikā, <i>queen of Chandraditya</i> ,	102	Vinayamahādēvi, <i>queen of Kāmārṇava II.</i> ,	95
Vijaya-Dēvarman or Dēvarman, <i>Śālaṅkāyana k.</i> ,	56, 57, 58, 59	Vindhya, <i>mo.</i> ,	38, 42, 44, 46, 47
Vijayāditya, <i>Ālupa k.</i> ,	17, 22, 23	Vindhya or Vindhya-varman, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	105, 107, 108, 114, 121
		Vindhya, <i>s. a.</i> Mālava,	107n
		Vindhyaśvara, <i>sur. of Śrīvardhana II.</i> ,	42, 46

	PAGE		PAGE
Vinitésvara, <i>te.</i> ,	290	Vishnu-parāpa,	42n
Viñja, <i>m.</i> ,	19	Vishnuśarman, <i>m.</i> ,	109, 170
Viñjamā, <i>queen of Kēta II.</i> ,	262n	Vishnupvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	172, 232, 284, 237, 288
Vipranārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Kuppānaya</i> ,	132	Vishnupvaidhana, <i>Hoysala k.</i> ,	179n
Vira-Chōḍa, <i>E. Chalukya ch.</i> ,	322	Vishnupvaidhana I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	317, 318, 319
Viradhavala, <i>m.</i> ,	153	Vishnupvaidhana II., <i>do.</i> ,	55, 133
Viradhavala, <i>Vāghēlā k.</i> ,	73	Vishnupvaidhana III., <i>do.</i> ,	55, 134
Viragūṇa, <i>s. a. Vira-Chōḍa</i> ,	322	Vishnupvaidhana IV., <i>do.</i> ,	55, 134
virakal,	17	Vishnupvaidhana V., <i>do.</i> ,	55, 134
virāma,	258, 263n	Vishnupvaidhana-Mahārāja, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga-</i>	
Virāma or Viramadēva, <i>Vāghēlā k.</i> ,	73	Chōḍa I.,	261n
Vira-Mahattama or Vira-Mahāmāntri, <i>sur. of</i>		Viśvanātha, <i>god</i> ,	341
Lahadha,	151, 152	Viśvanātha-Nāyaka, <i>Madura Nāyaka</i> ,	330, 341
Virāṇa, <i>m.</i> ,	331, 341	Viśvēśvara, <i>m.</i> ,	115
Virāṇachārya, <i>m.</i> ,	331, 341	Viṣaraka, <i>vi.</i> ,	3
Virāṇam, <i>vi.</i> ,	234n	Viṣagupatam, <i>di.</i> ,	317
Virāṇārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Amōghavarsha I.</i> ,	27, 39	Vonones, <i>k.</i> ,	147
Virāṇārāyaṇadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	165	Vōpadēva, <i>Kākaira ch.</i> , 124, 127, 167, 170,	
Vira-Nolamba-Pallava-Perumāṇḍi-Jayasīṅgha-		182, 183, 187	
dēva, <i>W. Chōlukya prince</i> ,	261n	Vōpadēva, <i>Kākaira prince</i> ,	167, 168, 170, 183
Vira-Nṛisīmha or Vira-Nārasīmha, <i>Vijaya-</i>		Voppasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288
nagara <i>k.</i> ,	340	Vōrttanōka, <i>vi.</i> ,	287, 288
Vira-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> ,	227	Vṛidhahasti (Vṛiddhahastin), <i>Buddhist</i>	
Vira-Pāṇḍya, 'who took the head of the		preacher,	245
Chōḷa', <i>do.</i> ,	84, 234n	Vṛishabha, <i>s. a. Rishabha</i> ,	155n
Virarājendra I., <i>Chōḷa k.</i> ,	179n, 218	Vṛishabhapurīśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	212
Virarājendra-Chōḷadēva, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga-</i>		Vṛishṇi, <i>family</i> ,	38n
Chōḷa III.,	213, 220	Vu (Bu)ddhasvāmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288
Virasūmhadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> ,	165	Vūhūṇḍha, <i>vi.</i> ,	80, 81
Virasōliyam, <i>Tamil grammar</i> ,	230	Vyāghra or Vyāghrarāja, <i>s. a. Vāghrarāja</i> , 124,	
Virasōmēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	162	127, 183	
Virāta, <i>s. a. Bērār</i> ,	231n	Vyāghrarāja, <i>k.</i> ,	184n
Virattānēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	89n	vyāpaṭa (vyāprita),	61n
virōdhābhāsa, <i>alamkāra</i> ,	255n	Vyāsa, <i>rishi</i> ,	6, 10, 133n, 171, 206,
Viśaladēva, <i>Vāghēlā k.</i> ,	73	282, 285, 300, 345	
Viśaladēva-Vigraharāja, <i>Chāhamāna k. of</i>		Vyāsa-bhaṭṭāraka, <i>s. a. Vyāsa</i> ,	133n
Śākambharī,	62, 67n, 154		
visarga,	25, 171, 188, 268, 282		
Vishadha, <i>ch.</i> ,	2, 3		
Vishamasiddhi, <i>sur. of Vishnupvaidhana I.</i> ,	317, 319		
vishaya, <i>a district</i> ,	40, 47, 132, 287, 288		
vishayapati,	273		
Vishnu, <i>god</i> , 25, 26, 37, 38, 39, 40, 84n, 101,			
115n, 125n, 160, 161, 162, 199, 204, 208n,			
249, 250, 256n, 260n, 269, 285, 304, 317,			
326, 327, 328, 340, 341			
Vishnu, <i>m.</i> ,	117		
Vishnuchittiyam, <i>Telugu poem</i> ,	330n and add.		
Vishnukundin, <i>family</i> ,	269		

W

Waddamarri, <i>vi.</i> ,	261n
Wadhwan, <i>vi.</i> ,	3
Wanesa, <i>vi.</i> ,	29
Warangal, <i>vi.</i> , 164, 165, 256, 257, 258n, 260n, 262n	
Wardak, <i>vi.</i> ,	143, 147

Y

Yādava, <i>family</i> ,	72, 83n, 119n, 165, 200
Yadu, <i>dy.</i> ,	26, 38, 39, 340

	PAGE		PAGE
Yaduvâmi, <i>m.</i> ,	288	Yedatore, <i>vi.</i> ,	230
Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, 59n, 176n and add., 274n, 345n		Yelbarga, <i>vi.</i> ,	164, 178, 312
yājñika,	106, 117	Yenamadala, <i>vi.</i> ,	260n
Yākamabbe or Yākamāmbikā, <i>f.</i> ,	259, 266	Yinimili, <i>vi.</i> ,	56
Yakshadāsa, <i>k.</i> ,	2, 3	Yōga, <i>sur.</i> of Avaniavman II., 1, 2, 3, 9n, 130, 131	
Yama, <i>god</i> ,	27, 299	yōgas :—	
Yamunā, <i>s. a.</i> Jamna,	230, 327	Saubhāgya,	176, 181
Yāpaniya-saṅgha, <i>school of Jaina teachers</i> , 49, 56		Śubha,	309
Yasōdharman, <i>k.</i> ,	286	Śūla,	119, 120
Yasōdhavalavēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	149	yōginī, <i>s. a.</i> jōginī,	177, 178, 181
Yasōvarddhana, <i>Pratihāra ch.</i> ,	280	Yōjaka, <i>s. a.</i> Jōjalla,	72, 83, 158
Yasōvarman, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , 105, 114, 120, 121		Yōṭa, <i>ch.</i> ,	11
Yasōvighraha, <i>k.</i> ,	303	Yuddhamalla I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	55, 134
yâtrôtsava,	341	Yuddhamalla II., <i>do.</i> ,	49, 55
years of the cycle :—		yuddhavira,	114n
Ânanda,	257n	Yudhishṭhira, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	113, 255, 270, 290
Bahudhānya,	129	Yugādīnhartrī or Yugādījīna, <i>s. a.</i> Âdinātha, 151	
Chitrabhānu,	12	yuvarāja,	55, 132, 139, 140, 178, 303
Hēmaḷumbi (Hēmalamba),	259, 266	Yuvarāja I., <i>Kalachuri k.</i> ,	3
Îsvara,	129, 167, 170	Yuyudhāna, <i>s. a.</i> Sātyaki,	38n
Khara,	161, 312, 316		
Kilaka,	176		
Kshaya,	80, 81		
Nala,	261n		
Parābhava,	129n, 176, 181		
Paridhāvin,	257n		
Plava,	219n		
Plavanga,	129n, 176, 219n		
Prabhava,	330, 340		
Raudra,	124, 128, 129n		
Saumya,	163		
Virōdhi,	306, 309		
Viśrāvasu,	129n, 176, 257n		
Yuva,	25, 40		
years of the reign, 42, 47, 57, 59, 84n, 86, 88,			
89, 92, 99, 101, 102, 171, 201, 206,			
207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213,			
214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220,			
221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227,			
228, 229, 230, 232, 239, 240, 259n, 261n, 291			

Z

Zeda, <i>vi.</i> ,	240
Ziffardān, <i>s. a.</i> Śivardhana,	43

Zodiac, signs of the :—

Dhanus,	56, 134, 207, 210, 216
Kanyā,	208, 214, 227n, 228n
Karkāṭaka,	212, 224
Kumbha,	214, 216, 219n, 221n, 225
Makara,	213
Mēsha,	209, 210, 211, 214, 220n, 224, 225
Mīna,	210, 211, 212, 219n, 221n, 227n, 228n
Mithuna,	215, 223, 224, 227n
Rishabha or Vrishabha,	220n, 223
Simha,	211, 212, 228n
Tulā,	92, 208, 215, 217, 226, 227n, 235, 237
Vriśchika,	208, 209, 235, 237

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